Emily V. Cole

THE STATE APARTMENT IN THE JACOBEAN COUNTRY HOUSE, 1603-1625

DPhil Thesis
University of Sussex
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STATEMENT

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted, in whole or in part, to another university for the award of any other degree.

Signature …….

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Emily V. Cole

DPhil Thesis

The State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House, 1603-1625

Summary

This thesis explores the state apartment in the Jacobean country house – its status, function, use, planning, decoration and furnishing. It does so against various different backgrounds. Firstly, that of the royal progress, during which Tudor and early Stuart monarchs – in particular, James I – would visit private residences around the country. The nature of such visits are explored, using a large amount of primary evidence and drawing upon a full itinerary of James I's reign, compiled for the first time as part of this thesis.

A different context, that of royal palaces, is then considered, particular focus being given to the use and accessibility of state apartments. This subject is further explored within the context of the noble household. The use of state rooms beyond and during royal visits is investigated, again using much primary evidence that has been largely neglected before now. It is shown that state apartments in country houses were the focus for elaborate ceremonial, and that they were used for the reception and accommodation of various honoured guests, not just members of the royal family.

In the last two chapters of the thesis, the planning, decoration and furnishing of the country house state apartment is considered. It is argued that arrangements developed significantly between the Henrician and Jacobean periods, the state suite evolving from a comparatively simple (and sometimes haphazard) collection of spaces to a cohesively planned and integrated suite – a true apartment. This argument is based on the detailed analysis of 29 sixteenth-century houses (including Thornbury Castle, Theobalds and Hardwick Hall) and 9 houses of the Jacobean period (including Audley End, Hatfield House and Bramshill). Such a study clearly demonstrates that state apartments were undoubtedly the best rooms in a country house, and were used to reflect and further an owner's status and prestige.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The origins of my work on state apartments and royal progresses are to be found in my MA thesis, which I carried out at the Courtauld Institute under the guidance of John Newman. I then put the subject down, thinking I might never return to it. The fact that my interest was rekindled is due to the work I carried out on Apethorpe Hall at the request of James Edgar, then English Heritage's Historic Buildings Inspector for the East Midlands. I am very grateful to James for his early encouragement of my wider interest in the subject of Elizabethan and Jacobean state apartments, and to my then manager, David Robinson.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APC	Acts of the Privy Council (Privy Council Registers)
BL	British Library
BRLA	Birmingham Reference Library Archives
Cal.	Calendar
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies
CP	Cecil Papers
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EH	English Heritage
ERO	Essex Record Office
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
MS/MSS	Manuscript/Manuscripts
NMR	National Monuments Record of English Heritage
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office
NUL	Nottingham University Library
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
RPCS	*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*
SAHGB	Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain
SP	State Papers
SRO	Scottish Record Office
TNA	The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office)
TP	Thynne Papers
WCRO	Warwickshire County Record Office

CONVENTIONS

Throughout this thesis, I have used old style dating, but it is presumed that the year begins on 1 January. However, I have not altered the dates of the letters of the Venetian envoys, which are set out using the new style calendar; to find the old style date, it is necessary to take away ten days (so that 19 December becomes 9 December, and so forth).

In general, I have tried to avoid capitalisation, though titles held by specific (usually named) individuals (e.g. Lord Chamberlain) are in upper case, as are institutions and royal household departments (notably, the Privy Council, Privy Chamber and Bedchamber). Room names are only capitalised where they are specific to a particular house, rather than being generic. With regard to King James, the convention has been to use the title appropriate to the period under discussion – i.e. James VI for 1567-1603, and James I for 1603-25.

Bibliographical references in footnotes are generally summary, referring to the full information in the bibliography, though complete details are usually provided for manuscripts and where a work is cited on a highly limited basis. Due to the quantity of sources relating to individual country houses that have been consulted (for instance, numerous *Country Life* articles), these are only included in the bibliography and footnotes where they are specifically cited or of particular significance.

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INTRODUCTION

… nor could the greatest monarch in the world, inside his own royal palace, shine with greater pomp… [1]

So said the Venetian Ambassador of James I's reception and accommodation during his progress of 1612, by which time the pattern of his reign had been firmly established. As this thesis shows, over the course of his time as King of England, James visited hundreds of country houses, in counties as far flung as Dorset, Rutland and Cumberland; it goes without saying that he was also extremely familiar with his native Scotland, where he spent the first 37 years of his life and which he revisited in 1617. By the time of his death in 1625, the King had seen more of Britain than any monarch since the Middle Ages – indeed, with the exception of his son, Charles I, he probably saw more of Britain than any monarch between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century.

Despite this fact, James – unlike Elizabeth I – has not hitherto been firmly linked to the country house by historians. Many have simply overlooked the evidence of his progresses; for instance, Linda Levy Peck has stated outright that 'in contrast to Queen Elizabeth, James I stopped traveling on progress around the countryside'.[2] Nor have the suites in which James and other royals would have stayed been investigated in depth, studies tending instead to focus on country house planning as a whole or on specific properties. This thesis is, then, the first attempt to thoroughly understand the English country house state apartment in the early modern period – a period which was of such importance to its development. In particular, the use of state apartments is given prominence here, and how such use can be illuminated by planning, decoration and furnishing. The thesis draws upon a large amount of primary evidence, including household regulations, accounts of the royal household, letters and descriptions, much of which has been previously under-used (or ignored entirely) by architectural historians.

The state apartment – a suite of rooms which typically comprised great chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber, closet and long gallery – would

[1] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 411 (19 August 1612)
[2] Peck 2005, p. 201

have been a feature of all high-status country houses during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I. Such apartments constituted the best rooms of a house, and were used for the entertainment and accommodation of honoured visitors. They were also symbolic, serving to represent and reflect the social standing, associations and taste of house owners and their families. Known at the time simply as 'lodgings', these suites began as basic and limited processions of rooms, and developed, over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in complexity and refinement, becoming – by the end of the reign of James I – apartments in the true meaning of that term.[3]

Obviously, given the scale of building in England in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, there has been a need to be focused in approaching the subject. Thus, this thesis concentrates on country houses known to have been visited by a monarch or built with royalty in mind – houses which tend to have been owned by officials of the royal household, courtiers and prominent members of the nobility and upper gentry. The state apartments described are therefore fully deserving of that term, being intended for the keeping of state – ceremonial grandeur, pomp, an imposing display of magnificence befitting figures of rank and wealth – at the highest level.[4] Comparable suites in houses of smaller size or lower social standing will be referred to as 'great apartments', as will suites which were additional to state apartments in a number of country houses.[5] The buildings studied include those which have been named 'prodigy houses', such as Holdenby and Hatfield. It should be noted, however, that this

[3] The term 'apartment', thought to be of Italian origin, seems to make its first relevant appearance in France in the 1580s, and in England was not in common use until the second half of the 1600s. According to the 2nd edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1989, vol. 1, p. 542), the first appearance of the word dates from 1641, and belongs to the writings of John Evelyn (the next use cited dates from 1660). Rosalys Coope states that the term was current in England from the 1660s: Coope 1994, p. 245

[4] For the purposes of this work, the term 'state apartment' is taken to apply only to households/house owners of exalted social standing. In 1600, magnificence – so intrinsic to the state apartment – was defined as 'a virtue that consisteth in sumptuous and great expenses … so that … it is peculiar to Noblemen': Heal 1990, p. 24 (quoting William Vaughan). Later, around 1695, Roger North described the ideal arrangements of state apartments, going on to note that they represented 'the perfection that one would expect in the seat of a prince or nobleman, but is too much for a private gentleman, who seldome enterteines guests of that nicety': North 1981, p. 134

[5] Such suites clearly differed from state apartments in terms of use, decoration and furnishing; often, for instance, they were used by the family on a daily basis, and were characterised by informality.

term is not employed here, it seeming an unclear definition.[6] Nor is the term 'hunting lodge' generally used, being understood to refer not to country houses but to a group of smaller-scale buildings specifically constructed with the needs of the chase in mind.[7]

In order to identify buildings with royal connections, it has been necessary to compile – for the very first time – a full itinerary of James I (see Appendix 2). The King's court calendar – in particular, his summer progresses, during which almost all country house visits were made – forms the focus of Chapter 1. This aims to demonstrate the kind of areas and houses visited by James and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, how such visits were managed, and possible motivations and benefits. From this, and from an analysis of the court calendars of other monarchs – such as Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I and Henri IV – it becomes quite clear that James's itinerary (and devotion to annual progresses) was unique and is of considerable significance, especially for the English country house.

A different kind of context, that of royal palaces, is considered in Chapter 2, with the aim of illuminating the layout and use of state apartments in country houses and of identifying potential sources of influence upon Jacobean practices (both in royal palaces and private houses). This is naturally a subject of immense importance in its own right, and only a summary is given here, the chapter concentrating on state apartments in four countries known or of relevance to James VI/I: France, Scotland, Denmark and England. What becomes evident

[6] The term 'prodigy house' was first introduced by John Summerson; see: Summerson 1993, Chapters 4 and 5 of which are entitled 'The Prodigy Houses of Queen Elizabeth's Reign' and 'Prodigy Houses: The Jacobean Sequel'. Summerson begins by defining these as 'great houses built by [royal] ministers and servants … specifically as places in which to receive the Queen, as tributes and as monuments of loyalty': ibid, p. 58. He continues that 'there was a great difference between a house designed simply as a family seat and one designed for the reception of the Court', a difference chiefly demonstrated in the number of lodgings provided: ibid, p. 59. This argument seems to me overly simplistic, and I am wary of the association with monarchy. In this thesis, I have sought to argue that although houses like Theobalds were built primarily with royalty in mind, they had numerous other functions, including the reception of other high-ranking guests.

[7] Many country houses were built or altered with hunting in mind, but this was by no means the sole (or even the primary) motivation. Those for which the chase does seem to have been the primary motive include Lulworth Castle, Wothorpe Lodge and Westwood Park, all small in scale and compact in plan.

from such a study is that in use, as in other respects, royal palaces were a vital influence on the state apartment of the English country house.

The function and use of the country house state apartment is then studied in depth in Chapter 3, which aims to populate these suites of rooms, showing who they were intended to serve and who (within the noble household) had responsibility for them. The section considers the state apartment against the background of hospitality – considered to be a duty for all figures of significant social standing in the early modern period – and suggests the working of state rooms beyond the context of the royal visit, a subject area which has previously been largely untouched. The apartment's role in receiving and accommodating guests of rank, and in forming the backdrop to household ceremonial, is set out, in advance of a discussion of the visit of a monarch – an honour which only a minority could expect to receive.

In order to establish the developments of the Jacobean period in terms of the planning, decoration and furnishing of state apartments, the arrangements of the sixteenth century (in particular, the reign of Elizabeth I) are set out in Chapter 4. This, based on an investigation of 29 houses dating from the full range of the 1500s, shows that the country house state apartment evolved considerably over the course of the century. This was especially the case following the Reformation – when the dissolution of the monasteries (which had long been popular stopping points for monarchs) forced the duty of hospitality more firmly upon owners of private houses – and was encouraged by the ambitious progresses of Elizabeth I.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the various contributions of the Jacobean period are considered, and it is shown that evolution from Elizabethan arrangements was far more substantial than has been explored or acknowledged hitherto. It is argued that James I's regular progresses provided the perfect context for the creation of ambitious and impressive state apartments, which reflected the needs and scale of the Jacobean royal household in being expansive and elaborate. The findings set out in the chapter are based on a study of nine country houses, including Hatfield, Audley End and Apethorpe Hall. These are

all comparatively well documented or understood, hence the selection, although this thesis also presents many new findings on the houses' arrangement and use. England never quite saw their like again, the reign of Charles I bringing into full form the architectural and social 'revolution that would transform the English country house in its appearance and its plan'.[8]

[8] Cooper 2006, p. 23

CHAPTER ONE

The Jacobean Royal Itinerary: Tradition and Innovation

The accession of James I to the throne of England in 1603 represented, as far as the court calendar is concerned, a moment of enormous change. For decades, court and country had known a monarch who was based largely at royal palaces in the London area (predominantly Greenwich and Whitehall).[1] On the whole, and especially in her final years, Queen Elizabeth spent weeks at a time in one place. Her summer progresses were notable, and have been much studied, but became irregular during the second half of her reign.[2]

The reign of King James was characterised by continuous movement. Not since the fifteenth century had England seen a monarch so mobile and restless, and the country was never to see the like again. A certain amount of removal had long been considered necessary for the sake of hygiene and prevention of disease; the removal from a palace meant that it could be thoroughly cleaned and aired. However, James took itinerancy to new extremes. By the end of 1603 alone, the King had undertaken a progress from Scotland to London, had made visits to palaces and houses including Greenwich, Nonsuch, Syon and Hampton Court, had made his first summer progress, and had spent around three months at (or in the vicinity of) Winchester and Wilton House (see Appendix 2 and Figs 1 and 2). Admittedly, in this case, there was a direct reason for the continual peregrination: the plague was raging in both London and the provinces. However, the picture remained largely the same for the rest of James I's reign; only in special circumstances would the King remain more than three weeks in one place.[3] It is worth noting that this fact has been almost entirely overlooked by historians; the research carried out for this thesis, including the preparation of Appendix 2, has illuminated James's full itinerary for

[1] The Queen also made regular visits to Richmond, Hampton Court, Oatlands, Windsor and Nonsuch. Only one attempt has been made at outlining Elizabeth's itinerary: Chambers 1922, vol. 4, pp. 75-116. This source was used in the compilation of Mary Hill Cole's tables, charting the Queen's travels when away from London: Cole 1999, pp. 179-206 (Appendix 2)

[2] Elizabeth made only six progresses between 1582 and her death 21 years later (i.e. in 1582, 1591, 1592, 1597, 1601 and 1602); see the itinerary in Chambers 1922, vol. 4, pp. 75-116, and Cole 1999, p. 206

[3] For instance, the birth of his daughters Mary and Sophia in 1605 and 1606 meant that the King stayed at Greenwich for unusually long periods of time.

the very first time, and sheds important light on his preferences and approach as King, and – in particular – the significance of the country (and the country house) to his way of life.

Within a few years of his accession, James I's itinerary had settled into a definite pattern, though factors such as weather, illness and important government business often resulted in minor changes. This routine seems to have been dictated by the needs and fancies of James himself, though there would clearly have been discussion with councillors, officials and courtiers on some occasions.[4] The King is portrayed as being strong-minded by contemporaries, and was not easily swayed by the threat of such worries as disease, poor weather or cost. In 1605, for instance, James refused to give way to the Queen's concerns about his safety while hunting, resolving 'to rely on the divine mercy and to place his pleasure above his peril'.[5] Once decided upon, the King's proposed itinerary was made known to at least the royal household and court; information was also passed, as appropriate, to others involved in state business, and was quickly disseminated.

The most marked characteristic of James I's annual itinerary is the large amount of time he spent away from London. The King apparently found no pleasure in being in the city, and limited his stays to as short a duration as possible.[6] This is said to have been a result of his dislike of crowds, and his discomfort in public, formal situations, a presumption which is challenged below

[4] Evidence that the King was often moved by personal preference comes with his visit to Beaulieu in 1606; James was said to be 'so well pleased with his hunting here as he seems to have a purpose to visit it often': HMC Salisbury, vol. 18, p. 270 (1 Sep. 1606). Later, in 1617, he was said to have fallen in love with Lincoln, and 'meanes henceforward to spend the best part of the winter there' (though he never did so): Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 70 (19 April 1617)

[5] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 300 (8 December 1605). For another example, see: ibid, vol. 14, p. 309 (30 September 1616). The King showed the same disregard for potential illness. In January 1623, he was warned that the Newmarket area was rife with smallpox, but it did not hinder his going (Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 474), and in November of the same year he was warned to avoid the 'sharp and subtill' air of Newmarket 'yf he will preserve his health'; James went anyway, being 'so desirous to see certain new hawkes flie that he could not be stayed' (Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 525 and p. 539).

[6] John Chamberlain often refers to James coming to the capital 'halfe against his will': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 535 (20 December 1623), and see: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 420 (relation of England of Piero Contarini, late 1618)

(see pp. 11-12).[7] Instead, the King's routine was dominated by his love of country pursuits (a passion he shared with numerous other royals). James had been dedicated to hunting and hawking from his youth and, very soon after acceding to the English throne, the King emphasised the importance of this pastime within his life and reign; he told the Privy Council that it was 'the only meanes to maintain his health', which – 'being the health and welfare of us all' – meant that it should be supported and encouraged by his government and court.[8] The general populace quickly became aware of the King's liking for country sports, and in 1609 James issued a proclamation acknowledging how 'notorious' his love of hunting had become.[9]

Throughout the course of his reign, the King would allocate certain blocks of time to country pursuits; the primary season for the hunt was from June to September, but there were no major limitations, and hawking was possible all year round.[10] James was usually at one of his favourite hunting bases – Royston, Newmarket, Theobalds and Thetford – in mid- to late January, a large part of February, mid-March, part of April, October, November, and early to mid-December (see Appendix 2). In addition, the King regularly made a series of visits in June and mid-September, usually to places including Windsor Castle,

[7] Thomas Wilson, an associate of Sir Robert Cecil, wrote that James 'naturally did not love to be looked on, and formalities of State were but so many burdens to him … especially in his sports, the access of people made him so impatient that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with curses': Willson 1956, p. 165, and see: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 513 (report on England by Nicolo Molin, 1607). For another such comment on the King's character, see: Oglander 1936, pp. 196-7. Additionally, James is said to have had a great fear of assassination (see, for instance, Oglander 1936, p. 193). It is, however, almost impossible to reconcile this supposed truth with the King's regular journeying, which provided the perfect opportunity for attempts on his life.

[8] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 201 (26 January 1605). Slightly later, the Venetian Ambassador reported that the King found 'the sedentary life' of London 'very prejudicial to his health', and that in future he meant to pass 'most of his time in the country in the chase': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 218 (10 February 1605). In advice to the future Charles II, the Duke of Newcastle drew upon the experiences of James I and Charles I to set out the benefits of making trips to country palaces for hunting and hawking: 'this woulde nott onlye refreshe your Matie with the Sweet Ayre & wholsome Exercise, butt unbende your more serius thoughtes frome the wayte off busines thatt you woulde have att London, though busines will followe your Matie whersoever you are, butt nott such Thronges off Itt. This will mentayne health & longe life better than Phisick': Newcastle on Government, p. 223

[9] Proclamations 1973, p. 227 (9 September 1609). See also: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 195 (1 December 1604); this speaks of the people accusing 'the King of attending to nothing but his pleasures, especially to the Chase, as though he had come to the throne for nothing else than to go a-hunting'.

[10] Manning 1993, p. 23

Theobalds, Havering, Richmond and Oatlands.[11] Especially popular was Wanstead, which seems to have been the private house that James I visited most frequently; he went there over 40 times, always in June, July and September.[12] Meanwhile, in winter (usually in October or November), the King very often visited Hinchingbrooke, Sir Oliver Cromwell's house near Huntingdon. With the addition of his annual summer progress (Figs 2 to 23), which generally took place from late July until early September, this meant that James was absent from London for at least half of the year, and probably more like two-thirds.[13]

The King's mania for hunting, and his long absences from London, were a point of concern to the royal household and Parliament, and were often an exasperation to courtiers and ambassadors. The unpopular system of purveyance – by which the monarch could purchase provisions and other necessaries for use by the royal household at around half their commercial price – meant that James's frequent presence in the country was also a concern to those lower down the social scale.[14] The King was clearly aware of such financial issues; early in his reign, he stated that on hunting parties made outside of summer progresses he would pay for carts at his own expense, though the problem continued.[15]

It has frequently been assumed that the King's love of hunting and regular absence from London meant that he avoided affairs of state, and that James

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[11] In 1619, John Chamberlain referred to the King's June visits as a 'pettie progresse': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 249 (26 June 1619)

[12] According to my itinerary (see Appendix 2), the King was at Wanstead on 43 occasions in 18 different years. Wanstead, a former residence of two favourites of Queen Elizabeth – the Earls of Leicester and Essex – was during this period the home, successively, of: Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy; his son, Sir Mountjoy Blount, later 1st Earl of Newport; George Villiers, Earl (then Marquess) of Buckingham; and Sir Henry Mildmay, later to serve as Master of the King's Jewel House. It was demolished in the early eighteenth century to make way for a new, classical house.

[13] In 1618, the Venetian Ambassador noted that the King 'spends his time in almost constant progresses and exercises … He spends at least ten months of the year in the country': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, pp. 388-9

[14] For more information about purveyance, see: Bray 1787. There were constant complaints about purveyance during the reign of James I; early in the 1600s, Sir Francis Bacon stated that 'there was no grievance in his kingdom so general, so continual, so sensible, and so bitter to the common subject, as that which he was then speaking of [i.e. purveyors]': Nichols James, vol. 1, p. xii

[15] Nichols James, vol. 1, p. xv

was accompanied on his journeys to the country by only a choice few.[16] Certainly, the retinue would have been far smaller than that of a full court or that which accompanied the King on summer progress.[17] However, the King could in fact be accompanied by a substantial train on his removals to the country, especially in autumn.[18] Moreover, whilst sports may have remained a vital attraction for James, there is no evidence that they wholly ruled out more serious affairs. The King frequently issued royal proclamations from his country palaces, and for a period in 1612 served as his own Secretary.[19] In 1607, the Venetian Ambassador reported that though the King was far away, 'he is daily informed of the sittings of Council, and despatches by letter such business as cannot be delayed'.[20] In April 1609, James took advantage of valued and much-loved solitude at Theobalds to work on his *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*.[21] Although ambassadors were kept at a distance as much as possible, there are many instances of their being received at Theobalds, Royston and Newmarket.[22] It is clear that, for much of his reign, these three palaces were more home to James than Whitehall, Windsor or Hampton Court, and were regarded as far more significant than mere 'hunting lodges' or 'houses of abode'. They had become, in effect, the King's 'standing houses', and would have been kept furnished and supplied with provisions for much (if not all) the year round, a point which has never before been fully recognised.

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[16] This view has been reinforced by references such as that Dudley Carleton made in September 1604 to the King's going to Royston with 'only his hunting crew': Carleton Letters, p. 64 (21 September 1604)

[17] In January 1613, a letter refers to the King going to Royston 'with a small train of forty persons', and in September 1622 – on a visit to Buckingham's new house of New Hall, Essex – James 'confined his number to fiftie for overcharging the owner': Cal. SP Dom, vol. 9, p. 167 (14 January 1613); Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 452 (25 September 1622)

[18] On 29 November 1607, Sir George Chaworth wrote from Newmarket, 'I seldom or never, except uppon an extraordinary Cause, have knowne a greater court of Gentlemen then nowe is': Nichols James, vol. 2, p. 160. In winter 1616, the King apparently went to Newmarket with 'twenty earls and barons attending, and such a number of principal gentlemen' that it caused wonder how they could all lodge 'in that poor village': Parkes 1925, p. 226

[19] Proclamations 1973; Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 359 (17 June 1612). In this letter, Chamberlain notes that 'for all his [the King's] pleasure he forgets not business' (p. 357), while the following year the Venetian Ambassador stated that 'the King always sees the letters of his ambassadors, punctually dictates the replies, and completely controls all the affairs of State': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 13, p. 33 (27 August 1613)

[20] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 464 (8 February 1607). In 1618, the Venetian Ambassador similarly noted that, when in the country, the King received 'daily information from the Council, which meets generally in London, of what is taking place': ibid, vol. 15, pp. 388-9

[21] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, pp. 290-1 (26 April 1609)

[22] Indeed, the document authorising the transfer of Theobalds to the King in 1607 described it as 'a place … so comodious for the residence of his highnes Court, & entertainement of forraine princes, or there Ambassadors upon all occasions': TNA C89/10/55

Still, while James may have preferred to be away from the capital, he was very much aware of the importance of his presence in London and the south-east. For a large amount of May to July he was at Greenwich with Queen and court, and was almost always at Windsor and Hampton Court in September. He almost invariably returned to Whitehall (or at least to the south-east) for certain key points in the calendar: New Year, Epiphany (6 January), Candlemas (2 February), Shrovetide, Accession, Coronation or 'King's' Day (24 March), Easter, St George's Day (23 April), Whitsuntide, his birthday (19 June), the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot (after 1605), and Christmas (see Appendix 2). In addition, the King returned for important state business, such as the opening of Parliament, the visits of foreign princes or important ambassadors and officials, and for private, civic and court ceremonies and entertainments.

Indeed, the traditional image of James I as a king nervous of crowded public occasions is rarely borne out by events.[23] For instance, in May 1603 the Venetian Ambassador found the King at Greenwich thronged with 'such a crowd that I never saw the like even at Constantinople in time of peace. There were upwards of ten or twelve thousand persons about'.[24] Similarly, of his visit to Oxford in 1605, it was said that, 'The Nobility attending the King was very great'; for three days, James was entertained with orations, speeches and other entertainments, involving great crowds.[25] Some years later, on his return from his Scottish progress in September 1617, the King made a dramatic entry into London, and in May 1619 he staged a royal entry into the capital in celebration

[23] I think it is important to challenge the traditional view of James as a king who did not like to be seen by his people. There is a tendency to see James's progresses in such a light: if the King was not comfortable in being viewed by the public, then his regular travels must have been characterised by informality and made for private reasons – most obviously, enjoyment of the hunt. For instance, Alan Stewart, one of James VI/I's most recent biographers, has written that 'whereas Elizabeth on her lengthy summer processes [*sic*] had been followed … by her entire court including the Privy Council, James took off for the fields with only what one observer contemptuously dismissed as "his hunting crew" in tow'. Stewart, having emphasised James's informality, goes so far as to state that he 'was at heart a sixteenth-century King of Scots, ill-equipped to be a seventeenth-century King of England': Stewart 2003, p. 176 and p. 184. However, the evidence shows that, whilst James may have preferred to live in private with a few favourites, he was well aware of his duty as King and in many instances found great enjoyment in occasions such as formal entries and ceremonies. This is borne out above all by the itinerary of the King's reign (see Appendix 2), which includes many such events.

[24] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 39 (28 May 1603)

[25] Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 542. Apparently, this level of ceremony was instituted at the King's request: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 265 (10 August 1605)

of his return to health; John Chamberlain commented that 'yt seemes his only coming hither was to receve these applauses and gratulations'.[26] In 1624, Chamberlain wrote of James going to Parliament 'with greater shew and pompe, then I have seen to my remembrance'.[27] The King was a great lover of masques and plays, and was equally (perhaps even more) at home with exhibitions of scholarship; at Stirling in 1617, during a three-hour disputation argued by representatives of the University of Edinburgh, the King 'not only sat with great patience during the whole time, but was highly delighted with the performance'.[28]

For much of the year, King James and Queen Anne moved in different spheres. There are no known instances of the Queen spending significant periods at Newmarket, Royston or Thetford, though she often visited Theobalds.[29] Generally, the Queen – together with her household and court – remained based in the London area: usually at Greenwich, Hampton Court or Somerset House, though sometimes at Whitehall. At certain key points in the court calendar – for instance, Easter and Christmas – King and Queen would be reunited at Whitehall, and were almost always joined by the royal children. In addition, the royal couple usually spent May and June together at Greenwich. Prince Henry and Prince Charles seem similarly to have been based predominantly in the London area, usually at St James's, Richmond and Nonsuch. However, in his later years as Prince, Charles was frequently present on his father's stays in Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire, and – as shall be seen – both Queen and Prince regularly accompanied the King on summer progresses.[30]

[26] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 243 (5 June 1619)
[27] Ibid, vol. 2, p. 546 (21 February 1624)
[28] RPCS, vol. 11, p. 196 note
[29] Theobalds was nominally a palace of Queen Anne. This was because it was exchanged with Sir Robert Cecil for Hatfield, which formed part of the Queen's jointure. See: TNA C89/10/55
[30] To date, there have been no attempts to outline the itineraries of Queen Anne, Prince Henry or Prince Charles. I have made an attempt (a work in progress and therefore not included in this thesis), though there is a lack of detailed evidence in all three cases.

Royal Progresses in Early Modern Europe

A series of movements usually made in the 'grass season' from July to October, the royal progress was well-established by the time James I acceded to the English throne in 1603. It was largely a phenomenon of the early modern period, when the peripatetic nature of the medieval kings was replaced by a settled, more centralised court and the security of the realm was more assured. A long series of movements was increasingly limited to the summer months, and took on an identity of its own.

The benefits and uses of the progress for political purposes (further discussed on pp. 46-54) were quickly grasped by the Tudors. After his victory at Bosworth, Henry VII made an exhaustive round of progresses, reinforcing his authority in the provinces and impressing his subjects with displays of magnificence.[31] The progresses of Henry VIII were similarly of political significance. The King made a series of tours on coming to the throne in 1509; the following year, he journeyed through Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset, and in 1511 embarked on an extensive progress into the Midlands.[32] However, after this ambitious start, with the exception of a few notable journeys – for example, through southern England with Emperor Charles V in 1522, through seven counties in 1526 and to York in 1541 – Henry VIII's progresses tended to be more limited. They were generally confined to the home counties and the south-east of England and, whilst frequent, were not made every year, partly because of outbreaks of disease.[33]

Edward VI is known to have made at least one ambitious progress: in mid-July 1552 he set out from London with a train of around 4,000 horses.

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[31] For Henry VII's itinerary, see: Temperley 1917, pp. 411-419. This itinerary is not thought to be wholly reliable, but still provides an invaluable overview. A more detailed version has been compiled by Margaret Condon (see: Kisby 1999, p. 29, n. 1). For Henry's first progress (of 1486), see: Meagher 1968

[32] An unpublished itinerary of Henry VIII is held at The National Archives as OBS 1/1419. Neil Samman gives an itinerary of the King's movements in 1514-30; see: Samman 1988 (unpubl.), Appendix 1. See also: Samman 1995; Thurley 1992 (unpubl.), p. 323; and Bell 1991

[33] For instance, the gestes were abandoned in 1517 and 1528 due to an outbreak of sweating sickness, and the progresses of 1521 and 1535 were affected by outbreaks of the plague: Samman 1988 (unpubl.), pp. 36-7

Understandably, the retinue was quickly said to be too great – 'enough to eat up the country' – and was reduced to 'only 150'.[34] In early August, the train reached Portsmouth, then moved on to Southampton and Salisbury, and in early September returned to Windsor via Winchester and Reading.[35]

Much has been written about the progresses of Elizabeth I and their associated literature and iconography.[36] They have justifiably been seen as the pinnacle of the early modern progress; the like of the 1575 journey to the Midlands, which included the famed entertainment staged by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle, was certainly never to be repeated again. The Queen's motives in going on progress have been often and clearly given.[37] What has been more often overlooked is the sporadic nature of Elizabeth's journeys. The Queen made 23 summer progresses over the course of her 44-year reign; the most important and ambitious of these were made in the 1560s and 1570s, when Elizabeth was asserting – and later stabilising – her authority; in the 1580s, a decade of political turmoil, the Queen made only a single, limited progress.[38] Although Elizabeth's summer journeys were not always extensive, they were varied. None of her 23 progresses was quite the same, in terms of direction; for instance, the Queen went towards Hampshire in 1560, Kent in 1573, Staffordshire in 1575, Norfolk in 1578 and Gloucester in 1592. In terms of the actual houses visited, the Queen was famous for making last-minute alterations to the published gestes, a document which set out the intended route of travel (see p. 30).[39]

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[34] Jordan 1966, p. 137 (24 July 1552)
[35] Ibid, pp. 138-143
[36] The many works include: Nichols Elizabeth; Dunlop 1962; Wilson 1980; Dovey 1996; Cole 1997 (unpubl.); Cole 1999; and Archer, Goldring and Knight 2007 (especially Cole 2007)
[37] For instance, Jean Wilson has identified three major motivations: the removal of the court from London during the summer, partly on account of disease; the desirability of touring round 'congenial areas of the country' and visiting courtiers and members of the nobility; and the promotion of Elizabeth and her administration: Wilson 1980, pp. 38-9
[38] Elizabeth's progresses took place in 1559 (24 days), 1560 (25), 1561 (68), 1564 (47), 1566 (61), 1567 (11), 1568 (67), 1569 (49), 1570 (75), 1571 (45), 1572 (75), 1573 (72), 1574 (72), 1575 (139), 1576 (75), 1578 (74), 1579 (18), 1582 (17), 1591 (61), 1592 (61), 1597 (34), 1601 (29) and 1602 (13). See: Cole 1999, p. 206, while general maps of Elizabeth's progress routes are set out in: Cole 1997 (unpubl.). For the Queen's itinerary, see: Chambers 1922, vol. 4, pp. 75-116, and Cole 1999, pp. 179-206 (Appendix 2). As had been the case with her father, some of the Queen's progresses were affected by outside influences; for example, the 1602 journey was curtailed by poor weather and the threat of smallpox.
[39] In July 1576, Gilbert Talbot bemoaned that 'since my coming hither to the Court, there have been sundry determinations of her Majesty's progress this summer. Yesterday it was set down

The most notable aspect of Elizabeth's progresses is the emphasis she placed on private country seats.[40] Over 80% of her moves were to her subjects' residences, an emphasis which placed her in direct contrast to the policies of her father and grandfather, who stayed predominantly at royal and monastic houses.[41] In terms of the accommodation available to monarchs, the Reformation represented a crucial change: with the dissolution of the monasteries, attention shifted onto private country houses, and this was even more the case in the later years of the sixteenth century, with the decline in quantity and condition of English royal palaces.

The practice of progressing through the realm during the summer months was by no means limited to England and the Tudors. James V of Scotland was an enthusiastic traveller, and ventured to remote destinations such as the Highlands and the Hebrides; in 1536-7 he went to France to marry Madeleine de Valois, daughter of François I.[42] Indeed, James V's penchant for journeying was so pronounced that he more closely resembled England's peripatetic medieval kings rather than his contemporary and uncle, Henry VIII. Many of his journeys were driven by political considerations; for instance, pacification of the west and the Isles led to his trips to Argyll in 1533, the north in 1537, and –

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that she would go to Grafton and Northampton, Leicester and to Ashby … but late yesternight this purpose altered, and now at this present her Majesty thinketh to go no further than Grafton; howbeit there is no certainty, for these two or three days it hath changed every five hours': quoted in Somerset 1998, pp. 375-6

[40] It was commented in 1577 that the Queen made 'everie noble mans house … hir palace': Furnivall 1877, p. 270

[41] Cole 1997 (unpubl.), p. 3. It has been said that the itinerary of Henry VII was 'determined by the monastic geography of England', and that the King tended to be 'marvellously offended' by offers that he stay at houses of courtiers and the nobility, 'saying, "what private subject dare undertake a Prince's charge, or look into the secret of his expence?"': HKW 1982, p. 3, and Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 1, p. xxiv. Likewise, Henry VIII stayed only rarely with his subjects, though he regularly visited religious houses. Over the course of the period studied by Neil Samman – c. 1514-29 – Henry VIII made the most number of visits outside of royal palaces in 1526; even then, such visits represented only 31% of the total: Samman 1988 (unpubl.), p. 17. According to Kirsty Rodwell and Robert Bell, in the later years of Henry's reign, visits to non-royal houses declined in number, comprising only 10% of the total, although courtiers' houses represented 32% of visits made during the progress of 1535, the same percentage of visits being made to properties owned by the Church. The other visits made during the 1535 progress were to royal palaces (36%): Rodwell and Bell 2004, p. 190

[42] For maps of this and other of James V's trips, see: McNeill and MacQueen 1996, pp. 122-126. Andrea Thomas has shown that James V was 'constantly on the move … often staying no more than three or four days and rarely more than three or four weeks in one place': Thomas 1997 (unpubl.), p. 60, and see p. 63. This thesis contains some useful discussion, and also provides an itinerary for James V, 1525-42 (Appendix C, pp. 386-423).

James V's most famous journey – round the north of Scotland via Orkney to the Western Isles in 1540.[43] The King also undertook journeys to oversee justice, for religious purposes, for pleasure, and to show himself and his brides to the people.[44]

During the personal reign of James V's daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, the summer progress saw a fresh flowering (Fig. 24). Returning to her homeland from France in 1561, she immediately set out to see her realm, travelling to Perth, Dundee and St Andrews.[45] Mary made four further progresses, in addition to a number of hunting trips: in 1562 (to Aberdeen and Inverness); 1563 (the most extensive of her reign, taking in Glasgow, Inveraray and Dumfries); 1564 (to Inverness, Dingwall and Aberdeen); and 1566, following the birth of Prince James in June (taking in Dumfries, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Perth and St Andrews). Mary also made several journeys in 1565 in an attempt to gain public support for her marriage to Lord Darnley. Thus, in a period of no more than five years and nine months, she visited all of Scotland save the Northern Isles, the Hebrides and most of the Highlands; this was a remarkable achievement considering the poor state of the roads and the adverse weather conditions.

The motives behind Mary's progresses were, as might be expected, largely the same as those uppermost in the minds of the Tudors; her travels gave her the opportunity to see and be seen, provided the chance to hunt, and gave her subjects the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty. As with James V, Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth, Mary was often driven by political considerations; the progress of 1562 had something of the air of a military expedition, as the Queen pursued the traitorous Earl of Huntly and Sir John Gordon. The fact that a large proportion of the Scottish government accompanied Mary on her progresses, including a usually full Privy Council, emphasises their state significance.

[43] McNeill and MacQueen 1996, p. 124
[44] Ibid
[45] For details of this and other progresses, see: Furgol 1987. In an accompanying appendix (fiche 1; C3), Furgol has compiled an itinerary for Mary, a successor to that published in Fleming 1897, pp. 515-543. See also: Breeze 1987. Maps of the routes of Mary's progresses are given in: McNeill and MacQueen 1996, pp. 131-2. The earlier edition of this work contains discursive text: McNeill and Nicholson 1950, pp. 86-7. It has been estimated that Mary spent nearly half her life in Scotland in the saddle, touring her dominions: Fraser 1969, p. 178

Given the connections between England, Scotland and France in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a brief consideration of French practices may be illuminating. Regular journeys around their realm appear to have been considered vital by French monarchs, though they were not known as 'progresses'; the word 'campaign' was more widespread in a country then dominated by warfare. Henri IV, in particular, spent long years in the saddle, and by the time of his death in 1610 had an unrivalled knowledge of his kingdom. The King used regular journeys as a means of upholding royal authority and impressing royal splendour upon the populace.[46] Such practices were continued by his son, Louis XIII, who in 1614 set out for western France with his mother and a substantial retinue. Such an extended trip was to become 'a trademark of his reign, making him the most traveled and most accessible ruler within France of any French king'.[47]

So far, only the predecessors and contemporaries of James I have been considered to ascertain similarities and differences in practice. Do the British monarchs who followed him also cast light on the singularity of his travels? Charles I is, for obvious reasons, of particular interest and importance. Just as James's accession in 1603 heralded a change in court routine, so did the coming to the throne of his son in 1625. Charles had regularly accompanied his father on summer progresses, and clearly understood their importance and benefits. As King, he seems to have undertaken such journeys every year between 1625 and 1640, and was accompanied by Queen Henrietta Maria on at least five occasions.[48] Particularly notable were Charles's progress to and from Scotland in 1633 and his Midland progresses of 1634, 1636, 1637 and

[46] Buisseret 1984, p. 94 and p. 148. For more information on the buildings which accommodated the French kings during their travels, and the preparations made, see: Boutier, Dewerpe and Nordman 1984, pp. 132-5, and Chatenet 2002, p. 24

[47] Moote 1989, p. 54. Louis' 1614 'campaign' lasted from 5 July to 16 September. For the route, see Moote's Map 2. Like his father, Louis maximised the opportunities the 'campaign' provided for ensuring obedience and loyalty and encouraging peace; see: Moote 1989, p. 55 and Maps 2 and 3

[48] There has been no previous attempt to compile an itinerary of Charles I. This statement is based on a summary itinerary I have put together, using the evidence of the *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic*, and the Caroline accounts of the Royal Works (TNA E351/3239-3258). This work is ongoing, and I hope to publish it at some point in the future.

1638.[49] However, on the whole, the King based himself largely in or near London, and many of his progresses were informal in nature and limited in extent, focusing on houses in the home counties (west and north-west of London) which he had visited as Prince; for instance, Beaulieu, Tichborne and Broadlands.[50] Of the travels Charles did make, there was little in the way of routine – a notable sea change from the practices of his father.

After the Restoration, the royal progress was revived; monarchs who chose to traverse England included Charles II, William III and George IV.[51] However, the Civil War and Interregnum represent a clear distinction between the sporadic, often brief and comparatively informal travels of the later Stuart and Hanoverian monarchs and the organised, elaborate progresses of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The English royal progress was never again to reach the height it had enjoyed under Elizabeth and James.

The Progresses of King James VI in Scotland (1567-1603)

There is, of course, a whole other sphere of context which must not be overlooked: the practices of James during his reign as King of Scotland. This is an area which has, to date, been very little studied, the account given below therefore including new research. However, even a cursory look at the movements of James VI and his court is enough to illuminate his progresses in England.

[49] For the progress to Scotland of 1633, see: Balfour 1825, vol. 2, pp. 193-204. Apparently, this progress had been postponed a number of times, having first been planned in 1628.
[50] The view of Charles I as a king who was largely London-based has been challenged in an article by Mark Kishlansky (Kishlansky 2005, especially pp. 62-69), who argues that Charles was very well travelled and that he was often on public display. However, to illustrate this point, he chooses certain atypical years to look at in detail (for instance, 1625-6 and the King's progress to Scotland in 1633), and considers Charles's itinerary in isolation, without comparing it to those of Elizabeth I and James I.
[51] For instance, William III made a short progress through England from October to November 1695. The houses he visited included Althorp, Castle Ashby, Boughton House, Welbeck Abbey, Warwick Castle and Burford Priory. It was William's only progress in the country; see: Kiste 2003, pp. 190-1, and Trevor 1836, vol. 2, pp. 274-6

The regular journeys of James's grandfather and mother, James V and Mary, Queen of Scots, have already been outlined. As a young king, James would have been very much aware of such court traditions, their uses and benefits. As has been noted, unlike other early modern courts in England and Europe, the Scottish court and household remained largely peripatetic in the sixteenth century. Scotland's monarchs divided their time largely between the palaces of Holyrood, Stirling, Linlithgow and Falkland, but also made regular use of royal houses further afield.[52] James, once set up with his own court in 1580, followed suit; he moved, for the most part, between the four palaces mentioned, in addition to Dunfermline (which formed part of the jointure of Anne of Denmark) and Dalkeith (a private house belonging to the Duke of Lennox from 1581).[53]

We have seen something of the passion James VI/I had for the hunt. In Scotland, as in England, this was to serve as an impetus for regular trips to the country, though these were not necessarily one and the same as a summer progress. David Moyses, who served in the household of James VI, states that in 1580 'his majesty appointed to begin a progress upon the 23rd of May; and first to pass out of Stirling to Tullibardine, and then forward thro' the country towards Dunnotter, the earl of Marishall's house, at the farthest that year; and he be accompanied with a sufficient number of his ordinary counsellors during that whole progress'.[54] In contrast, James went hunting in Athole in 1582 'accompanied only with the Earls of Athole and Gowry, and his own guard'.[55] By 1586, Moyses could speak of the King making 'his ordinary progress of hunting from Falkland to the west country', a trip which took place usually in August.[56] Three years later, Moyses refers to James's 'ordinary pastime of hunting to Inchmereny';[57] in 1590 the King 'passed out of Falkland to his accustomed progress in the west', first to Inchmereny, then to Hamilton, Stirling and back to

[52] Juhula 2000, p. 16
[53] Dalkeith had been a much-favoured destination of royalty for generations; James IV met Margaret Tudor there, and it later served as a temporary home for James V and his court: ibid, p. 133. The present Dalkeith Palace dates largely from c. 1702-11; very little is known about its immediate predecessor, built by the Earl of Morton in 1575.
[54] Moyses 1755, p. 43. Moyses' manuscript provides invaluable information, in chronological order, of James's movements whilst in Scotland.
[55] Ibid, p. 62
[56] Ibid, p. 110. See also: McKean 2001, p. 124
[57] Moyses 1755, p. 158

Falkland;[58] and in 1593 James journeyed to 'his accustomed hunting at the forest of Stirling, and then to Inchmerreny, and from thence to Hamilton, according to his custom'.[59]

The picture Moyses gives is typical of James's single-mindedness and sense of regularity. In Scotland, his routines – in summer, at least – appear to have been so established and widely known that they sometimes posed a threat to his life. On 23 August 1582, an attempt was made to capture the King by the Earls of Mar and Gowrie; they seized him at Ruthven, on his return from hunting.[60] Two years later, another conspiracy was discovered; James was to have been taken whilst hunting, and carried either to the Merse or to one of the Western Isles.[61] Most treacherous of all was the Gowrie Conspiracy: on 5 August 1600, 'being daily at the buck-hunting, (as his use is in that season)', James was lured to St Johnston (Perth) and nearly killed.[62]

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conclude that James's summer journeys were invariable and solely focused on the hunt. The King was keenly aware of the importance of the display of royal magnificence – he wrote in *Basilicon Doron* (1599) that 'a king is as one set on a stage, whose smallest actions and gestures, all the people gazingly doe behold' – and used the opportunities presented to him; for instance, he was accompanied to Inchmereny and Hamilton by the English Ambassador in 1584, and in 1599 was joined on progress by the French Ambassador, Monsieur Biron.[63] James is known to have journeyed comparatively widely, venturing as far north as Inverness, Fortrose and Cromarty, south to Dumfries and Carlisle, and west to Dumbarton (Fig. 25).[64] On two occasions, he expressed the desire to go beyond his usual circuit into the Highlands and the Western Isles; on his first attempt, he was thwarted by a lack of provisions, and on the second he went no further than Glasgow and

[58] Ibid, p. 173
[59] Ibid, p. 209
[60] Ibid, p. 62
[61] Ibid, p. 94
[62] Ibid, pp. 265-6. For full details of the Gowrie Conspiracy, see: Arbuckle 1957 (I) and (II)
[63] James VI & I, p. 49; Moyses 1755, p. 99 and p. 264
[64] See the map of James VI's progress destinations before 1603: McNeill and MacQueen 1996, p. 133

Dumbarton.[65] After his marriage in 1589, he would sometimes be accompanied by Queen Anne. In 1591, for instance, he was with Anne when she made her public entry into Perth.[66]

Particularly after the Ruthven Raid of 1582, James seems to have used his progresses as a means of ensuring peace and loyalty. The fragmented and unruly nature of Scotland had long been a concern to its sovereigns; large portions of the country were cut off from each other, and local feuds were often more important than the dictates of central government. Direct, physical access served to suppress potential divergence and encouraged trust in the nation. Following the rising of the north country lords in 1589, the King declared that he would pursue those noblemen 'to the farthest part of Scotland, till he had reduced them to his obedience'.[67] James rode to Perth, then immediately on to Dundee, Brechin and Aberdeen, accompanied by a force of 2,000 men. All the barons in the area were called before the King's Council and moved to subscribe a bond of obedience.[68]

There is a lack of detailed information about James VI's stopping places whilst on progress, but it is clear that he stayed regularly at the houses of Scottish courtiers and noblemen as well as at his own palaces. Dalkeith has already been mentioned. The regularity of the King's visits to that house is quite remarkable; over 50 meetings of the Privy Council were held there between 1578 and 1604.[69] Other private houses visited by the King include: Hamilton Palace (Earls of Arran); Tullibardine (the Murrays); Alloa (Earls of Mar); and Kincardine near Auchterarder (Earls of Montrose). On progresses to the Borders and East Lothian, he stayed at Dunglass (Lords Home) and Seton (Lords Seton), and when hunting in West Lothian he is known to have visited Calder House (Lord Torphichen) and Hatton House (the Lauder family).[70]

[65] Willson 1956, p. 119
[66] Moyses 1755, p. 177
[67] Ibid, pp. 150-1
[68] Ibid, pp. 151-3
[69] Juhula 2000, p. 133
[70] McKean 2001, p. 124

From this study, it seems quite clear that James VI's Scottish itinerary set the direct precedent for the King's general itinerary in England. Although the practices of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I were obviously also of importance – specifically, the houses and palaces that were chosen as summer stopping points, and the places they were based on state occasions – the progress had declined in England by 1603, Queen Elizabeth not having made regular journeys since the 1570s. However, while Elizabeth was based primarily in the London area during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, James was travelling widely in Scotland, and established a fixed, annual routine involving visits to country seats, made both for pleasure and political purposes. When the King arrived in England as James I, these journeys were continued and elaborated.

The Jacobean Progress in England (1603-25)

This study – notably the compilation of James I's itinerary (see Appendix 2) – has shown that the King made a summer progress every year of his reign, a fact which makes him unique in the modern history of England. If one includes the King's progress south from Scotland in 1603, he made a total of 23 progresses over 22 years, the same number as that undertaken by Elizabeth I in a period double the length. Two of these voyages were to/from Scotland (1603 and 1617).[71] The others divide neatly between western progresses, towards Wiltshire and Dorset (1603, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1618, 1620, 1622, 1623) and Midland progresses, towards Northamptonshire and beyond (1604, 1605, 1608, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1619, 1621, 1624) (see Figs 1 to 23).

Despite their regularity, James's progresses have been largely dismissed by historians as journeys made solely for hunting. In the standard political history of a generation ago, it was stated that 'the solemn progresses of Elizabeth gave way to the hurriedly arranged hunting parties of which James was inordinately

[71] The King intended to make further visits to Scotland; for instance, in 1606, 1607, 1621 and 1622. However, these voyages never came to pass.

fond'.[72] Meanwhile, Roger Manning has stated that 'for James I, a royal progress was first and foremost a hunting holiday'.[73] More recently, Mary Hill Cole has written that 'James I preferred hunting to public spectacles on progress and lived in royal houses and hunting lodges', while 'Elizabeth chose to make her travels into more public occasions by staying in her subjects' houses'.[74]

The research carried out for this thesis calls such statements into question. Although hunting was a key objective, widely noticed by contemporaries, James's summer progresses served many other purposes (discussed on pp. 46-54) and incorporated many of the features familiar from Elizabeth's travels, a fact borne out by John Nichols's seminal work of 1828.[75] James I made royal entries into towns such as Coventry, Leicester, Stafford and Oxford, occasions that were staged with immense pomp and involved large crowds. He was welcomed and entertained on progress with a constant stream of speeches, poems, masques, plays and dances, a fact made patently obvious by works such as the volumes of John Nichols and John Adamson's *The Muses Welcome* (1618).[76]

Such occasions were, admittedly, out-numbered by the King's hunting activities. James's love of the sport was so widely known that hosts and civic officers prepared hunting opportunities as a kind of welcome or offering. For instance, in 1603, on the King's approach to Burghley House, 'live haires in baskets [were] carried to the heath, that made excellent sport for his Majestie'.[77] However, this emphasis on sport did not mean that the King avoided staying with his subjects. Henry VIII, whose progresses were similarly dominated by hunting, stayed most commonly at his own palaces, and James – though possessed of fewer houses – could have found royal accommodation in most parts of the country. Instead, the balance shifted dramatically the other way, a fact noted here for the first

[72] Davies 1957, p. 263
[73] Manning 1993, p. 201
[74] Cole 1999, p. 26
[75] Nichols James
[76] Nichols James, and Adamson 1618. The latter gives the texts of poems, speeches, etc delivered to the King during his trip to Scotland in 1617.
[77] Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 94

time: of the visits James I made on progress throughout his reign, around 71% were to private country seats, 17.5% to royal houses, 8% to towns, 3% to bishops' palaces, and 0.5% to inns.[78] This was a continuance of the policy operated by the King in Scotland, and was to remain largely constant until his death in 1625.[79]

The monarch's hosts were almost always of exalted rank or social standing. Mary Hill Cole has shown that a large proportion of the visits made by Queen Elizabeth were to the homes of Privy Councillors. In addition, almost half of her hosts had served as justices of the peace, sheriffs or MPs; many of these were also officers in the royal household.[80] Likewise, James I's hosts were invariably members of the landed nobility and upper gentry, and were usually courtiers, household officials or other office holders, and figures associated with the Tudor courts and households. Favourite hosts included: Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (of Beaulieu), Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; Sir Anthony Mildmay (of Apethorpe Hall), son of Elizabeth's Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir Edward Hoby (of Bisham Abbey), William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke (of Wilton House) and Sir Benjamin Tichborne (of Tichborne), all of whom served as gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.[81]

The royal progress did not dominate the life of Queen Anne in the way it did that of her husband. She seems to have been left free to choose whether or not to

[78] This figure is approximate, but shows the ratio dramatically. It is based on the overnight visits made by the King on all of his summer progresses, with the exception of those to/from Scotland (1603, 1617). James I made around 400 visits over the course of his reign: 284 were to private country seats, 70 to royal houses, 31 to towns/town castles, 13 to bishops' palaces, and 2 to inns. The popularity of private seats on James I's progresses must, to a certain extent, have acted as a cost-saving exercise, as is thought to have been the case with Elizabeth I; where a member of the royal family stayed at a private house, their host was generally responsible for defraying costs such as those associated with food and entertainment. For a good example of hosts defraying costs during a royal progress, see: TNA AO1/2022/1 (accounts of Queen Anne's voyage south from Scotland in 1603)

[79] That said, the ratio does shift subtly. James tended to stay more often at private country seats during the early part of his reign; such visits totalled 90% during the progress of 1603, 91% in 1604 and 83% in 1605. The years 1619 and 1622 were low points at 57%. At the end of the King's reign, the ratio varied between 61% (1621 and 1624) and 77% (1623). The decline after the early period of James's reign undoubtedly reflects the acquisition and use (during progresses and at other times) of Theobalds, Royston and Holdenby.

[80] Cole 1999, p. 26

[81] William Herbert was also Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall (from 1604) and Lord Lieutenant of Somerset and Wiltshire (from 1621), while Benjamin Tichborne was formerly Sheriff of Hampshire (or Co. Southampton).

accompany James, unless required by reasons of politics or health to be present; for instance, she joined the King in 1603 both to see her new realm and to escape the plague. James was probably content for the Queen to be absent on occasion; it served to cut costs, and left her available to carry out important business.[82] That said, such travels were still a fundamental part of the Queen's court calendar – a point made here for the first time – reflecting her fondness for hunting and entertainments and her grasp of the political value of the royal progress. In all, Anne accompanied James for the entirety of six summer progresses (1603, 1605 and 1607-10 inclusive), and was present for part of the journeys in 1611, 1612, 1615 and 1616. On six of these progresses (1608-12 inclusive, and 1616), King and Queen were joined by the Prince of Wales.[83]

Queen Anne also made a number of progresses in her own right. In 1603, Anne, Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth progressed south from Scotland separately from the King.[84] Later, the Queen progressed towards Bath four times: in 1612, 1613 (twice) and 1615. The entertainments staged for Anne were magnificent; they included the performance of a play by Thomas Campion at Sir William Knollys's house at Caversham, and a naumachia at Bristol. Although these journeys seem largely to have been made with the Queen's health in mind, there were other motives. In 1613, for example, following the deaths of Prince Henry and Sir Robert Cecil and the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, Anne would have been anxious to stabilise her position and demonstrate her independence.[85] Certainly, her progresses had their own

[82] Whilst on progress in 1604, the King joked about the Queen presiding in London, forming 'a feminine court in the old fashion': Akrigg 1984, p. 234. With the approaching departure of James in 1617, John Chamberlain even suspected that 'she dreames and aimes at a Regencie during the Kings absence in Scotland': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 47 (4 January 1617)

[83] The Prince of Wales – first Henry, and then Charles – was present on the progresses of 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611 (for part of the way), 1612 (for part of the way), 1616 (for part of the way), 1618, 1620, 1621, 1622 and 1624. James made seven progresses alone (without the Queen and Prince) – in 1604, 1606, 1613, 1614, 1617, 1619 and 1623.

[84] Detailed accounts for this voyage survive: TNA AO1/2022/1 and TNA E351/2798. Mark Brayshay has stated that the journey 'was clearly planned as a means to bind Crown and country', and that it 'was intended as a memorable pageant and spectacle to be witnessed by the provincial gentry and common people': Brayshay 2004, p. 17. Prince Charles made a separate journey from Scotland to Hampton Court in summer 1604; see: TNA AO1/2022/2

[85] James Knowles has argued that this progress also served to assert the Queen's distance and that Anne 'opportunistically used the Elizabethan echoes in the entertainments offered en route to stress her political and aesthetic divergences from the Jacobean court': Knowles 2003, p. 21

importance; in September 1613, the Venetian Ambassador found Anne at Wells with 'all the nobility of the province gathered together', noting that 'Because the king has never been here, all sorts of people hasten to see the queen'.[86] They were therefore complementary to the progresses of the King, promoting royal authority in different areas of the country. As well as Wells, James never visited Bath, Bristol or Warminster, all of which welcomed Queen Anne. Furthermore, the houses at which Anne stayed were not necessarily the same as those visited by James; for instance, in 1603 Anne lodged overnight at Wollaton (with Prince Henry and probably Princess Elizabeth), and in 1613 stayed at Reading Abbey, Longleat, Lacock Abbey and Siston Court, none of which are known to have been graced by the King's presence.[87]

The accommodation needs of the Queen and/or Prince were also separately considered on the occasions when they accompanied King James on progress. Not every house selected was capable of housing more than one royal, and so Anne and the Prince would often be lodged close by. The gestes and diet sheets of 1605 show numerous instances of this; for example, in early August, Anne was at Kirby Hall while the King was at Rockingham Castle.[88] Later, in August 1624, Prince Charles was lodged and lavishly entertained at Kenilworth Castle while the King was at Warwick.[89]

It is clear from contemporary texts that James, like Elizabeth, expected to be magnificently entertained during his summer progresses (a subject further discussed in Chapter 3). The success of such entertainments played a major part in making the journeys enjoyable for all concerned. However, the weather could have a significant impact,[90] and naturally disease was also a worry; many fell sick of the 'spotted ague' during the progress of 1624, the sudden death of the Duke of Lennox at Kirby Hall on 30 July throwing James into deep despair.[91] Other unexpected incidents are known to have occurred; in July 1609, for

[86] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 13, p. 36 (2 September 1613)
[87] For the houses which accommodated Anne in 1603, see: TNA E351/2798 and AO1/2022/1. For 1613, see: TNA E351/3247, and for 1615, see: TNA E351/3249
[88] TNA E101/433/3
[89] Nichols James, vol. 4, p. 996
[90] Ironically, James was reported in 1606 to be 'extremely out of humour with the sky for not raining, and thereby weakening the scent of his dogs': ibid, vol. 2, p. 99
[91] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 574 (7 August 1624); Nichols James, vol. 4, p. 985

instance, there was a devastating fire at the King's stable at Farnham Castle. James lost a hunting horse and all of his saddles, though the coach horses were fortunately spared, else 'wee had made a short Prograss'.[92] Some suspected it was part of a treasonous attempt on the King's life, forcing an outbreak of paranoia (or perhaps good-sense) to befall James. Just over a week later, at Beaulieu, the King issued a warrant commanding 24 armed men to be found locally and sent to guard him.[93]

Meanwhile, the business of state continued. On a number of occasions, the monarch held meetings of the Privy Council beyond the confines of royal palaces, a fact reflected by the presence of 'council chambers' at houses such as Compton Wynyates and Audley End.[94] However, James I's practice in this respect seems to have differed markedly from that of his predecessor. During his reign, meetings of the Privy Council were held almost invariably in or near London, though, as has been noted, a number of councillors accompanied him on progress.[95] Correspondence between the two groups – one static, one itinerant – was frequent, and was enabled by temporary postal networks (see p. 34).

In addition, King James regularly entertained ambassadors and other foreign dignitaries during his stays at country houses. In his reminiscences of England, former Venetian envoy Antonio Foscarini recalled two such audiences: 'When I went to see the King at Salisbury he sent his carriages twenty miles to meet me, lodged me and entertained me, had me at table with him … When I went to Apthorpe [Apethorpe Hall] his majesty sent Lord Hay to me and had me at table with him three days running; the royal carriage took me to him and he put one of the royal coaches at my disposal for some days'.[96] Sometimes, audiences took

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[92] Nichols James, vol. 2, p. 262 (letter of 24 July 1609 from the Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Salisbury)
[93] Ibid, vol. 2, p. 263
[94] The Privy Council registers for August and September 1592, for instance, show that Elizabeth I held meetings at houses including Bisham Abbey, Lydiard Park, Sudeley Castle and Rycote: APC, vol. 23, pp. 117-228
[95] This statement is based on a study of the surviving Privy Council books of James's reign. It should be noted that the records dating from 1 January 1602 to 30 April 1613 were destroyed in the Banqueting House fire of 1619, so a full understanding is impossible.
[96] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 400 (relation of England, late 1618). The latter occasion is seemingly referred to in Foscarini's letter of 19 August 1612, the ambassador noting that the King 'insisted

place outside. In 1619, the Venetian Secretary met James at Rufford Abbey 'after dinner in the garden, walking up and down', the King 'having made me pass the whole morning in hunting, and providing me with a meal in his own dwelling' (probably his own lodging).[97] More usually, however, such meetings took place within the state apartment. At Salisbury, in 1611, an ambassador found the King 'at the entrance to the chamber, surrounded by many great nobles'.[98] The following year, the Venetian envoy went to a house in the Midlands (probably Apethorpe Hall) to congratulate James on the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy, and 'waited on his Majesty close to his bedchamber'.[99]

Perhaps most evocative of all is the description set down in 1603 by the Venetian Ambassadors Piero Duodo and Nicolo Molin, an account which emphasises the fact that, during a royal visit, the state rooms of a country house functioned, in effect, as a royal palace. In late November of that year, they obtained an audience at Wilton, 'a palace belonging to the Earls of Pembroke', where King James was then staying. The pair recalled that:

> The King, Queen, and Prince stood at a window to see us cross the courtyard on the way to his apartments; all the other windows were full of ladies and gentlemen. We believe that our suites must have made a fine show, both for numbers, for variety of livery, for the robes of silk and gold, the crowd of gentlemen, not merely from Venice, but from other cities, all sumptuously dressed. The Presence Chamber was crowded. At the threshold we made our first bow, and repeated it again in the middle of the room. The King was dressed in a cloak, lined with zibellini … Surrounded by the Prince and his Council he came down the steps of the dais, hat in hand, and came to meet us two yards away from the canopy, gave us welcome, took our letters, and listened to the discourse I, Duodo, made, as brief as possible, for it was nearly night.[100]

A certain level of display was considered appropriate for such audiences, and it is clear that not all houses which accommodated royalty were able to meet the required standard – in size, if not in magnificence. In August 1614, King James

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that I should dine with him, and sent one of the royal carriages at once to meet me, with two of his gentlemen'. A few days later, he was taken in two of the royal carriages, attended by the same gentlemen, 'to another Palace hard by': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 409. This letter is full of interest, and clearly illustrates the fact that the King undertook business while on progress.

[97] Ibid, vol. 15, p. 591 (23 August 1619)

[98] Ibid, vol. 12, p. 198 (25 August 1611)

[99] Ibid, vol. 12, p. 410 (19 August 1612)

[100] Ibid, vol. 10, p. 116 (1 December 1603)

told the Venetian Ambassador that 'he would always be glad' to see him, 'but for five or six days he would not have very good quarters'.[101] Six years later, James met an ambassador in a garden at Salisbury, as 'the very small rooms elsewhere did not afford accommodation'.[102] Later the same year, an envoy remarked that James had refused to receive the ambassadors of France and Spain, 'the king being in narrow, one might say poor, quarters here, in the midst of his beloved forests'.[103] In 1624, the Marquis d'Effiat, French Ambassador, threatened to follow the entire progress, though James argued strongly that he should 'stay only some days to negotiate in places with good quarters'.[104]

While in the country, James and Anne tended to their spiritual as well as their corporeal needs, both regularly attending services.[105] These took place in one of two locations: within a country house (in the chapel, great chamber or perhaps even the hall) or in the local parish church or cathedral.[106] Tuesday is said to have been a particularly significant day for James I: as the day of the week on which he was delivered from both the Gowrie Conspiracy and the Gunpowder Plot, it was considered the King's 'lucky day' and was one which he observed 'without fail'.[107] The King also worshipped on Sundays, while the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy was a special cause for celebration, and was usually marked with the preaching of a sermon.[108]

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[101] Ibid, vol. 13, p. 182 (22 August 1614). On this date, which translates as 12 August in the old style calendar, the King was at Rufford Abbey and then moved on to Newstead Abbey (see Appendix 2).

[102] Ibid, vol. 16, p. 363 (14 August 1620). While at Salisbury, the King stayed at the residence of Sir Thomas Saddler. This survives as the King's House in the Close, opposite Salisbury Cathedral.

[103] Ibid, vol. 16, p. 412 (25 September 1620). The King was at the royal palace of Havering at this time (i.e. 15 September in the old style calendar).

[104] Ibid, vol. 17, p. 404 (2 August 1624)

[105] See, in particular, McCullough Calendar. There is also evidence that Charles I attended services on progress. Particularly interesting are draft letters of 1634 to the Bishops of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Coventry and Lichfield asking them to ready 'a supply of sermons' to be preached before the King in houses in their dioceses, the preachers themselves also to be chosen or approved: TNA LC5/134, p. 6

[106] The accounts of the royal Treasurer of the Chamber reveal numerous instances of 'making ready' in advance of a sermon or service; in summer 1620, for instance, Tottenham House, Breamore, Andover church, Salisbury Cathedral, Bromham and Beaulieu were all readied for sermons: TNA E351/544, ff. 115v-116

[107] Robson-Scott 1953, p. 85 and p. 84. On Tuesday 30 July 1605, for instance, James and Anne attended divine service at Hawnes (or Haynes): Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 520

[108] For example, on Sunday 28 July 1605 James and the court attended divine service at the parish church at Houghton (Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 520) and on Sunday 17 August 1617, Dr Morton, Bishop of Chester, preached before the King at Hoghton Tower (ibid, vol. 3, p. 400).

The Organisation of the Jacobean Progress

The statement that Jacobean progresses were 'hurriedly arranged' is easily disproven.[109] There is clear evidence to show that, in all cases, such journeys were painstakingly prepared and organised months ahead of time; the planning behind the progress to Scotland of 1617 was especially complex, beginning in February 1616.[110] This section will consider the process and procedures followed by the royal household in the Jacobean period, which resemble those employed during the reign of Elizabeth. Whilst the latter have attracted widespread attention, the former have not (aside from the work of John Nichols), and this section therefore introduces much new material, drawn from previously neglected primary sources such as the accounts of the Royal Works and the Treasurer of the Chamber. The preparations made by the owners of the houses concerned are discussed in Chapter 3.

The initial step in organising a progress was the preparation of the 'gestes' or 'jests', a document which detailed the proposed itinerary of the King (and sometimes the Queen and/or Prince), and gave the names of houses/towns, the nights of stay (number and dates), and the number of miles between stopping points. In the reign of Elizabeth I, the gestes seem to have been compiled by the Queen in collaboration with the Privy Council and the officers directly responsible for managing royal progresses: the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain.[111] There is nothing to show that this practice changed under James I, and – like Elizabeth – the King is very likely to have been involved in selecting parts of the country, if not specific houses, he wanted to visit.[112]

Bishop Lancelot Andrewes is known to have preached before James on 5 August in the years 1608 (at Holdenby), 1614 (at Burley-on-the-Hill), 1615 (at Salisbury Cathedral) and 1616 (at Burley once again): ibid, vol. 2, p. 203; vol. 3, p. 20; vol. 3, p. 97; and vol. 3, p. 20

[109] Davies 1957, p. 263

[110] The progress of 1617 has been described by R. T. Spence as 'a masterpiece of organization and improvisation by its professional officers, all the more commendable because of a severe shortage of cash in the treasury': Spence 1991, p. 44

[111] See, for instance: Collinson 2007, p. 126

[112] In August 1606, Sir Roger Aston reported how King James had just altered the gestes (HMC Salisbury, vol. 18, p. 252), while the Venetian Ambassador wrote of the 1619 progress that 'They say it will last a month longer than usual … as his Majesty wishes it so'; Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 574 (19 July 1619). The progress to Scotland of 1617 shows how forcefully James would have his own way in these matters. In 1616, the Venetian Ambassador described how James

The proposed direction and duration of each progress was affected by certain factors specific to the time, not all of which can be understood today.[113] Still, some details are known. For instance, the progresses of 1608 and 1622 seem to have been influenced by harvest failures, which made provisions unusually scant and precious. That of 1611 was certainly cut short because of the drought, and the Prince did not accompany his royal father for the whole progress, so easing the burden.[114] The fine weather of 1615 probably encouraged James to venture further west than he was ever to go again – to Lulworth in Dorset (see Fig. 14). In 1623 – with Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham in Spain – the King was reluctant to make firm plans; John Chamberlain reported that the progress 'wilbe westward, but how far is uncertain, for yt depends on the Princes return with his Lady'.[115] It seems likely that the extended and ambitious Midland progress of 1624 (see Fig. 23) was due in a practical sense to the long hot summer and politically to the need for display; negotiations were underway concerning the potential marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria of France. The fact that the French Ambassador, Marquis d'Effiat, was present for a large part of the progress seems to underline this.[116]

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was 'determined' upon the proposed trip, 'although neither the Scotch nor the English really desire it': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 14, p. 373 (8 December 1616). In late March, the whole Privy Council went down on their knees in an effort to dissuade the King from going, but he refused to change his mind: ibid, p. 476 (30 March 1617). In certain instances, the King seems to have been the driving force at more than just a general level. For instance, in a letter of 14 March 1617 (kindly brought to my attention by Michael Pearce), James instructed the Earl of Tullibardine to organise a regular delivery of rare Highland game at various points on his progress route between Durham and Berwick: HMC, 12th report, Appendix, part 8, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Athole and of the Earl of Home* (London, 1891), p. 10. Nonetheless, the major details of the progress were naturally left to the King's officers to work out. The key staff required to accompany the King to Scotland in 1617 were selected by the Lord Steward (household), the Dean (chapel) and the Master of the Horse (stable): Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 55 (22 February 1617)

[113] On the whole, political considerations did not hamper James in the way that they had his Tudor predecessors; the early seventeenth century was a period of peace for England in both national and international arenas. Nor was the King's routine greatly affected by outbreaks of disease. England was largely free from plague during the Jacobean period – especially between the years 1610-25; see: Creighton 1891, Shrewsbury 1970 and Slack 1985. Even during its most severe outbreak, in 1603-4, the King – strong-willed as ever – was 'impatient to wind up … business, so that he may set out on his progress, in spite of the advice of everybody, for no place is healthier than London': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 169 (21 July 1604), and see p. 165 (6 July 1604)

[114] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 162 (9 June 1611), p. 176 (7 July 1611) and p. 192 (4 August 1611)

[115] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 493 (3 May 1623)

[116] Ibid, vol. 1, pp. 570-1 (24 July 1624)

Like the progresses of the Tudor monarchs, almost all of James I's summer travels began in mid-July, though there were exceptions; for instance, the progress of 1606 was delayed by the visit of Christian IV of Denmark, and the six-month progress to and from Scotland in 1617 commenced in mid-March (see Appendix 2).[117] James's progresses ended almost invariably in early September, usually at Windsor. These 'beginnings' and 'ends' are made clear by contemporary writers such as John Chamberlain and the Venetian ambassadors. That said, the gestes seem to imply an even longer duration; for instance, those for 1622 begin on 29 June with a series of movements between royal palaces. The King was on his seventh remove, to Theobalds (16-25 July), by the time the progress was generally considered to have begun.[118] Similarly, the gestes can imply that the progress extended into September and even later. The distinction seems to be one of perception: in the mind of the public, the King's travels ended with his return to his own palaces, while for the royal household this did not necessarily make a difference.

Before the gestes were finalised, court officials called harbingers would inspect those houses under consideration and sum up suitability.[119] A warrant for this work was issued by the Lord Chamberlain. A typical example survives from 1614; it orders the officers of the King's chamber to visit and view the houses named in the gestes, 'to acquaint the Owners of them … with his Majs purpose to come thither', and to check that the neighbourhood concerned was 'free from the plague or other dangerous diseases'. After carrying out these duties, the harbingers were to return to the Lord Chamberlain and inform him 'in what estate you find the countrye, how conveynyentlie His Majestie may be lodged at the Houses mentioned, howe far distaunce is each Howse from the other, [and] what villages are neire them for the lodgynge of his Majestie's Trayne'. The Lord Chamberlain further instructed that, where houses named in the gestes 'be not sufficient to lodge his Majestie, I woulde have you to mention the next

[117] 18 out of the King's 22 progresses initiated in England were begun in mid-July. The exceptions were the journeys of 1603, 1606, 1607 and 1617.
[118] TNA SP14/133
[119] According to Elizabeth I's Household Book of 1600, the role of a 'herbinger' was 'to provide so oft as her Majestie removes, all the Queene's men, all lordes, ladyes, and cheife officers, [and] needful men, necessary lodgeing, if they be not lodged in Court': Ordinances 1790, p. 293

Howses to them, to the ende his Majestie may be better served'.[120] In 1617, as part of the preparations for James's Scottish progress, the inhabitants of one area were ordered to 'mak their lodgeingis and stablis oppin and patent to the … harburgieris to be seene be thame, to the effect thay may accordinglie designe and appoint the same for the noblemen and otheris of his majesteis tryne'. If they refused, they were to be detained and punished, and the doors were to be opened with 'his majesteis keyis'.[121] Once such issues had been settled, the gestes were presumably modified and completed, published, sent out to hosts and civic corporations, and generally disseminated.[122]

The appearance of the gestes – generally in mid- to late June – initiated a month or so of flurried activity, as people readied themselves for the visit of Crown and court. Farmers, merchants and tradesmen – such as brewers, chandlers, colliers and grocers – would have begun to amass provisions, whilst county and urban officials would have looked to the condition of the highways and the general appearance of buildings in town and cities.[123] For instance, in 1617 the Mayor of Stafford requested the people of the town to repair and paint the façades of their houses, sand their streets, and 'do any thing else that might cause the king to take notice of their loves and duties'.[124]

The officers of the royal household were also busy. Access to a secure system of communications was as crucial during the summer progress as it was during the rest of the year. By the early seventeenth century, a network of standing post rooms had been established along the arterial roads of England (Fig. 26), ensuring the fast, secure and reliable carriage of government

[120] Nichols James, vol. 3, pp. 11-12
[121] RPCS, vol. 11, p. 186. For a similar order, see p. 120.
[122] There are numerous examples of officials and courtiers writing to their friends or relatives, and enclosing a copy of the gestes; see, for example: Birch 1849, vol. 2, p. 174. They were also discussed; the Venetian Ambassador wrote in 1608 that, since the departure of the King, Queen and court, 'nothing has been discussed except the order of the Progress': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 11, p. 150 (16 July 1608)
[123] At Nottingham in 1612 a committee was appointed to survey the routes and to 'cause them to be made conveniently for his Majesty's passage': Nichols James, vol. 2, p. 461
[124] Ibid, vol. 3, p. 414

correspondence.[125] However, as the network did not cover all parts of the country, it was usually necessary during progress time to set up temporary ('extraordinary') post rooms on or close to the monarch's intended course of travel. Around five weeks before the proposed start date of the progress, the Post of the Court would be alerted of the intended route and provided with a warrant, authorising him to engage local men as temporary post masters in areas beyond the reach of the permanent communication network.[126] The records relating to the King's Midland progress of 1612 survive, and show that 18 extraordinary post rooms were set up, mainly in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire.[127] The Queen's progresses were dealt with in a similar way; for Anne's second trip to Bath in 1613, the Post of the Court was ordered to 'laye extraordinarie stages' between London and her destination.[128] Once the court had moved on and the posts were no longer required, they were disengaged by the Post of the Court, who was present for the duration of the progress. As Philip Harrison and Mark Brayshay have pointed out, this system was sophisticated, and indicates 'the ability of the Stuart state to plan and execute detailed transport and communication arrangements which belie the notion that the progresses of King James were hurried and disorganised affairs'.[129]

The issue of finances and cost was of particular importance in the weeks before the beginning of the progress. In the reigns of both Elizabeth and James, these summer travels involved a considerably outlay from the already over-burdened royal purse.[130] In 1612, it was said that the cost of the progress 'far exceeds that of the Court when in London or neighbouring places'.[131] Queen Anne's progress to Bath in 1613 – which lasted from late April until mid-June, and obviously involved just a single royal household – is said to have cost around

[125] These post stages also hired horses to royal and other messengers, and provided accommodation to general travellers and official couriers. For this and other information, see: Harrison and Brayshay 1997
[126] Ibid, p. 126 and note 40
[127] Ibid, pp. 127-9, and see: TNA AO1/1952/17
[128] TNA AO1/1952/17
[129] Harrison and Brayshay 1997, p. 127
[130] This point has frequently been overlooked by historians, who have placed emphasis on the expenditure of the monarch's hosts (on food and entertainment, for example). Although such expenses were far from modest, they paled in comparison with the financial outlay required of the royal purse to manage a single summer progress.
[131] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 411 (19 August 1612)

£30,000.[132] In order to raise money for the progress of 1619 (on which the King was accompanied by Prince Charles), James I was driven to the reluctant sale of a portion of the late Queen's jewels, which raised £18,000.[133] In 1624, the problem was even more acute: the Venetian Ambassador noted that the progress of that year was due to cost 'about £30,000 and impose a burden upon the country of about as much again', around 600 carts being required for the baggage.[134] Most expensive and elaborate of all was the King's progress to Scotland from March to September 1617 (see Fig. 16).[135] With only a week to spare before the King's departure, money was still being raised. The amount needed was vast – £100,000 – a sum finally lent to James by the Lord Mayor on behalf of the City of London.[136]

In terms of organisation, the King's progress to Scotland was the focus of frantic activity both in England and north of the border, and the records associated with it are particularly detailed. Game was carefully preserved in certain areas, roads were repaired, stables readied, carts and provisions amassed, speeches, plays, masques and other entertainments were written, gifts bought, and royal and other buildings were remodelled and beautified.[137] Both James and the Scottish people were anxious to impress. In December 1616, the King commanded 'that our houses (which by reason of our long absence are become ruinous and decayed) be repaired and meueabled in such decent and comely order as is requisite, so as the strangers and others who are to accompany us (of whom there will be great numbers of all ranks and qualities) may neither perceive any mark of incivility nor appearances of penury and want'.[138] The Privy Council

[132] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 446 (29 April 1613)
[133] Ibid, vol. 2, p. 249 (26 June 1619) and p. 251 (15 July 1619)
[134] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 18, p. 400 (26 July 1624). The ambassador reported that, 'They have devoted every day of late to trying to find money for his Majesty's approaching progress', though the gestes must have long since been agreed: ibid, p. 384 (12 July 1624)
[135] For more on James's progress to Scotland in 1617, see: McNeill and McNeill 1996, Spence 1991, and RPCS, vol. 11, pp. viii-xliii
[136] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 59 (8 March 1617) and p. 62 (15 March 1617). John Chamberlain's prediction that it was 'like to prove a very costly viage every way' proved accurate; in the middle of the year, a further 100,000 merks was requested, so that the progress could continue: RPCS, vol. 11, p. xxxi. William and Peter McNeill have estimated that the costs of the Scottish progress (i.e. those covered by the Scottish Exchequer, rather than those related to the English part of the voyage) totalled just over £200,000: McNeill and McNeill 1996, p. 49
[137] For this and other information, see: RPCS, vol. 11, pp. viii-xliii, and McNeill and McNeill 1996. A rough map of James's route appears in: McNeill and MacQueen 1996, p. 133
[138] Akrigg 1984, p. 354 (31 December 1616)

passed on the King's recommendations that lodgings were provided 'in the most handsome, civil, and courtly manner with good bedding, well washed and well smelled nappens, clear and clean vessels, of sufficient largeness, plenty of provisions and … the streets to be kept clear of "beggars and middings"'.[139]

Although the trip to Scotland was, in all ways, an exceptional progress, the standard procedures followed in England remained generally in force. Following the completion of the gestes, lists ('rolls of the house') were drawn up naming the key officials and courtiers whose attendance upon the progress was considered essential. The size of the retinue which accompanied the King during the summer appears to have varied each year, and also varied over the course of the progress itself. It has been estimated that, on her greatest progresses, Elizabeth I had a train of over 1,000 people, while the number still totalled around 600 on more regular journeys.[140] On Anne of Denmark's arrival at Windsor in 1603, her train included 250 carriages, over 5,000 horses and at least 200 individuals,[141] while In 1617 the Privy Council of Scotland was told to expect no fewer than 5,000 people.[142] In reality, the King's train comprised less than 1,000 persons in that year, though it must still have been greatly impressive.[143]

Early in his reign, James reduced the number of carts used on progresses from 600 to 220.[144] This has been associated with the King's nervousness of crowds, but it can more accurately be seen as a cost-cutting exercise and a means of pacifying the masses.[145] Still, the measure was clearly not sufficient. In 1608,

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[139] Nichols James, vol. 3, p. 329
[140] Hibbert 1990, p. 132; Harrison and Brayshay 1997, p. 125
[141] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 63 (10 July 1603), and Brayshay 2004, p. 15
[142] RPCS, vol. 11, p. ix
[143] In 1617, the King is known to have been accompanied by a large number of household officers, the Bishops of Ely, Winchester and Lincoln, and the Earls of Richmond, Nottingham, Buckingham, Arundel, Pembroke, Montgomery and Southampton; see: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 13, p. 476 (30 March 1617); Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 55 (22 February 1617); and Assheton 1848, pp. 47-49. R. T. Spence estimates the number of household officers and servants to have totalled between 700 and 800, and notes that in Scotland 1,050 horses were needed to move the progress carts from one region to the next: Spence 1991, pp. 44-45. Even when the King made an unplanned trip to Dalkeith 'for his recreation and pastyme', 80 carts were required to transport his luggage: RPCS, vol. 11, p. 148
[144] Nichols James, vol. 1, p. xiii, and see Proclamations 1973, p. 141 (23 April 1606)
[145] In autumn 1603, a writer had complained that James was 'taxinge and overburdeninge the contrey with greater number of carts then hath bene convenent for the remove of his Majestie

the Venetian Ambassador reported that as 'Progresses have weighed very heavily on the counties where they have taken place, his Majesty has resolved that both the numbers of the suite and all other expenses shall be cut down'.[146] Even with this reduction, however, James's train would still have been substantial, and would have dramatically increased in years when the Queen and/or Prince were present, bringing their own associated households, courts and accoutrements. In August 1612, after the train of Prince Henry joined that of the King at Belvoir Castle, the suite was said to number 1,000.[147]

As James was so often away from London, his summer progress provided an invaluable opportunity for courtiers, the nobility and even household officials to see and speak to the King. In 1612, the Venetian Ambassador commented that, 'as the nobility and gentry flocked in from the neighbouring country, the Court has been crowded and much fuller than it is in London'.[148] Not all of the train had a right to be there; curious locals and travellers came to observe, and merchants tagged along, as did vagabonds and 'hangers-on'.[149] Apparently, James did not respond as graciously to such onlookers as Queen Elizabeth, although – as he generally travelled on horseback (or in horse litter), rather than by coach – he would have been readily visible.[150] It is clear that, whilst the progress was underway, London emptied. John Chamberlain frequently bemoaned the lack of summer gossip, while in September 1606 the Venetian

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from place to place, to the great trouble and prejudice of the poore inhabitants': Nichols James, vol. 1, pp. x-xi

[146] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 11, p. 150 (16 July 1608)

[147] Ibid, vol. 12, p. 410 (19 August 1612), and see: Nichols James, vol. 2, p. 453. In 1618, when Prince Charles was present, the King was 'followed by the whole court and by the Council': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 306 (7 September 1618). In that year, the Venetian Ambassador also noted that the court on progress was 'always followed by a swarm of vagrants, besides the kitchen in ordinary for his Majesty and the royal attendants': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 272 ('Angliopotrida', 19 July 1618)

[148] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 411 (19 August 1612)

[149] In 1619, the King stated that 'great inconveniences dayly happen by Our owne servants, & followers, by their entertaining of persons to follow them in times of Our Journeyes & Progresse, which afterward being turned off, doe neverthelesse loyter, and linger about Our Court, to the great dishonour of the same'. James ordered that entertainment was only to be given to those 'such as shall bee allowed and entred in the Roll for Our house': Proclamations 1973, pp. 434-5 (30 June 1619)

[150] The information concerning James's method of travel is provided by Mark Brayshay, who goes on to cite the words James supposedly spoke in York in 1603, with regard to his visit to the Minster: 'I will have no coach, for the people are desirous to see a king, and so they shall, for they shall as well see his body as his face': Brayshay 2004, p. 17 and p. 18, note 5; see also Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 80

envoy reported that, ‘The King is on his Progress … The City is empty, the Court away, and the members of Council at their country houses’.[151]

Even at its most basic, the royal train must have provided the people of the country with a remarkable and memorable show (Fig. 27). It has been described by R. T. Spence as ‘an immense moving market, second only in the size of its demand to an army on the march and far more eclectic in its tastes’.[152] In a poem celebrating Charles I’s progress of 1634, it was said that, ‘All crowd together in the press … Everything is aglitter, decked out with rare art … Wondrous splendour shines on every side’.[153] James I would have been accompanied by officers from numerous different household departments – for example, the yeomen of the guard, staff of the kitchen, the cupbearers, physicians, surgeons and gentlemen pensioners – together with clergymen, Privy Councillors, the Secretary of State (usually), members of the Bedchamber and Privy Chamber, musicians, players, various courtiers and their ladies, and, on many years, the King’s fool, Archie Armstrong.

Everything necessary for life at court was carried. Surviving documents from the reign of Charles I show that, in preparation for a royal progress, huge numbers of items were transferred from the great wardrobe to the removing wardrobe; these included carpets, window curtains, chairs, tapestries, beds, bedclothes and candlesticks.[154] The royal household also carried kitchen equipment, hammers, bolts, traverses, writing paper, ink, needles, thread, tents and tens of thousands of tenter hooks.[155] The royal crown had its own porter, and the train was accompanied by a corps of trumpeters, which heralded the King’s approach.[156] The progress train of coaches, carts and horses moved around the country slowly, covering an average of 12 miles a day, though sometimes as

[151] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 398 (6 September 1606), and see Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 613 (15 September 1615)
[152] Spence 1991, p. 45, and see p. 68
[153] Bryce and Raylor 1994, pp. 190-1
[154] TNA LC5/134, pp. 11, 24, 65, 171 and 314
[155] Ibid
[156] Harrison and Brayshay 1997, p. 124

many as 18.[157] The monarch avoided travelling on Sundays, which was factored into the gestes.

James, unlike Elizabeth, seems to have followed the gestes to the letter, unless serious illness, weather or matters of state averted his plans. This meant that the annual journey tended to run smoothly, with court, household and others all knowing the whereabouts of the monarch and his train.[158] When the progress of 1614 was interrupted by the unlooked-for arrival of Christian IV, King of Denmark, James did his duty and rushed straight back to London. However, as soon as he could civilly do so he rejoined the progress; at Apethorpe Hall, 'he overtoke his dogges that went on the ordinarie progresse', and by 4 August he was at Burley-on-the-Hill, as appointed in the original gestes.[159] Even the long and complicated journey to Scotland was made almost exactly as planned.[160] Sometimes, though, the route might vary in its detail. James is known to have made detours to see particular buildings; for instance, Pontefract and Lumley Castles in 1603 and Lea Hall, the home of George Calveley, in 1617.[161]

Throughout the progress, there was a general movement of household officers both ahead and in the wake of the main train. A week or more before the King (and, where relevant, Queen and/or Prince) arrived at a house, the gentlemen ushers and other chamber staff would be there, 'making ready' and 'apparelling' the royal lodgings, and overseeing other accommodation requirements (a subject further discussed on pp. 143-144). This work, according to the Jacobean accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, took the royal officers an

[157] Queen Elizabeth had used coaches from the 1560s, and they were common by 1601. Mark Brayshay has suggested that Queen Anne travelled in a royal coach for the majority of her progress south from Scotland in 1603, and notes that while the use of such a method of transport was not 'entirely novel', its use 'in such a lengthy journey appears to have been new'; he suggests that this 'reinforced and further popularised a new trend': Brayshay 2004, p. 11 and pp. 16-17

[158] In 1603, the King provided the Venetian Ambassador with an outline of his route, 'so that if I required to speak with him I could choose the most suitable occasion': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, pp. 83-4 (20 August 1603)

[159] See: Nichols James, vol. 3, pp. 13-20, and Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 553 (4 August 1614)

[160] The final version of the gestes for the progress of 1617 seems to be dated 10 March, only five days before the King's departure; see: TNA SP14/90, p. 200. For the gestes for the Scottish part of the trip, see: HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie preserved at Alloa House* (London, 1904), p. 80. I am grateful to Michael Pearce for drawing the latter document to my attention.

[161] Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 84, and vol. 3, p. 410

average of eight days if the monarch was to stay overnight, and two days if he (or the Queen) was just to dine.[162] Its nature is uniquely illuminated by a document of the reign of Henry VIII, set out in full here for the first time (Appendix 1). Working under the direction of the gentleman usher – whose orders derived from the Lord Chamberlain and, ultimately, the King – the group of officers furnished the state rooms with items including hangings, a great chair and cloth of estate. Alongside them, there would have been the locksmith, carpenter and other officers of the Royal Works, who are known to have accompanied the royal progress. They would have carried out necessary building works – putting up partitions and the like – and ensured the privy lodgings were secure.[163] Over the course of the progress of 1610, the locksmith Thomas Larkin carried out a total of eight days' work for the King alone.[164]

In some circumstances, it was necessary to erect temporary buildings; the Works accounts record the provision of temporary kitchens, and it was also common to see the erection of tents, used for surplus accommodation.[165] Almost invariably, such tents did not suffice, and further accommodation and stabling was found in neighbouring towns and villages. Lodgings may well have been altered specifically for the occasion; in 1637, Charles I's yeomen ushers were asked to identify some adjoining houses in the close at Salisbury 'whereof

[162] TNA E351/543 (1596-1612) and E351/544 (1612-27). With the exception of E. K. Chambers, I believe I am the first to draw upon the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber in elucidating royal progresses. These documents provide detailed evidence of the houses prepared for the King, Queen and Prince. They are extremely useful in making clear whether the monarch was to 'dyne' or 'lye' at the houses concerned, tend to give the name of the host, and total the amount of days the preparation took. The staff involved in 'making ready' are named; typically, they consisted of a gentleman usher, a yeoman usher, three yeomen and grooms of the chamber, two grooms of the wardrobe and one groom porter.

[163] See the accounts of the Royal Works for details: TNA E351/2339-3258. A typical reference comes from E351/3250 (1615-16), when the King's locksmith was paid 'for furnishing the kings privy lodgings with lockes, boltes, and all other necessary ironworkes in his progresse'. Separate locksmiths were allocated to the Queen and to the Prince. Very often, these 'ironworks' were lost or, where they could not be removed, abandoned; see, for instance: TNA E351/3248, f. 15v

[164] TNA E351/3244, f. 33v

[165] TNA E351/3248 (1613-14) records payment made to a carpenter 'for making xi kitchins for the Lord Chamberleyne at severall houses' during the progress. The accounts for the following year (E351/3249; 1614-15) similarly record the 'setting upp of xvii kitchens for the Lorde Chamberleyne at sondry the said places with boordes rafters boughs brickes lome and nailes'. See also TNA LC5/134, p. 70 (relating to the progress of 1635), which records the provision of tents and hales for the King's coachmen and coaches, the Vice-Chamberlain, the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, the King's waiters, and the violins and wind instruments. The year before, a tent had been provided for the Prince's players, commanded to attend the court during progress: ibid, p. 14

three or foure may bee pierced wth passages one into another & fitted for the reception of the King and Queene'.[166]

Closer to the time of the royal visit (at least five days beforehand), the harbingers would arrive and make a final check of accommodation, stabling, provisions and the condition of the highways. The preparations made in towns and cities were likewise checked by household officers in advance of the royal visit. It is recorded that in 1617, four or five hours before James's arrival at Stafford, his gentlemen ushers and other officers came to speak to the Mayor, to view the gift presented and to see how the welcoming party was dressed. They also 'instructed us for the place most convenient for the meetinge of the kinge'.[167] After the progress train had moved on – usually, at country houses, after a stay of between one and four nights – ushers and officers would remain behind to clear up and remove all royal furnishings and belongings.[168]

The Geographical Patterns of the Jacobean Progress

One of the most notable features of James's annual progresses – revealed by the compilation of a full itinerary (see Appendix 2) – is the regularity of their routes. The King went again and again over the same roads, visiting the same houses, towns and cities (see Figs 1 to 23). This tendency is particularly evident in the second half of his reign. The King's Midland progresses of 1619, 1621 and 1624 were, for instance, almost identical, as were the western progresses of 1618, 1620 and 1622. In this, James seems to be unusual, if not unique, though his practices in England form a direct continuation of those he had developed in Scotland (see pp. 18-22).

[166] TNA LC5/134, p. 156, and see also p. 169

[167] Nichols James, vol. 3, p. 414. The Crown reimbursed any payments made by the corporation to the royal officers; for instance, money was laid out by Stafford in 1617 on a long list of the King's staff including gentlemen ushers, daily waiters, sergeants at arms, grooms, pages and trumpeters: ibid, vol. 3, pp. 419-20, and see also p. 20

[168] These often went missing. For instance, in 1617 some of the silver plate sent from England to Scotland 'for serving of his Majesteis house during his aboade heir' was taken or mislaid; see: RPCS, vol. 11, pp. 132-3 and p. 170

Throughout the course of his reign, James I progressed in one of two general directions: to the west (through counties including Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset), and to the north (taking in Hertfordshire, Essex, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Oxfordshire). On the Midland progress of 1608, he also visited Gloucestershire, and seems to have reached the Isle of Wight on four occasions (1603, 1607, 1609 and 1611). Compared to the movements of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, this was remarkably ambitious.[169] Moreover, If one takes into account James's progresses to and from Scotland in 1603 and 1617, the picture given is of a king extraordinarily well travelled. In addition to the counties mentioned, James passed through Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, County Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire and Cheshire. The journeys through these northern terrains cannot have been easy; indeed, in 1617 the King considered avoiding the most inaccessible of them, though in the end he stuck stalwartly to his original plan, as set out in the gestes.[170]

Whilst it is entirely understandable that James did not venture to comparatively remote counties such as Cornwall and Shropshire, and never visited Wales, it is an interesting point that he never went on progress to Kent, Sussex, Suffolk or Norfolk, and only went twice into Essex (1605 and 1614).[171] The obvious question arises: what drove James I to visit some parts of England so often, and others rarely or not at all? It cannot be said to have been a shortage of suitable accommodation. There were plenty of fine, large houses which would have served King and court; for instance, Audley End (Essex), Knole (Kent) and

[169] Elizabeth only once ventured as far north as Staffordshire (1575) and never went further west than Bristol (1574). Mary Hill Cole has noted that the Queen generally travelled within 40 to 50 miles of London, and only ventured into secure regions: Cole 2007, p. 42. See the discussion and tables in Cole 1999, and the maps in Cole 1997 (unpubl.).

[170] John Chamberlain wrote in June 1617, while James was in Scotland, that the King 'meanes to return by the way that he went [i.e. via Yorkshire and Northumberland], for that the wayes of Cumberland, Lancashire and Cheshire are saide to be impassable for coaches, besides incommodious lodging and other inconveniences': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 79 (4 June 1617). In the end, the King returned by the route set out in the gestes, though his baggage was carried home via Berwick: RPCS, vol. 11, p. 160

[171] It should be noted that at least some of these counties were visited outside of progress time. Newmarket was in Suffolk, and James is known to have ventured beyond this much-loved palace to houses such as Sir John Croft's at Saxham Parva. The King visited Cobham Hall, Kent, in June 1604 and June 1622, and he also went to Rochester on a number of occasions, either to view the Navy or to accompany people leaving England.

Hengrave Hall (Suffolk). Politics, religion and the personal preferences of James, his officers and court must all have played a part, though there is little evidence to bear this out.

Nevertheless, there are two aspects of geography that are particularly striking, and which are here linked for the first time to James's progresses: sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps show a clear clustering of major post-horse routes and, even more importantly, forests and chases in the counties regularly visited by the King (Fig. 28, and see Fig. 26).[172] The former is notable, and emphasises the King's sense of duty with regard to state business; aside from his progress to Scotland, James generally travelled to counties which could be reached in 20 hours or less by royal posts using the principal Treasury-funded royal post routes.[173] On the other hand, the geographical connection with forests and chases is unsurprising, and again underlines the link between the King's progresses and his passion for hunting. The most notable collections of forests were in Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Dorset and Gloucestershire; they included Wychwood, Shotover, the New Forest, Chute, Gillingham, Bernwood and Windsor.[174] There was also Cranborne Chase, consisting of an area 100 miles in circumference and taking in towns such as Salisbury, Wilton, Shaftesbury and Blandford.[175] The East Midlands formed another densely forested area; indeed, it has been said that forests covered around a third of the region.[176] They included Sherwood, Leighfield, Charnwood, Rockingham, Whittlewood and Thorneywood Chase. In nearby Staffordshire and Derbyshire, there were the forests of Cannock, Kinver, Duffield and Needwood Chase. Even when the King journeyed north towards Scotland, he seems to have remained as close as possible to forests; for

[172] For post-horse routes, see: Brayshay, Harrison and Chalkley 1998, Brayshay 1991, and Harrison and Brayshay 1997. For forest and chases, see: Manning 1993, pp. 118-9 (maps 5.1 and 5.2), and Thirsk 1967, p. 4. There were no major forests further east than Hatfield, Essex, and only one in the area south and south-east of London (Ashdown, Sussex); the south-west was largely moorland.
[173] For some areas, such as Honiton (Devon) and Grantham (Lincolnshire), the journey time was more than 30 hours; see: Brayshay, Harrison and Chalkley 1998, p. 279
[174] John Chamberlain, in his letters, often refers to the forests when outlining James's progress destinations; in 1614, for example, he wrote of the King going 'forward into Bedfordshire, Northampton, Rutland, Leicestershire, Nottingham and to the Forrest of Sherwoode': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 549 (14 July 1614)
[175] Manning 1993, p. 100, and Hawkins 1980
[176] Thirsk 1967, p. 93

example, in August 1617 he stayed at Myerscough Lodge, Lancashire, connected to Myerscough Forest, and at York was in easy reach of Galtres.

As has been noted, James's tendency was to return again and again to the same houses. Like Elizabeth, he stayed predominantly in the country houses of courtiers and the nobility. Queen Elizabeth, however, was far more various in her choices, being welcomed by around 400 different hosts over the course of her reign.[177] She very rarely made progress visits to the same house more than three times, a fact which makes her seven progress visits to Lord Burghley's house at Theobalds all the more remarkable. The other houses that stand out in the Queen's itinerary are Reading Abbey (7 visits), Farnham Castle (6 visits), Rycote (5 visits) and Basing House (4 visits).[178]

James worked in an entirely different way. Of the 280 or so visits he made to country seats over the course of his 21 regular progresses, nearly two-thirds were represented by a group of just 32 houses, many of them comparatively modest in size.[179] The following gives an idea of the repetitive nature of his visits:[180]

13 visits:	Aldershot Manor (Hampshire)
12 visits:	Bisham Abbey (Berkshire)
11 visits:	Apethorpe Hall (Northamptonshire); Rycote (Oxfordshire)
10 visits:	Bletsoe (Bedfordshire)
9 visits:	Basing House (Hampshire); Beaulieu (Hampshire); Broadlands (Hampshire); Burley-on-the-Hill (Rutland); Castle Ashby (Northamptonshire); Kirby Hall (Northamptonshire)
8 visits:	Breamore (Hampshire); Cranborne Manor House (Wiltshire); Tichborne (Hampshire)
7 visits:	Grafton Lodge (Oxfordshire)
6 visits:	Rufford Abbey (Nottinghamshire); Wilton House (Wiltshire)

[177] Cole 1999, p. 26, and Cole 2007, p. 42

[178] For an alphabetical list of houses visited by the Queen, see Appendix in: Cole 1997 (unpubl.). For a chronological list, see: Cole 1999, pp. 180-202

[179] These figures do not take into account the houses visited by the King on his way to and from Scotland in 1603 and 1617. These were largely, and understandably, visits made on a single occasion.

[180] This list is selective rather than exhaustive, and refers to visits made during progresses throughout the King's reign (including those of 1603 and 1617). The figures are based on the research I have carried out in putting together an itinerary for James I (see Appendix 2). This is still a work in progress, and evidence of further visits may come to light.

5 visits:	Hawnes (Bedfordshire); Hinchingbrooke (Huntingdonshire);[181] Thruxton (Hampshire); Tottenham House (Wiltshire)
4 visits:	Broughton Castle (Oxfordshire); Rockingham Castle (Northamptonshire)
3 visits:	Burghley House (Northamptonshire); Charlton Park (Wiltshire); Dingley Hall (Northamptonshire); Lydiard (Wiltshire)

Towns and bishops' palaces have not been included, but it is worth noting that James – like Elizabeth and Henry VIII – greatly favoured Farnham Castle, visiting in 10 different years; his most-visited town was Salisbury (9 visits).[182]

Returning once again to the location of forests, it is interesting to note that several of the houses James visited regularly were associated with expansive hunting grounds. For instance, Apethorpe formed part of Rockingham Forest, Beaulieu was close to the New Forest, Rycote to Stowood and Shotover, and Cranborne and Wilton formed part of Cranborne Chase. Welbeck Abbey, visited by James in 1619 and 1624, had a famous deer park, as did Sudeley Castle, visited in 1608, and Ashton Hall, Lancashire, visited in 1617. Many of the King's hosts held offices relating to nearby forests: for instance, Francis, Lord Norris of Rycote, was chief forester of Stowood and Shotover Forest; William, Earl of Pembroke was lieutenant and principal keeper of Gillingham Forest; Sir John Byron, whose house at Newstead was visited twice (in 1612 and 1614), was an official of Sherwood Forest and Thorneywood Chase; and Sir Fulke Greville – whose castle at Warwick the King visited on four occasions (in 1617, 1619, 1621 and 1624) – was master of the game, keeper and ranger of Feckenham Forest and ranger of the royal park at Wedgnocke.

Nevertheless, other factors must have played a part in the selection of houses as progress destinations; for instance, accessibility and the standard of accommodation provided (the latter point is discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5). It may also be that certain places had proved traditional royal choices,

[181] Hinchingbrooke was especially popular: in addition to the 5 visits he made while on progress, the King went to the house at least 12 times, often in autumn (see p. 221). As has been noted (see p. 9), James visited Wanstead over 40 times, but only one of these visits (in July 1622) was made during a summer progress.

[182] James was at Farnham in 1603, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1618, 1620 and 1622; in all, he visited 13 times. He was at Salisbury in 1603, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1618, 1620 and 1623.

and were therefore both familiar and tried and tested; houses visited by both Elizabeth and James include Bisham Abbey, Loseley Park, Bletsoe, Dingley Hall and Wilton House, while Henry VIII and James both went to Thruxton, Hurstbourne, Bromham and King's Somborne.[183]

The Jacobean Progress: Motivation and Value

The information provided so far has shown that, although the King's love of hunting was a vital impetus behind his summer progresses, and determined chosen destinations to a certain extent, such travels were by no means made with this sole objective in mind. As has been noted (see p. 10 and pp. 27-28), the King carried out business while on progress, frequently issuing proclamations, and was never very distant from matters of state; for example, during his travels of 1612 the King gave serious consideration to the appointment of key household officers, and while at Brougham Castle in 1617 dealt with problems in the Borders. He was accompanied on his travels by a select number of Privy Councillors, who – having discussed matters with the King – would send instructions to their colleagues left behind in London; where need required, the whole Council was in attendance.[184] Where foreign business was concerned, there seems to have been no consistent approach. Sometimes, the King made himself as elusive as possible,[185] while on other occasions he went out of his way to ease communications; in 1603, for example, James

[183] There is specific evidence that associations were considered important. In 1636, Charles I's yeomen ushers were instructed 'to view & provide the best & most convenient houses & lodgeinges neerest to his Mats in all places, for the prince Elector Palatine & his trayne & particularly such houses as his Maty lay in when hee was Prince & in that progresse with King James': TNA LC5/134, p. 111

[184] During the progress of 1608, for instance, when there was rebellion in Ireland, it was reported that the King 'means to have the Council with him, as he does not think it right that it should be so far away at the present crisis': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 11, p. 153 (30 July 1608). In 1607, the Venetian Ambassador had noted that, 'The Council usually follows the King unless he goes privately on a party of pleasure, and then it stays with the Court, ordinarily in London': ibid, vol. 10, p. 514 (report on England by Nicolo Molin)

[185] On 12 September 1609, James wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that, 'I have been this night surprised by the Venetian Ambassadoure, who, for all my hunting, hathe not spaired to hunt me out heir': Nichols James, vol. 2, p. 264 (wrongly paginated 262). Seven years later, a Venetian envoy reported that, 'The other ministers of princes will not follow him [the King], except such ambassadors as are invited for pleasure and those who have to negotiate will be obliged to go and look for him in the kingdom, with such loss of time and other things as your Excellencies may well imagine': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 13, p. 246 (1 July 1616)

arranged for the ambassadors of France and Flanders to be lodged at Basing, close to his lodging while on progress, 'so that they may be handy for negotiations'.[186]

Even if it is assumed that recreation was the major impetus behind James's progresses, this activity in itself was far from insignificant. The King is known to have regarded hunting and other pastimes as serious matters and tools of state, and wrote of them in his *Book of Sports* (1618).[187] As Leah Marcus has noted, 'James I in particular tended to regard traditional English customs as an integral branch of his power'.[188] The King felt that they provided a useful release of tensions, and 'contented the peoples mindes', keeping them fit and 'more able for warre'.[189] His encouragement of, and participation in, such pastimes was 'a form of control that looked and felt like liberty'.[190]

The King would also have been acutely aware of other motives and potential benefits, known through his (and his forebears') experiences in Scotland and of those of his Tudor predecessors. One of the traditional reasons for the royal progress – that it allowed a monarch to get to know their realm and to be seen by the populace – must have been especially attractive to James I; unlike Henry VIII, Elizabeth I or Charles I, he looked upon his new kingdom with wholly fresh eyes, and – at least in the early years of his reign – must have been eager to explore it. This may also be the reason for his adventurous and extended journey of 1617; a welcoming speech made in Stafford that year made mention of the King's 'Princlie care to knowe his kingdomes and to be knowen unto his people' as the reason he had undertaken 'soe longe a pilgrimage'.[191] Such trips also allowed the monarch and the royal household and court to teach by

[186] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 83 (20 August 1603)
[187] The book took the form of a royal declaration, and was prompted by a petition presented to the King on 17 August 1617, during his stay at Hoghton Tower: see Assheton 1848, pp. 41-2. James noted the number of 'Papists and Puritans' in the county, and rebuked them for resisting popular pastimes. The declaration was issued at Greenwich on 24 May 1618, and was re-published by Charles I in 1633.
[188] Marcus 1986, p. 4
[189] Ibid, p. 6 and p. 112, and Govett 1890, p. 37. See also: Newcastle on Government, p. 227
[190] Marcus 1986, p. 8
[191] Nichols James, vol. 3, p. 417

example – to promote certain agendas and principles as they travelled the country.[192]

Furthermore, it was vital for the King to witness at first hand the problems that affected his country, so that he could ensure that they were acknowledged and (ideally) resolved. R. T. Spence has considered the progress of 1617 in this light, seeing it as 'an outstanding instance of consultative monarchy'.[193] Certainly, James was aware of the need to see and reward his subjects and officers in the country; in a speech made in the Star Chamber in 1616, he stated that 'for as God hath giuen me large limits, so must I be carefull that my prouidence may reach to the farthest parts of them'.[194] Later, the Duke of Newcastle recommended that the future Charles II adopt the summer progress as a means of caressing 'the greate ones thatt hath power in their severall Counties'.[195]

The upholding of peace and the security of the monarchy seems to have been another vital consideration behind the King's progresses, as had been the case with other monarchs. As James travelled south from Scotland in 1603, it was by no means certain that he would be welcomed by the English people. There were fears of riots and revolts; even before the death of Elizabeth, Sir Robert Cecil had taken the precaution of warning strategic fortresses and placing London under guard.[196] Initially, these fears appeared to be justified; the Bye Plot of 1603 aimed to dethrone the new King and remove some of his key officers. Even when his place as King of England had been widely accepted, James I continued to be the subject of such attempts. In June 1613, for example, a letter was left in a gallery at Whitehall informing James of 'a

[192] For instance, this is likely to explain the presence during the progress of 1621 of the royal silkworms and their keeper (Harrison and Brayshay 1997, p. 125 and note 39). James was a vigorous promoter of the silk industry in England, ordering lord lieutenants and other county officials to sell mulberry trees to all landowners: Peck 2005, especially pp. 1, 73-75, 91-93 and 99

[193] Spence 1991, p. 88. Spence notes that James's great political achievement in Cumbria was the strengthening of the Middle Shires administration, which was 'the oucome of a deliberate policy of initiating local participation in the decision-making process'; he points out that, except on progress, this would have been difficult.

[194] James VI & I, p. 221

[195] Newcastle on Government, p. 226

[196] Willson 1956, p. 158. James I's hereditary pretensions to the English Crown were only ratified by Parliament in March 1604.

treasonable practice against his majesty's own person, to be put into execution the 4th day of the next month, as he went a-hunting … or otherwise, as they should find their opportunity'.[197] Most famous of all is the Gunpowder plot of November 1605.

Such concerns were hardly new to James; he had lived his whole life in Scotland under the constant threat of attack and rebellion, and a number of plots were very nearly successful (see p. 20). In England, as in his native land, he dealt with such traitors promptly, savagely and publicly, and worked actively to ensure the obedience and love of his people. By making his presence (or, as appropriate, his absence) felt, he helped to reinforce royal authority and stability. It is notable in this context that the King's hosts included numerous figures who held (or had held) the positions of sheriff and justice of the peace, officers he described as 'the kings eyes and eares in the countrey';[198] for example, Sir Edward Watson, Sheriff of Northamptonshire, who lived at Rockingham Castle, and Sir Oliver Cromwell of Hinchingbrooke, who was Sheriff of Huntingdon and Cambridge. By visiting such individuals, as well as lord lieutenants, the King openly displayed his favour, helped to encourage a sense of order, obedience and loyalty, and strengthened the (vitally important) system of local government.

The King's hosts also included figures who were or had previously been seen as political threats or religious divergents; for example, Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, and Lord Mordaunt of Drayton. In such instances, it must have been invaluable to directly observe a person in their context, and the nature and scale of the King's reception could, in itself, be telling.[199] The visit also gave James a unique chance to channel the full force of royal power and might towards an individual, family or social unit, emphasising hierarchies and promoting social harmony. The selection of places and houses to visit must thus

[197] Birch 1849, vol. 1, p. 251
[198] James VI & I, p. 220 (Star Chamber speech of 20 June 1616). The King noted that, 'I hold a good Iustice of Peace in his Countrey, to doe mee as good seruice, as hee that waites vpon mee in my Priuie Chamber, and as ready will I be to reward him': ibid, p. 221
[199] This point has been picked up by Jules Lubbock, who has written of James's progresses as providing 'an inspection of the greater seats, with the aim of ensuring that the greater nobility were obeying government policy': Lubbock 1995, p. 59

have involved both practical and political considerations, and played a significant role in helping to ensure that the peace of the realm – which the King held so dear – was upheld.

Whether by chance or by inclination, the King almost always celebrated the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy (5 August) whilst on progress, a point recognised here for the first time.[200] At a superficial level, this was just another opportunity for feasting and revelry – the Venetian Ambassador noted in 1624 that the anniversary 'usually consists of unlimited drinking', it being declared a day free of 'work and labour' [201] – but it would also have conveyed warning messages and played a role in maintaining peace: an attempt on James's life, made whilst he was being entertained by key members of his nobility whilst he was at leisure, had failed, and the King was stronger for it. The security implications of progresses – the fact that they could offer traitors and plotters a chance of capturing the King – seem to have been viewed as secondary to the potential benefits in this area.

Another consideration in planning James's progresses would have been the importance of hospitality. This was a particular concern of the King's; he issued no fewer than seven proclamations ordering 'Gentlemen to depart the Court and Citie' and return to their country seats, and spoke emotionally about the subject in the Star Chamber in 1616.[202] Within weeks of his arrival in England, James had expressed his view that hospitality was 'exceedingly decayed'.[203] Later, the King criticised 'Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of qualitie' for living in towns and cities, rather than continuing 'the ancient and laudable custome of this Realme in house-keeping upon the principall Seates and Mansions in the Countrey'.[204] James emphasised that his service was 'neglected, and the good government of the countrey for lacke of the principall Gentlemens presence,

[200] There were only two exceptions to this: 1603 and 1606, when the King was at Hampton Court and Greenwich respectively.
[201] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 18, p. 414 (16 August 1624); 'The council's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury about celebrating the 5th of August yearly' (July 1603), in ed. Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England* (Oxford, 1839), vol. 2, p. 41
[202] Proclamations 1973, numbers 11 (1603), 23 (1603), 143 (1614), 158 (1615), 166 (1617), 235 (1622) and 241 (1623); James VI & I, pp. 226-7
[203] Proclamations 1973, p. 22
[204] Ibid, pp. 356-7 (9 December 1615)

that should performe it'; in particular, he noted the fact that the absence of lieutenants and justices of the peace from rural areas was leading to an increase in 'Roagues, Vagabonds and Beggers, and to the breeding of an unreadinesse in the Countreye'.[205] Thus, this concern of the King's derived in part from a concern about potential disorder and a desire to see harmony and stability in the countryside, an extension of his commitment to the upholding of peace nationwide.[206] By carrying out regular progresses and visiting private seats, James would – in his mind – have helped England to regain her former position in terms of hospitality, and restored (even temporarily) the responsibility great land owners owed to their estates, the poor and local government.

Conventionally, royal progresses have been seen as unpopular with the masses and a drain on the country's resources. There are many oft-quoted complaints from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Though seemingly less common during the Jacobean period, it is no surprise to find that they continue. For instance, in 1608 John Chamberlain noted that 'the progresse holdes on toward Northamptonshire, as unwelcome to those parts as raine in harvest, so as the great ones begin "*remuer mesnage*" and to dislodge … and divers other gentlemen devise errands other wayes'.[207] Often, the unenthusiastic reaction was due to particular hardships caused by the weather or by illness.[208] The royal purveyors were a particular cause of concern (see p. 9). In a proclamation, the King noted that these officers were known to take up 'farre greater

[205] James VI & I, pp. 226-7; Proclamations 1973, p. 357

[206] Heal 1990, pp. 118-9. See also: Stone 1965, pp. 392-3 and pp. 397-8. James I himself stated that 'if insurrections should fall out (as was lately seene by the Leuellers gathering together) what order can be taken with it, when the countrey is vnfurnished of Gentleman to take order with in?': James VI & I, p. 226

[207] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 260 (7 July 1608). By 1618, the Venetian Ambassador could write that, 'The inconveniences of his [the King's] constant journeys inflict an intolerable burden upon the country, which has to provide carts and carriages for all the necessities of the court, which being numerous, amount to a great deal. The nobility is exhausted by constantly following the king about, and is discontented': ibid, vol. 15, p. 420 (relation of England of Piero Contarini, late 1618)

[208] In July 1615, John Chamberlain noted that the King's progress to the Midlands and the Queen's to Bath 'comes yll to passe for those countries they are to go thorough [*sic*], who made petition to be spared this yeare in respect of the hard winter, and hitherto extreme hot and drie summer': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 610 (20 July 1615). Similarly, in June 1612, the Corporation of Leicester wrote to the Earl of Huntingdon that 'many of the inhabitants thereof, by reason of the late sickness with us, are not able to perform that to his Majesty with their purse which their hearts much desire to do … to provide themselves to repair and beautify their houses, amend their streets, bridge, and highways to his Highness' good liking': Nichols James, vol. 4, p. 1084 (Appendix)

quantities of Provisions for our House and Stable, then ever came or were needful for our use (as most especially in Wood, Coale, Hay and Carriage upon our Progresse journeyes or removes:)'.[209] Carts were freely taken, causing James to command officers not to 'take up any carts or carriages for any Nobleman, Gentleman, Artizan, or others whatsoever, not being our servants in ordinary & necessarily for that time to attend us'.[210] From the 1590s on, many counties compounded to be free of purveyors by paying an annual cash sum.[211]

Nevertheless, the many benefits of royal progresses are too often overlooked, and are reflected in the Duke of Newcastle's advice to Charles II that they be revived, representing a politic way to 'please' the 'People both Greate and smale'.[212] Superficially, they meant that areas were (even temporarily) kept clean, tidy and relatively free of 'vagabonds'; roads were repaired and buildings were repainted and elaborated, and efforts at maintaining order would have been stronger than usual. Furthermore, progresses gave people of all ranks an opportunity to see the monarch, whilst courtiers, the nobility and the upper gentry had much-valued access, with chances of presenting suits and petitions and asking favours. For a large part of the year, the household and court centred on London, and rural areas were largely excluded from news and trends. Even given its disadvantages, country people must have been fascinated by the Jacobean progress train, which brought with it colour, fashion, music, art, literature, gossip, wealth, status, and a chance to observe admired and perhaps notorious figures at first hand.

Economically, even taking into account the vast resources depleted by the court on progress, James's summer travels must have been beneficial, at least to the merchant classes, a point which has never before been adequately appreciated. When the monarch and his retinue were nearby, tradesmen such as bakers, brewers, butchers, chandlers, weavers, wood-mongers and innkeepers are all

[209] Proclamations 1973, p.137 (23 April 1606)
[210] Ibid, p. 138, and see p. 141
[211] Nichols James, vol. 1, pp. xv-xvi
[212] Breight 1989, p. 148

known to have dramatically increased their prices.[213] Sometimes, craft was used to deceive buyers; commodities were hidden or laid aside 'to diminish the Market', and weights and measures were manipulated.[214]

For many members of the nobility and gentry – not necessarily just those who hosted Crown and court – a royal visit brought the opportunity of increased status and a range of rewards, including gifts, grants of money and land and appointments to positions of influence. It is well known that James substantially increased the number of knights in England and Scotland; John Chamberlain scoffed in 1617 that 'there is scant left an esquire to uphold the race'.[215] A great number of these creations took place whilst James was on progress. Those knighted generally included hosts, members of their families, their neighbours and prominent local men.[216] During the progress of 1624, the King even knighted six of the Frenchmen in the retinue of the French Ambassador.[217] By this means, the benefits of the royal progress were dispersed across a wide geographical area, and even reached beyond the shores of Britain. Such rewards must have been much sought after, a fact which helps to explain why hosts were so competitive.

Increasingly, James's progresses became an opportunity to demonstrate royal magnificence and splendour. The King's journeys became, if anything, more ambitious in the years before his death – reflecting, no doubt, the political negotiations then underway regarding the marriage of Prince Charles. Ambassadors would frequently be present, and would relay their experiences to

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[213] James bemoaned the fact that during progress time 'our Nobilitie, Servants, and Traine … are unlawfully exacted upon with unreasonable and extreme Prices by the said Victualers, enhaunsing the same Victuals, Horsemeate, Lodgings, and all other necessaries, at a more deere Price then it was sold for before our coming in Progresse': Proclamations 1973, p. 86 (10 July 1604)

[214] Ibid, p. 87. The King commanded that market prices were certified by his clerk of the market or his deputy, and fixed, so that no-one, regardless of their status, was to pay more for items or lodging. This was clearly ineffectual, for James was forced to issue similar proclamations in 1613 and 1619: ibid, numbers 133 and 182

[215] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 79 (4 June 1617). The King also created in England 3 dukedoms, 1 marquessate, 32 earldoms, 19 viscounties and 56 baronies: Nichols James, vol. 1, p. xxxii

[216] For instance: Sir Oliver Cromwell (at Hinchingbrooke in 1603), Sir Charles Gerard, the host's nephew (at Ashton Hall in 1617); Sir Henry and Sir Beauchamp St John, the host's two brothers (at Bletsoe in 1619); and Sir Anthony Colley, Sheriff of Rutland (at Burley-on-the-Hill in 1621): Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 99; vol. 3, p. 395 and p. 557; and vol. 4, p. 710

[217] Ibid, vol. 4, p. 994

their governments. In 1612, the King is known to have impressed the Venetian Ambassador, Antonio Foscarini, who wrote that:

> in the course of this journey, which covers more than a hundred miles from London, I have seen the most beautiful, rich and populous country that one could wish to behold. This confirms my opinion of the power of this Sovereign, for last year I saw almost as large a tract in the other direction and that too very rich. Everywhere that the King lodged there have been found truly royal apartments … His Majesty's charges are borne by the owners of the houses where he lodges; their splendour, both on account of the number of servants and of the table with its decorations and its plate, off which every one eats, surpass all belief. The sumptuous food and the abundance of comfits which they consume is amazing; nor could the greatest monarch in the world, inside his own royal palace, shine with greater pomp. I was astonished ... [218]

The King's progress to and from Scotland in 1617 is the one voyage for which clear reasons are recorded. They are four in number, and surprisingly practical:

> [one] to introduce the Anglican religion there, as the Scots almost universally follow the Puritan type … [two] [the King] wishes to reacquire possession in Scotland of the guardianship of minors, which he previously sold … [three] [he] wishes the administration of justice in the country, now in the hands of perpetual sheriffs, to be managed in future on the English model … [four] to see the accounts of his income, which have never been revised since his first visit … From all this it is clear that the king's object is to unite the two nations as much as possible and render them uniform in religion, government and everything else, so that in time he may hope for a more perfect union of hearts and perpetual tranquillity and peaceful dominion for his successors.[219]

These motives are a far cry from the pleasures of hunting, almost the only area of James's progresses that has hitherto been ascribed any importance. They, and the other information set out in this chapter, go some way to showing that in motivation, extent, frequency, organisation and content, James's summer progresses were as significant, and possibly more influential, than those carried out under the Tudors, and were of considerable importance to the English country house.

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[218] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 411 (19 August 1612). The Venetian Ambassador was similarly impressed in 1613; the King urged him to see yet more of the country (England and Scotland), 'so that you may be able to inform the republic how great is my power, and that they may rely upon it': ibid, vol. 13, p. 32 (27 August 1613)

[219] Ibid, vol. 14, p. 477 (30 March 1617)

CHAPTER TWO

State Apartments in Royal Palaces of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

This chapter sets out to explain the development, planning and function of state apartments in royal palaces, with two main aims in mind: the identification of potential sources of influence upon Jacobean state apartments (both in English royal palaces and English country houses), and the gaining of a greater understanding of the planning and use of such apartments. By studying the state suites known to James VI/I, it may be possible to establish what he expected of state apartments in houses of courtiers and the nobility when visiting on progress. Thus, the state apartments known or closely linked to James VI/I and his court form the focus here. The countries which will be considered are as follows: France, of major relevance to the development of Scottish architecture, in particular; Scotland, a country in which James lived for 37 years; Denmark, which James visited in 1589-90 and which was the homeland of his wife, Queen Anne; and finally England, James's home from 1603.

Discussion of ducal and papal apartments, seemingly not of direct relevance to James's own sphere of experience, falls outside the remit of this thesis. Additionally, although the royal apartment and its use inevitably raises questions about the English royal household, this subject will not be examined here, as it has already been much explored by historians.[1] Instead, particular prominence has been given to issues of access.[2] This helps to emphasise the fact that there was a strict etiquette and hierarchy in the use of state rooms, and helps to provide a sense of how apartments in country houses would have functioned during a royal visit. The focus is the suite of chambers outlined in the introduction (see p. 1). The place of the chapel has not been discussed; although its use was linked to that of royal apartments, it is not considered as being part of such suites in planning terms.

[1] See, for instance: Starkey 1973 (unpubl.); Starkey 1977; 1987b; Cuddy 1987a; Cuddy 1987b; and Cuddy 2000

[2] For a general discussion of access, and of its importance as a political tool, see: Weiser 2003, pp. 5-23

The starting point for any study of royal apartments has to be Hugh Murray Baillie's article 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', published in *Archaeologia* in 1967.[3] Baillie – who aimed to treat palaces 'not as empty architectural shells but as machines for living in' – described his subject as 'a vast but neglected one', and, on the whole, it has remained so.[4] Even today, Ballie is the only scholar to have attempted a comprehensive comparison of European arrangements.[5] The planning, function and use of royal apartments in Scotland, France and England has only been fully analysed since the late 1980s, while in the other countries covered by Ballie's work – Germany and Spain – the study of royal planning remains in its infancy, and this is also the case with regard to Denmark.

What a study of European royal apartments makes clear is that all are innately similar, and developed along comparable lines.[6] Inter-marriage between royal families, and a fundamental similarity in the structures of royal households, had their impact, though each country, monarch, court style and period brought their own peculiarities to bear on arrangements, style and use. From a core of only two or three main chambers, the apartment expanded – during the sixteenth century, in particular – as differentiation in function became more and more important and royals increasingly sought privacy. At all stages in their development, state suites – which constituted the heart of a palace – served three inter-related roles: they provided a stage for ceremonial and state business, they were the focus of the court's social life, and they incorporated the monarch's private accommodation.

[3] Baillie 1967
[4] Ibid, p. 199
[5] Where royal apartments have been looked at in detail – in Scotland, for example – they have been considered largely within a limited context. Guillaume 1994 is one of the few works to achieve international coverage, yet the papers themselves remain nationally specific, and only Guillaume's introduction attempts an overview (Guillaume 1994, pp. 7-10).
[6] State suites in royal palaces seem to have developed contemporaneously in countries such as England and France from at least the fourteenth century: Guillaume 1994, p. 8

FRANCE

Thanks to surviving documents including household ordinances, letters, accounts and contemporary plans, a great deal is known about the royal buildings of France. Furthermore, although many have been demolished, some of the most important French royal seats survive, even if altered; these include Fontainebleau, Chambord, Amboise, St-Germain-en-Laye, Villers-Cottêrets, the Louvre and the Luxembourg. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the external design of French palaces has long been a subject of study, while there has been a flourishing of interest in planning and function since the 1980s.[7] Much of this work – produced by historians such as Monique Chatenet and Jean Guillaume – is outstanding for its integrated approach, drawing upon building analysis, documentary research, and historical and social investigation, much having been written about the French monarchy, the royal household and court ceremonial.[8]

However, while the approach of present and recent French architectural historians may be comprehensive, the chronological coverage is not. The majority of works focus on the Valois dynasty – in particular, François I (1515-47), Henri II (1547-59), his Queen, Catherine de Médicis (1519-89), and their sons, François II (1559-60), Charles IX (1560-74) and Henri III (1574-89).[9] For the early Bourbons – Henri IV (1589-1610), his Queen, Marie de Médicis (1575-1642), and their son Louis XIII (1610-43) – the material is more limited.[10] The palaces of Louis XIV (1643-1715) – most notably Versailles – have been the subject of widespread interest, but fall beyond the remit of this thesis.

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[7] Guillaume 1994 comprises a set of papers delivered in an important symposium (held in 1988)

[8] Chatenet 2002 can be seen to represent the most extended exposition of this approach, while Boudon and Blécon 1998 is an outstanding study of a single building. Other work includes (on architecture): Chatenet 1987; Chatenet 1990; Chatenet 1992b; Guillaume 1985; Guillaume 1993; Riboulleau 1991; Thomas 1993; and Whiteley 1992, and (on court ceremonial and the royal household): Boucher 1982; Chatenet 1992a; and Solnon 1987. Robert Knecht's work on François I is of special note from the historical and biographical point of view: Knecht 1978; Knecht 1984; Knecht 1994; and Knecht 1996, especially p. 181ff

[9] All of the dates given for monarchs in this chapter are for their period of reign. However, for queens, birth and death dates are given.

[10] Architectural studies of early seventeenth-century palaces are almost non-existent, writers choosing instead to concentrate on town-planning initiatives (for example, Babelon 1991), although Galletti 2003 is an exception.

General History

By the mid-sixteenth century, the culture of French monarchy had long been innately different from that of most other European sovereignties. In France, close access was consciously and widely encouraged and seen as one of the most distinctive features of the monarchy's style of rule.[11] People from all levels of society were able to gain entry to royal palaces, as all distinctions of rank were considered to disappear in the presence of the French monarch; favour took precedence over claims of family and blood. This principle appealed to some French monarchs more than others, but was upheld by all.

Many of the palaces in which royal life was enacted during the period under study were built or altered by François I, who, like his contemporary Henry VIII, was enthusiastic about architecture. Among the buildings that he reworked were the Louvre (1528-30) and St-Germain-en-Laye (1539-c. 1547). Like the future James VI/I, François was a great lover of hunting – a pastime used to justify his extensive remodelling of Fontainebleau – and was responsible for a series of buildings which have been termed *châteaux de chasse*; the most important of these were Chambord (begun 1519), Madrid (1528-48) and La Muette (c. 1542).[12]

Henri II, like his father, was a passionate builder, and a lover of hunting. He continued François' work at the Louvre, built the Château-Neuf at St-Germain (begun 1557), and made significant additions to other palaces, such as Fontainebleau. Henri also took a close interest in the building work of his mistress, Diane de Poitiers, especially at her Château of Anet (1548-55) (see

[11] There was a tradition that between French kings and their subjects there existed 'plus grande conglutination, lien et conjunction de vraye amour, naïfve dévotion, cordiale concorde et intime affection, qu'en quelconque autre monarchie ou nation chréstienne': Chatenet 2002, p. 110, quoting François I's preamble to an edict of 1523. See also: Gaston Zeller, *Les Institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1987), p. 97, and, for more on French familiarity, Baillie 1967, pp. 182-3

[12] See: Boudon and Chatenet 1994, p. 71, and Chatenet 2002, p. 301. The *châteaux de chasse* seem to have been reserved for the King and his 'petite bande', and provided François with a retreat from the business of state; ambassadors and even certain household officers might be denied access.

Fig. 27).[13] Likewise, the Queen, Catherine de Médicis, had keen views on architecture; among the works she commissioned were the Tuileries, Paris (begun 1564), and the rebuilding of Chenonceau (from 1576).

On the whole, the political, civil and religious difficulties that marked the reigns of François II, Charles IX and Henri III were not conducive to building, though some important works were carried out (at Fontainebleau, for example). The initiation of large-scale architectural works was left to the first Bourbon king, Henri IV, whose greatest work centred on the development of Paris, though he also completed the Château-Neuf at St-Germain, added a gallery to the Louvre and remodelled Fontainebleau.[14] By the time of his assassination in 1610, Henri had restored to the Crown the power it had held under Henri II, though some of this work was to be jeopardised during the minority of his son, Louis XIII. Louis himself had little interest in the arts and architecture but, thanks in part to the patronage of his mother and to the enthusiastic building enterprises of his nobility, Louis' reign saw the flowering of one of France's greatest architects, Salomon de Brosse, whose works included the Palais du Luxembourg (begun for Marie in 1615).

As to the life and ceremonial that took place within French palaces, there is little direct evidence about the period before the mid-1570s. Of the latter date is a letter from Catherine de Médicis to Henri III, which constitutes the first official document to describe the daily routine of the French court.[15] The day began with the *lever*, which took place in the presence of the *grands seigneurs* and the principal household officers.[16] It was followed by a meeting of the private council known as 'Les Affaires', and with the transaction of important state business. At around 10am, the king made his way to mass, accompanied by his guards, the *grands* and courtiers. He then dined in public, an important event which was

[13] After Henri's death, Philibert De l'Orme wrote, 'All that I did at Anet was by command of the late king, who was more anxious to learn what was being done there than in his own residence': Williams 1910, pp. 251-2

[14] For information on Henri's building works, see: Babelon 1991; Batifol 1930; and Babelon 1978

[15] The letter is ascribed to 1576 in: Chatenet 2002, p. 344 (note 34). In the past, it has been dated – incorrectly – to the reign of Charles IX (specifically to 1563), even by Chatenet herself; see: Chatenet 1988, p. 20, and Chatenet 1992a, p. 134

[16] For these and other details, see: Chatenet 2002, pp. 112-133

followed at least twice a week by the granting of informal audiences. The afternoon was dedicated to socialising and pastimes, while supper – which the king took with the queen and other members of his family – was a rare moment of domesticity, though it was still, in theory, public. The end of the royal day came with the *coucher*, which took place in the presence of the *grands*.

Such ceremonial was formalised and developed under Henri III, who had seen in Poland what rigorous court rituals could achieve. In 1578, ordinances were drawn up fixing the King's daily routine in writing, and further regulations were drawn up seven years later.[17] These transformed the system of entrées set down in 1578 into a 'prodigieux ballet', as various officers and courtiers were arranged through an extended sequence of state rooms according to their rank, and moved from one to another in turn, according to certain actions of the King.[18] Very few people were permitted access to the *chambre royale*, and only members of *Les Affaires* were granted access to the cabinet.[19] At dinner, the table was surrounded by a 'barrière', while the King was personally protected by the 'Taillagambi', a band of bodyguards who 'must never go from his person'.[20]

The changes instituted by Henri III show that, unlike his predecessors, he dreamed of a monarchy magnified by distance.[21] However, even when his ceremonial was at its peak, Henri did not renounce the traditional French 'conjunction de vraye amour' which bound the king and his people and, despite

[17] The 1585 regulations have been published in: Griselle 1912, p. 1ff. Part of these regulations, and those of 1578, also appear in: Jestaz 1988, p. 117ff. A timetable of Henri III's day appears in: Boucher 1986, p. 51

[18] Chatenet 1992a, p. 137

[19] For more on this, see: Chatenet 2002, pp. 138-141. See also: Cal. SP Foreign, vol. 19, pp. 184-5 (9 December 1584); in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Edward Stafford wrote, 'The King beginneth to reform marvellously the order of his house, and maketh three chambers afore they come to his inner bed-chamber; in the first, gentlemen to be modestly apparelled; in the next, men of great quality; in the last, Princes and Knights of the Order of St Esprit, with himself when he cometh abroad. Into his private bedchamber nobody to be allowed, unless called in, but Épernon and Joyeuse, the Marshal Retz and Villequier … all others being quite cut off, not to come in but when they are called for'. See also: Potter and Roberts 1988, p. 339

[20] Cal. SP Foreign, vol. 19, p. 206 (28 December 1584). A barrier had first been introduced with the regulations of 1578, but had been removed on account of the hostile response: Chatenet 2002, p. 136

[21] The potential sources of inspiration for Henri's changes have been much discussed. It was recognised as early as the eighteenth century that England may have been significant; see the passage quoted in: Potter and Roberts 1988, p. 320. More recently, Monique Chatenet has seen it as 'likely' that Henri found his inspiration in Burgundian court etiquette, and specifically in the practices of Philip II of Spain: Chatenet 1992a, p. 138

their significance, his changes were not to prove immediately influential on French court practice. Henri IV was by nature informal, and – having won his crown on the battlefield – was anxious to win favour and to demonstrate continuity. The traditional policy of familiarity seems to have been embraced once more. Although Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, began to move once again towards a policy of royal distance, it was only with the reign of Louis XIV that the formalisation of ritual set down by Henri III took a firm hold.

The French State Apartment

Originally consisting of two main rooms, *salle* and *chambre*, the French state apartment expanded comparatively early: in the second half of the fourteenth century, Charles V's principal rooms at the Louvre numbered six.[22] The fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw a return to simplicity, a reflection both of an uncomplicated ceremonial and the placing of renewed emphasis on the royal policy of familiarity. Despite the magnificence of his court and the impressiveness of his building programme, François chose to live in a limited number of rooms, which each served several functions. At Amboise, St-Germain-en-Laye and *châteaux de chasse* such as Chambord, his lodgings comprised *salle*, *chambre*, and the smaller garderobe and cabinet.[23] This was also the case at Fontainebleau, although from the 1530s the King's suite was enlarged by the creation of a vast gallery, reserved for his own private use (Fig. 29).[24] Naturally, the King's expectations changed somewhat over the course of his life, although the form and extent of the royal lodgings underwent only minor change; the only development of lasting importance during François' reign was

[22] Namely, *salle*, *chambre a parer* (audience chamber), *chambre de retrait* (withdrawing chamber), *chambre du roi* (bedchamber) and two private chambers: Whiteley 1994, p. 49ff. These *logis* – a term found from the late 1400s – were accessed publicly via a grand external stair. Below the king's suite, which was at second-floor level, the queen was given similar accommodation; their innermost chambers were linked by a spiral stair. Mary Whiteley sees in this advanced arrangement a reflection of complex ceremonial and the influence of papal palaces, such as that at Avignon: ibid, p. 52

[23] Whiteley 1994, pp. 53-4; Boudon and Chatenet 1994, pp. 67-71; Chatenet 2002, pp. 162-171

[24] For full details of François' lodgings at Fontainebleau, see: Boudon and Blécon 1998, pp. 19-35. For a contemporary description of the gallery, see: SP Henry VIII, part 5, p. 484 (John Wallop to Henry VIII, 17 November 1540)

the creation of the cabinet, which took over from the garderobe as the place of royal retreat.[25]

On the whole, it seems that Henri II was content to live with the type of lodgings used by his father, although he was responsible for one important innovation: the addition to the state apartment of the *antichambre*, a room placed between *salle* and *chambre royale* (see pp. 65-66).[26] Especially notable among the King's works is the logis des Poêles at Fontainebleau, begun in the late 1550s and completed in 1566, following Henri's death; this, with its long suite of rooms placed en enfilade and of decreasing size, may have been inspired by the apartments of Roman palaces (Fig. 30). Charles IX was also responsible for important changes at Fontainebleau. The King increased in size and extent the private rooms provided for himself and his Queen, and also created a magnificent sequence of public rooms (completed by 1570) in the wing known as the Belle Cheminée (see Fig. 30).[27]

The next key development in the French royal lodgings came with the ceremonial changes of Henri III. In the provisional regulations of 1578, the apartment remained that of Henri II, with its five rooms: *salle*, *antichambre*, *chambre*, garderobe and cabinet. However, usage was varied, in line with new practices; the *antichambre* in particular played an important role in sorting those who had the right to enter the *chambre* and those who had to wait until the King emerged from his room. With the regulations of 1585 the sequence was transformed, in order to allow for the new system of entrées, groups of people moving successively from one room to another. Leading up to the *chambre royale* there were now to be four rooms: the *salle du roi*, *antichambre*, *chambre d'audience* and *chambre d'État*. The effect was royal distance, the King out of

[25] The real novelty of François' reign lay more in his choice of situation for the royal apartments, which were often placed close to gardens and boasted fine views. For instance, the King's new lodgings at Amboise, on the opposite side of the court from Charles's logis des Sept Vertus, overlooked a garden created by Pacello da Mercogliano.
[26] The room makes its first known appearance in a 1551 contract for the Louvre; it goes on to appear during Henri II's reign in buildings such as St-Léger and Amboise, as well as in three châteaux belonging to favourites, Anet, Beynes and Vallery.
[27] Boudon and Blécon 1998, pp. 67-70

sight and reach at the end of a long suite.[28] The 1585 regulations were also significant for the life of the queen. They stated that, from this time forward, the lodgings of king and queen should be at the same level and communicate via their inner rooms. Although this was already largely the case by the mid- to late sixteenth century, it represented an acknowledgment of the queen's status. However, despite their importance, Henri's regulations do not seem to have had an immediate impact on royal châteaux; most of the existing apartments were not large enough to allow for the creation of extra rooms.[29]

The Bourbon kings seem, on the whole, to have reverted to the arrangements of the mid-sixteenth century – *salle*, *antichambre* and *chambre*, followed by gallery and inner rooms – although there were developments. Notably, the early seventeenth century saw the further expansion and multiplication of cabinets, providing the Bourbon monarchs with a complex and extensive range of private rooms unknown to the Valois kings of the first half of the 1500s. Such suites were increasingly set in buildings boasting symmetry and grandeur, a point that is well demonstrated by the Palais du Luxembourg, built for Marie de Médicis in 1615-26 (Fig. 31). This features two grand identical apartments, placed on either side of a central pavilion containing staircase and chapel.[30]

The Rooms of the Apartment [31]

One key difference between French state apartments and their English equivalents lies in the absence of a ground-floor hall. In France, royal lodgings of the early modern period were preceded only by a stair – sometimes internal

[28] As has been stated, 'L'enfilade devient l'expression matérielle de la distance séparant les sujets de leur roi, un parcours initiatique aboutissant à la chambre, sorte de sanctuaire monarchique dont le lit, symbole de pouvoir et de justice, constituerait le tabernacle': Boudon and Chatenet 1994, p. 77. It seems significant that the word 'appartement' makes its appearance in the 1585 regulations, replacing for the first time the term 'logis'.
[29] Although it is known that a *chambre d'État* and *chambre d'audience* were fitted up at the Louvre in 1585, the creation of such rooms seems to have been only temporary; Blois, at least, did not contain these extra chambers when the King visited in 1588.
[30] See: Galletti 2003, pp. 124-34. Galletti asserts that the twin apartments were built for Marie and, in memoriam, for Henri IV, rather than for mother and son. The private rooms of each apartment were contained within two pavilions; this has been seen as provision for summer and winter, but Sara Galletti has argued that the Queen's rooms were public on one side and private on the other.
[31] The following discussion owes a particular debt to Chatenet 2002, p. 142ff

but more often external.[32] Known as a 'grand vis' or 'grand degré', these stairs served a key ceremonial function, and on important occasions were lined with archers.[33] Nevertheless, although the French apartment was self-contained, it was associated with rooms which were used for special occasions. These *salles basse* – English visitors knew them as 'lower great halls' – were usually at ground-floor level, though could form part of upper floors.[34]

French royal lodgings were placed either at first- or second-floor level. No-one except a member of the royal family or a royal favourite was allowed to reside above or below the monarch.[35] The queen's apartment was always smaller than that of the king; it was often not associated with a gallery and, as Monique Chatenet points out, did not manifest the multiplication of antechambers associated with the king's suite.[36]

Salle

The first (and usually the largest) room of the French apartment was the *salle*. This was a public place, open to everyone who was properly attired; only the Swiss guard, the 'archers du grand prevost' and 'les pages et laquais autres que ceux du roy et des roynes' were excluded.[37] Order was maintained by the archers of the guard, present in the room throughout the day, leading the room to become known from the reign of Henri IV as the 'salle des gardes'.[38] It was in the *salle* that the crowds awaited the appearance of the monarch; a path allowing the sovereign passage would be opened up by the guard.

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[32] Monumental examples of the sixteenth century can be found at Fontainebleau and Blois, though such stairs had been built from at least the 1300s. See articles including: Whiteley 1985, Guillaume 1985, Mignot 1985, and Whiteley 1989

[33] As in other European countries, the king himself would only descend the stair to meet a visitor of equal status. In France, only four people demanded such courtesy – the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain and the king of England: Chatenet 2002, pp. 254-5

[34] Ibid, p. 243. The Louvre had a *salle basse* and a *salle haute*, linked by a stair, while at Fontainebleau, Henri II built a magnificent *salle de bal* in the first floor of the Cour du Donjon's south wing; it was here that the King welcomed foreign delegations and held grand feasts and dances: Boudon and Blécon 1998, pp. 56-58

[35] Chatenet 1988, p. 29, and Knecht 1996, p. 190

[36] Chatenet 2002, p. 210

[37] Ibid, p. 144

[38] Archers of the guard (or 'gardes de la manche') carried a bow with arrows and javelins, and were the French king's constant attendants; they played a conspicuous part in court ceremonial. See: Forbes-Leith 1882, vol. I, p. 130

In the first half of the sixteenth century, before the appearance of the *antichambre*, the *salle* was used for the king's daily public dining. The monarch sat in a chair behind a table, which was placed in front of a fireplace at the high end of the room. The room's most important piece of furniture was the buffet, usually placed between two windows towards the high end. Over the course of the 1500s, however, the *salle* began to lose its role as ordinary dining room in favour of the antechamber or a smaller chamber known variously as the *sallette*, *petite salle* or *chambre ou mangent*. Outside of meal times, the *salle* was the setting for audiences and other ceremonies and activities. Given such functions, it is no surprise to find that English ambassadors and visitors generally named it the 'presence chamber'.

Antichambre

As has been noted, the *antichambre* was added to the French royal suite during the reign of Henri II, and probably derived its inspiration from the Italian *anticamera*. Françoise Boudon and Monique Chatenet suggest that its appearance was linked to a regulation of the *lever* and *Les Affaires* and that, under Henri II, it served as a waiting room, allowing the regulation of morning entrées to the *chambre*.[39] The room's use was only clearly defined in the reign of Henri III, by which time it was certainly a waiting room and also a retreat from the public *salle*. The *antichambre* played a key part in establishing the sense of distance so desired by that King and creating a hierarchy of access.

The *antichambre* took over from the *salle* as the room in which the king dined on a daily basis.[40] Although, as a contemporary noted, it was 'permitted & lawfull for all men to enter into the antech[amber]' to see the king at table, ease of entrée was not complete.[41] The regulations of 1578 made clear that, during the King's dinner, ushers should guard the door, and in 1585 Henri III revived the practice of surrounding his table with a barrier, a move which provoked

[39] Boudon and Chatenet 1994, p. 73. See also: Chatenet 2002, pp. 171-179
[40] In the 1580s, Richard Cook stated that 'the place where he [the king] dynneth is allwaies for the most in his antechamber': Potter and Roberts 1988, p. 340
[41] Ibid

much hostility. At night, the archers of the guard kept watch in the *antichambre*, and guarded the door of the royal bedchamber.[42]

From the reign of Charles IX, a second *antichambre* might also be provided. At Fontainebleau, for instance, the King's *chambre* and *antichambre* were divided by the 'salle où mange le roi', in effect a second *antichambre*. Such an arrangement allowed an increased sense of magnificence and distance, and a greater specialisation of function – though the room's role as a dining chamber always remained. The reign of Henri III brought an even greater multiplication of room spaces. Through the regulation of 1585, the *antichambre* was effectively tripled: between the *salle* and *chambre* there were now three rooms – *antichambre*, *chambre d'audience* and *chambre d'État*, the latter probably reserved for council meetings – although, as has been noted, this arrangement does not seem to have been immediately influential on the planning of French royal palaces.

Chambre

The French *chambre du roi* or *chambre royale* was the point of transition between the monarch's public and private lives. On a daily basis, the *chambre* was the setting for the *lever* and *coucher*, and was also used for meetings of morning councils and some audiences. Traditionally a quasi-public place – though visitors always required permission to enter – the room gradually became more private from the 1560s onwards, and entrée was limited to *grands seigneurs* and household officers.[43] Under Henri III, the multiplication of the *antichambres* made the *chambre* even more remote and inaccessible. Still, despite these changes, one of the most notable differences between French apartments and their counterparts in most other countries is the status of the

[42] Richard Cook noted that 'the paliasse or bed of the Scottishmen [the Scots Guard] is alwaies nearest to the Kinges chamber dore': ibid, p. 338. For information on the Scots Guard, see note 64.
[43] Charles IX issued rulings which made an attempt to curtail access; the meetings of the council of *Les Affaires* were, for instance, transferred to the neighbouring cabinet.

bedchamber; it is telling that the room was described by English ambassadors as the 'privy chamber'.[44]

The room's most important piece of furniture was, of course, the bed. Throughout the sixteenth century, this was often surrounded by a railing, and from the late 1500s was placed – along with the royal chair – on a platform. On a daily basis, the French *chambre* was not used as a royal bedchamber. The real *chambre à coucher* was often the *chambre* of the queen, connected to the king's apartment via the inner rooms.[45] The king's own *chambre* was thus a room of parade, one that he left after the ceremony of the *coucher* and re-entered for the morning *lever*. At night, the room was the province of the king's *premier gentilhomme de la chambre*, who had the right to sleep there whenever he chose.

Garderobe and Cabinet

The key inner rooms of the French royal lodgings, the garderobe and cabinet evolved considerably over the course of the sixteenth century.[46] Originally, the garderobe was a place for contemplation and the carrying out of private business; in the early years of his reign, François I received the *grands* in the garderobe every morning. Over the course of the King's reign, however, the room's functions were transferred to the cabinet, a room of recent appearance in which the King would retire to rest, pray, converse privately or deal with business. The garderobe, meanwhile, became a simple service room, which at night served as a bedchamber for the *valets de la chambre*.

The importance of the cabinet grew during the reign of Henri II, and by the reign of Charles IX the room's role as a meeting place for morning council was fixed; this was reflected in a change of name – *Les Affaires* became the 'conseil de

[44] Chatenet 2002, p. 351 (note 175)
[45] The queen's *chambre* only enjoyed private status when it was occupied by king and queen – the rest of the time, it was a public place: Chatenet 2002, p. 195
[46] The inner area of the royal lodgings might also have included a study, library or oratory, but these were not standard rooms, and so are not discussed here.

cabinet'.[47] Like the *antichambre*, the cabinet began to multiply: Henri III had two cabinets at the Louvre – one small, one large – while at Fontainebleau, a doubling of the royal corps d'hôtel provided Charles IX and his Queen with a series of cabinets. The early seventeenth century saw further complication and refinement; as cabinets became more numerous, they also became larger and grander.[48]

The position of the garderobe and cabinet within the royal lodgings emphasised their difference in function.[49] The garderobe was typically placed before the *chambre*, while cabinets were always placed beyond it, on the inner side; the royal couple's cabinets often inter-connected. The shape of garderobe and cabinet was also different. Garderobes were generally rectangular, and had to be large enough to accommodate a *couchette* for the valets, together with items from the royal wardrobe. Cabinets were usually square, circular or polygonal, were often accommodated in towers, and were usually characterised by elaborate wainscotting.

Back Stairs

Back stairs appear in Charles V's mid-fourteenth-century work at the Louvre, and remained a vital element of state suites throughout the centuries that followed.[50] That back stairs were considered fundamental is shown by their

[47] The council was maintained by Henri III, who used the cabinet as a place in which to transact his most important business and to receive visitors of special note: Chatenet 2002, p. 184
[48] Fine examples included the square 'cabinet de Tancrède et de Clorinde' and the 'cabinet ovale', both built by Henri IV in the early 1600s at Fontainebleau: see Pérouse de Montclos 1998, pp. 85-87. It should be noted that a 'grand cabinet' was a specific room in its own right. It often housed a collection of precious objects, and was positioned away from the *chambre*, often at an upper level; such cabinets existed at Fontainebleau ('le cabinet des armes' and 'le cabinet du Trésor') and at the Louvre. At the Palais du Luxembourg, Marie's *antichambre* was flanked by two pavilions, each containing cabinets. Sara Galletti has proposed that the pavilion to the front of the central wing was private – it comprised *chambre*, garderobe, oratory and 'cabinet des Muses' – while that on the garden side was public. The latter contained at least two cabinets, the larger being the magnificent 'grand cabinet doré'. At the far end of the gallery was a third pavilion containing another cabinet, probably of the sort mentioned above in being used for the display of objects. See: Galletti 2003, pp. 124-134
[49] This differentiation is useful, since, confusingly, the terms garderobe and cabinet were used interchangeably by the mid-sixteenth century.
[50] Whiteley 1994, p. 52; Chatenet 2002, p. 160; Lecoq 1994, pp. 83-85

construction, sometimes at short notice, even during the king's travels.[51] Such 'escaliers derobés' provided the king and queen with private access to – and a ready exit from – their lodgings, and could also be used by servants and others who wished to avoid the public route of approach through the state rooms.

Long Gallery

In France, as in England, the long gallery formed a vital element of the state apartment from the sixteenth century onwards, and had existed from at least the 1300s.[52] Such galleries were often housed in a wing placed at right-angles to that containing *salle*, *antichambre* and *chambre*; this was the case, for instance, at Fontainebleau and the Luxembourg (see Figs 29-31). In some palaces, the gallery was directly accessible only from the king's rooms, while at others it was connected to the lodgings of both king and queen. In the symmetrical palaces of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries – such as the Luxembourg – the royal couple were provided with a gallery each.

The most famous French long gallery is the 'galerie François I^{er,} or 'galerie dorée' at Fontainebleau (see Fig. 29). This was decorated for the King in 1533-39, and featured a complex series of allegorical and mythological paintings. Originally, the gallery had served as a connecting passage between château and abbey, but from 1531 it was understood to be the King's own private province; François himself held the keys.[53] Access to the room – which was shown off to important visitors, formed a route to the ground-floor baths and was a setting for private meetings, exercise and contemplation – was provided by a door from François's *chambre*. Other royal long galleries were similarly positioned and largely self-contained, reflecting their private status. For instance, the 'galerie d'Ulysse', begun at Fontainebleau in about 1540, led only

[51] For an example, see: Boutier, Dewerpe and Nordman 1984, p. 134. See also: Chatenet 2002, p. 185

[52] For the development of this room, see, in particular: Guillaume 1993. It should be noted that this study looks at both royal and country house galleries.

[53] In 1540, John Wallop told Henry VIII how François had 'browght me into his gallerey, keping the key therof Hym self, like as Your Majestie useth': SP Henry VIII, Part 5, p. 484 (17 November 1540)

to the Grotte des Pins, a ‘pleasure grove’, and from the 1550s was positioned at the inner end of an important state apartment.[54]

That said, galleries were adaptable spaces, and from the mid-sixteenth century might also serve a more public function. Traditionally entered directly from the *chambre*, cabinet or back stairs via a door or little passage, galleries also became increasingly accessible from public spaces like the *antichambre* – as, for instance, at the château of Montceaux. This meant that, where necessary, galleries could be used as rooms of reception, though – as Jean Guillaume concluded in 1993 – they remained largely private, both in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[55]

SCOTLAND

Scotland’s royal architecture of the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries has survived remarkably well. All of the key royal palaces survive, Holyrood, Edinburgh Castle and Stirling Castle as largely functional, though altered, buildings, and Linlithgow, Falkland and Dunfermline as complete or partial ruins. Despite this fact, the rich architectural and historical interest of early modern Scotland has only recently come to be widely recognised. Before the mid-twentieth century, there was a tendency for historians to dismiss the merits and significance of the country’s architecture.[56] Landmark architectural studies such as that by Deborah Howard (published in 1995) have helped to redress the balance.[57] There has, in particular, been a flurry of interest in royal palaces, no doubt encouraged by the publication of primary material, notably the *Accounts of the Masters of the Works for Building and Repairing Royal*

[54] Pérouse de Montclos 1998, p. 222. For more on this gallery, see: Béguin, Guillaume and Roy 1985. A third gallery was built on the first floor of Fontainebleau by Henri IV in the early years of the seventeenth century; this, the ‘galerie de Diane’, was again linked to the inner rooms of a royal lodging, and led nowhere.
[55] Guillaume 1993, p. 40
[56] Even John Summerson wrote that the country enjoyed ‘few external cultural relationships’, resulting in ‘a somewhat delayed development’: Summerson 1993, p. 499. In this classic reference work, the architecture of Scotland is covered only in an appendix, and is therefore significantly marginalised.
[57] Howard 1995

Palaces and Castles, covering the period 1529-1649.[58] John Dunbar's work remains outstanding, while key contributions have also been made by Richard Fawcett and Aonghus MacKechnie.[59]

In Scotland – as in other countries – it is only relatively recently that an attempt has been made to reconcile studies of palace architecture with court history. Michael Lynch and Julian Goodare's *Reign of James VI* (2000) brings together the historical and the architectural particularly well,[60] and a similar balance is evident in the PhD theses of two of Lynch's University of Edinburgh students, Andrea Thomas and Amy Juhala. These impressive pieces of work – Thomas's on the court of James V and Juhala's on the household and court of his grandson, James VI – represent the most important studies of sixteenth-century Scottish court history to have been carried out to date.[61] They are especially notable in drawing upon primary evidence; a shortage of such information hampers a full understanding, especially with regard to the use of state apartments.[62]

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[58] Paton 1957; Imrie and Dunbar 1982. Also of note are the *Calendars of State Papers relating to Scotland*, published as a series of volumes between 1898 and 1969.

[59] For instance, Dunbar 1999, Fawcett 1994, MacKechnie 1993 (unpubl.) and MacKechnie 2000. All of these studies make an attempt to integrate architectural investigation with analyses of function, use and decoration. For the purely architectural, there are also the invaluable RCAHMS volumes, the Buildings of Scotland series, and some useful guidebooks, especially those produced by Historic Scotland.

[60] Goodare and Lynch 2000. Especially notable is Michael Lynch's article 'Court Ceremony and Ritual during the Personal Reign of James VI', though this ignores the daily rituals enacted in the palaces to concentrate on three major public events: James's and Anne's entries into Edinburgh of 1579 and 1590 respectively, and the remarkable baptism of Prince Henry in 1594. See also: Lynch 2001, pp. 15-22, and Lynch 1990

[61] Thomas 1997 (unpubl.); Juhala 2000 (unpubl.). Andrea Thomas's findings have been published (Thomas 2005).

[62] The earliest sixteenth-century Scottish document to bear any resemblance to English ordinances is a bill of household of 1507/8, but it is of little, if any, use in reconstructing the function and arrangement of royal palaces: SRO, Misc. Household Papers, E34/1 (transcribed in Appendix B of Thomas's thesis). This is similarly the case with the two (partial) household ordinances which survive from the reign of James V – the first undated, the second written c. 1582 by one of James V's former masters of the household as guidance for the reform of the household of James VI; see: Thomas 1997 (unpubl.), pp. 30-31 and Appendix B, and Thomas 2005, pp. 19-20. For the later sixteenth century, only three household books exist – one for James VI and two for Queen Anne – and there are only five bills of household; see: Juhala 2000 (unpubl.), Appendices 2 and 4. With specific regard to state apartments, the most notable survival is John Young's eye-witness account of the wedding festivities of James IV and Margaret Tudor, held at Holyrood in 1503; see: Leland 1770, vol. 4, pp. 290-300. There is also an inventory for Stirling of 1585, calendared in: HMC, *9th Report: Part II* (London, 1884), pp. 192-3 (no. 52)

General History

Early modern Scotland belonged firmly on the European stage, having close links with a number of neighbouring and nearby countries. The 'auld alliance' with France is of particular note; this was cemented by marriages, especially those of James V (1513-42) – first, in 1537, to Princess Madeleine de Valois, daughter of François I, and, following Madeleine's death at Holyrood only seven months later, to Marie of Guise (1515-60). Continuing the warm relations between the two countries, James and Marie's daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-67), married François II, son of Henri II, in 1558. Both James V and Mary witnessed France at first hand, and in 1561, on her return to Scotland following François' death, Mary modelled her household on the French organisation favoured by her mother, filling posts with a number of Frenchmen, as well as other foreigners.[63] French influence lessened somewhat after the Scottish Reformation of 1560, but during the reign of James VI (1567-1625), Scotland's first Protestant king, it far from disappeared.[64] Indeed, the link grew stronger after 1579, with the arrival of the King's cousin, Esmé Stuart, created 1st Earl of Lennox in 1580.[65]

Denmark was another important ally.[66] In 1469, James III of Scotland (1460-88) had married Margaret, daughter of Christian I. The close connection between the two countries was intensified after James VI's 1589 marriage to the

[63] James V toured France in 1536-7, visiting buildings such as Blois, Amboise, Fontainebleau and the Louvre, while Mary lived in France for ten years, spending time at châteaux such as St-Germain-en-Laye, Blois and Fontainebleau; she also stayed at Diane de Poitiers' château of Anet: Fraser 1969, pp. 45-46. The greatest festival of Mary's reign, the baptism of the future James VI in 1566, was the work of a French master of ceremonies, one of the Queen's *valets de chambre*, Bastien Pagez: Howard 1995, p. 21

[64] It is worth noting that many Scotsmen were in favour at the French court, even at the highest and most intimate levels; the Scots Guard served as the French royal bodyguards – controlling access throughout the king's lodgings – from the early fifteenth century until their final disappearance, with the French monarchy, in the early 1800s. The best account of the Scots Guard is: Forbes-Leith 1882

[65] Lennox was key in the development of the young King's court and household, and appointed himself combined Lord Great Chamberlain and first Gentleman of the Chamber, in the French fashion. Shortly after his arrival, the English Ambassador to Scotland, Robert Bowes, wrote to Lords Burghley and Walsingham that Scotland, 'or at least the king and many of the nobles', were becoming increasingly French, 'to which course that State greatly inclines, and of late begins to run headlong into it': Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 5, p. 480 (10 August 1580). In 1601, Sir Henry Wotton described James VI's court as being 'governed more in the French than in the English fashion': Pearsall Smith 1907, vol. 1, pp. 314-5

[66] For more on these relations, see: Riis 1986, p. 82ff

daughter of Frederik II and sister of Christian IV, Anne of Denmark (1574-1619). Scotland also had significant ties with the Low Countries, and there were Scottish colonies in Germany, Poland, Sweden and Holland.[67]

Scotland's relationship with England was more fickle and problematic. At the turn of the sixteenth century – following, in particular, the 1503 marriage of James IV (1488-1513) to Margaret Tudor, the eldest daughter of Henry VII – the ties between the two countries were close. However, with James IV's death at the Battle of Flodden, the old hostilities flared up again for a time. Under James VI relations were re-established, albeit with an element of suspicion on both sides. In 1586, the King signed a treaty with England and accepted a regular subsidy from Queen Elizabeth.[68]

Given these influences, it is unsurprising to find that the architecture of Scotland's most ambitious builder-kings – James IV and James V – was progressive and varied in style. Of particular importance was James IV's belief that a monarch should be suitably accommodated and that a palace should provide a fitting setting for his court. The King, who devoted more resources to palace building than any of his predecessors, set about rebuilding on a prodigious scale in the 1490s and early 1500s the important bases of Edinburgh, Holyrood, Falkland, Linlithgow and Stirling.

James V's minority, from 1513 to 1528, was an unstable period, not conducive to ambitious building projects. However, aware of the need to provide fitting accommodation for his French Queen and his own growing household, James quickly made up for lost time. Around the time of his return from France in 1537, he began works at Stirling (notably a new palace block, c. 1538-42; Fig. 32),[69] Linlithgow (c. 1534-41), Falkland (1537-41), Holyrood (1528-32 and 1535-6) and Edinburgh (c. 1540-2). The style of the new west front at Holyrood was

[67] See, for example: Smout 1992 and Howard 1992

[68] For more on Anglo-Scottish relations, see works including: Sadler 2005, Mason 1987, Eaves 1987, Ferguson 1977 and Dunlop 1988

[69] In 1723, J. Macky set down his impressions of Stirling: 'In this Palace is one Apartment of Six Rooms of State, the noblest I ever saw in *Europe*, both for Heighth, Length and Breadth: And for the fineness of the Carv'd work, in wainscot and on the Ceiling, there's no Apartment in *Windsor* or *Hampton-Court* that comes near it': Macky 1723, pp. 187-8

blatantly English, but James V's most important source of influence was France; a number of the members of his Royal Works were Frenchmen, including two successive Master Masons.[70] In terms of state apartments, James's reign saw an expansion of rooms for both public and private life and an increasing compartmentalisation of use.[71]

The death of James V in 1542 represented the end of an era. The long minorities of both Mary and James VI were not favourable to major royal building initiatives or elaborate court ceremonial. Mary's reign left barely any mark on Scottish palaces, and James seems to have made do with the increasingly decaying and out-of-date residences, carrying out only two major works: the building of the chapel royal at Stirling in time for the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594 (Fig. 33), and the creation of the Queen's House at Dunfermline in 1600.[72] In terms of usage, it is interesting to note that James spent around 11 years – the formative period of his life – in the magnificent palace block at Stirling. For the rest of his reign in Scotland, he divided his time largely between Holyrood, Falkland and Stirling. Anne, meanwhile, favoured Holyrood, Falkland and Dunfermline, the house of her jointure.

It is clear that James VI was anxious to build upon the foundations of his grandfather and great-grandfather in increasing the prominence of Scotland and its court, especially following his marriage and visit to Denmark.[73] Considering

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[70] The French Master Masons were Mogin (or Moyse) Martin and Nicholas Roy. These and other craftsmen played a major part in the building works at Stirling and Falkland, widely acknowledged to be French in style; see: Dunbar 1999, p. 154; Bentley-Cranch 1986; and Dunbar 1991. For more general information, see also: Mitchell 1927, Noad 1927 and MacKechnie 1992

[71] For instance, at Holyrood, in 1535-6, James extended the great tower accommodation by the addition of a grand suite of three lofty state rooms, lit by huge windows.

[72] James VI's Master of the Works did, in fact, have plans for an ambitious remodelling of the palace block at Stirling in the early 1580s. However, it never went ahead, seemingly because of a lack of funds. See: Dunbar 1984, p. 20; MacKechnie 2000, pp. 159-160; and Juhala 2000 (unpubl.), pp. 129-130. The rebuilding of the palace at Edinburgh Castle and the construction of the north range of Linlithgow came later, in the years around the King's visit to Scotland in 1617.

[73] The King's humanist education made him acutely aware of European culture, and he had clear ideas about the importance of a dignified public image and a sovereign's place in society; these were expressed in scholarly works such as *Basilicon Doron* (1599) and in promotion of himself in the form of biblical and classical subjects such as Solomon, David and Constantine. For a discussion of Jacobean iconography and symbolism, see works including: Goodare and Lynch 2000, p. 15 and pp. 19-21; Lynch 2000, pp. 75-8; MacKechnie 2000, pp. 163-5; Parry 1981, pp. 1-39; Howarth 1997, pp. 120-152; Palme 1957; Strong 1980; Strong 1998; and Hart 1997, pp. 12-29

the King's financial situation – he lived well beyond his means in the 1590s, when the expense of the royal household far exceeded that of previous reigns – he was remarkably successful in achieving this. James instituted a number of changes which led to a renewed importance of magnificence and statecraft; for instance, he formalised the opening and closing processions of Parliament.[74] Furthermore, James appears to have been personally involved in the activities of his Royal Works. He is known, in particular, to have taken a keen interest in – indeed, overseen – the design and construction of the chapel royal at Stirling (see Fig. 33).[75]

Although James did not make any radical modifications to the arrangement of his royal accommodation, usage does seem to have changed during his reign. Most noticeably, the spaces had to accommodate more than double the number of people they had been designed to cater for.[76] Understandably, therefore, the size of his household was one of the King's primary concerns. Another was access. The kings of Scotland had long been known for their accessibility; this was on similar lines to the freedom enjoyed in the French court, though in Scotland was applicable mainly to the nobility. During the reign of James VI, access became especially vital; closeness to the person of the King, known for his generosity and impulsive granting of honours, could make a nobleman's career, and could even ensure the pre-eminence of an entire faction. On account of a number of political coups which took place in the early years of James's reign – almost all successful – access was limited somewhat, and a royal guard introduced. Nevertheless, arrangements seem to have remained flexible during the King's bachelor years.[77]

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[74] Goodare and Lynch 2000, p. 18

[75] Aonghus MacKechnie has termed this 'Scotland's first known building based upon formal "correct" use of classical Orders', and has argued that the chapel was based on James's concept of the Temple of Solomon: MacKechnie 2000, pp. 163-4. It must surely be more than coincidence that the King was served from 1583 to 1602 by an exceptional Master of the Works, William Schaw of Sauchie (d. 1602), one of the first figures to whom the term 'architect' was applied. For further information on Schaw, see: MacKechnie 2000, pp. 161-5

[76] Thomas 1997 (unpubl.), p. 41; Thomas 2005, p. 29; Dunbar 1999, p. 107. The household of James V consisted by the 1530s of around 300 to 350 named officers and servants. The core personnel of James VI's household numbered around 290 in 1596, but Amy Juhala has estimated that the combined households of James, Anne and the royal children might have totalled around 800 by 1603: Juhala 2000 (unpubl.), pp. 305-6

[77] Juhala states that Scottish courtiers had been known to walk in on the King unannounced during his bachelorhood: Juhala 2000 (unpubl.), p. 64

Neil Cuddy has commented that 'the English court was designed for the preservation and manipulation of distance; the Scots for the management of relatively free and open access'.[78] However, research carried out for this thesis has shown that this was not consistently the case during the reign of James VI.[79] The King's marriage and voyage to Denmark in 1589-90 marked a significant change in his conception of what was appropriate for royalty.[80] While still at Kronborg, in March 1590, the King made his first major attempt to limit access to the royal person. Robert Bowes, English Ambassador to Scotland, reported that James had reduced the number of household servants, 'appointing his chamber to be served with four gentlemen in ordinarie and two verlettes, which before had nere twentie gentlemen and others attending therein'.[81] The King also set out reforms of the council, in order that it contain fewer, higher calibre men, and issued a proclamation stating that members of the nobility should bring with them to court 'sex persones and na ma; lykwais every barron to bring bot four'.[82]

Bowes foresaw that it would be 'verie likelie that some fier shalbe kindled shortlie after the kinges retorne and satling', and this proved to be the case.[83] The Scottish nobility, up in arms, thought that James was planning to establish a new form of government, 'which they [the noblemen] thinck shalbe drawen nere to th'order used in Denmark, and that thereby the wholl nobilitie shalbe prejudiced in their auncient priveledges for their free accesse to the king's person, and vote in counsell and matters of estate'.[84] As this and other

[78] Cuddy 1987a, p. 179
[79] The following account will look in depth at James VI's handling of access to his state rooms, clearly of relevance for his practice in England (and for his expectations regarding provisions at private houses). I have aimed to challenge the conventional view that James's court was consistently characterised by informality, as this has implications for the way that state apartments are perceived. For instance, Mark Girouard has stated that James, 'brought up in Scotland, which followed the French tradition of relative informality in royal life, preferred the latter, whether travelling informally or on progress': Girouard 2009, p. 21
[80] In that country, James made a promise on his return 'to be a new man, and till tak up another kynd of cair and doing in his awen persone, then had bene sean used of before': Melville 1827, p. 377
[81] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 10, p. 306 (Bowes to Burghley, 31 May 1590)
[82] Melville 1827, p. 373
[83] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 10, p. 281 (Bowes to Burghley, 24 April 1590)
[84] Ibid, p. 285 (Bowes to Burghley, 29 April 1590). Slightly later, in June 1590, a visitor to the Scottish court noted that, 'things are beginning to be greatly altered here; the Court wondrous

quotations make clear, some blamed the influence of the Danish court, while others put it down to the Chancellor, John Maitland, who was with James in Denmark; the King may also have had in mind the changes that had been enacted in France by Henri III, who died in 1589 (see pp. 62-63).

In May 1590, Bowes confirmed that James had been as good as his word; on his return to Holyrood, his chamber was 'kept more private than before', the King commanding 'the doors to be kept close, suffering none to have access to his chamber without his pleasure'.[85] A contemporary letter confirms arrangements: none were to enter the King's chamber 'bot samanyas wer gentilmen of his chamber, with the chanceler and some of the counsaill'.[86] Noblemen complained that 'hall, chamber, and all durris wer sa straitly and indiscretly keped, that they culd get na entre'.[87] Interestingly, Queen Elizabeth appears to have supported James's reforms, and offered further advice. Lord Burghley wrote that:

> Hir majestie alloweth the king in makinge his chamber more privatt, but would wish him not to seek reformation suddenly or violently, but to follow her example: sometimes she suffers much liberty for noblemen and others to keep her company, at other times she permits neither noble person nor other to come into her privy chamber, if theie be not sworne to attendance, or be not of her privie counsel; and by that meanes the greatest persons doe knowe that theie ought not to come thither without license.[88]

James's aims in making this change appear to have been numerous. In particular, a restriction of access helped to ensure privacy for the newly married King. Furthermore, it reduced the throng of courtiers which is said to have constantly hovered about the King's chamber, a crowd in which James seems generally to have been uncomfortable. A policy of distance – as enforced by the monarchs and princes of Denmark, Germany, Spain and England, all of which seem to have based their court ceremonial on Burgundian etiquette – might well

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solitary, and the patron [pattern] of the Court of Denmark is greatly befor the king's eye, and the eye of the reformatours'; quoted in: Stevenson 1997, p. 71

[85] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 10, pp. 298-9 (Bowes to Burghley, 23 May 1590)

[86] Melville 1827, p. 376

[87] Ibid

[88] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 10, p. 303 (Burghley to Bowes, 30 May 1590)

have been attractive to James at this time. As Lynch and Goodare have shown, it was James's intention to be a 'universal king', to rule with absolute precedence and without being beholden to factions. He also wished Scotland to attract attention as a country of significance. In both areas, James could claim success: the rebellions of the previous decades effectively ceased after 1594, and at the time of his removal to England nine years later, the Scottish court had attained an international image after years of neglect.

It is not clear whether James's instructions regarding access were followed throughout the rest of his Scottish reign; evidence implies that they were not. The initial burst of dismay from the King's nobility may have lessened his resolve. In 1593, the Earl of Bothwell and John Colville successfully managed to break into the King's bedchamber in Holyrood – the King was sitting 'upon the privie' at the time.[89] Nevertheless, evidence suggests that the issue of access remained a concern to James, especially given the fraught political and religious climate. One of the results of the Gowrie conspiracy of August 1600 (see p. 20) was that access was restricted even more: limitations were placed not only on the King's chamber but also on the right to lie in the royal palace.[90] In November 1600, an order forbade the bringing of arms into the royal palaces by 'dyvers personis', and another limited the number of attendants permitted by noblemen.[91] In February 1602, further changes were made to the staffing of the King's chamber, and an attempt was made to regulate 'the confusit nowmer of personis of all rankis quha hes entres in his Majesties bed chalmer'.[92] Access was to remain a major issue for James after his departure for England in 1603.

[89] Calderwood, vol. 5, p. 256, and see: Stewart 2003, p. 135
[90] The back entrance of the palace was to be barred, and a group of men led by the chief gentleman of the chamber was to act as a nightly guard: Juhala 2000 (unpubl.), p. 68
[91] The 'grite and monstrous bakis and cumpanies' who entered the palaces were stated to be 'not onlie offensive and displeasant to his Majestie, bot werie dishonourable to the natioun': RPCS, vol. 6, p. 169 ('Act prescribing the number of persons that may accompany noblemen to Parliaments and within the King's palace', 3 November 1600). Henceforth, earls could only be attended by 'twelve persons', lords by eight, barons by four if alone or, if with a nobleman, 'with his page and himself'.
[92] RPCS, vol. 6, p. 208 ('Regulations concerning the King's chamber, and the gentlemen in attendance', 14 February 1602)

The Scottish State Apartment

This account will concentrate largely on the form of apartment familiar to James VI – that is, the accommodation built by James IV and James V in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is worth stating at the outset that very little is recorded about the usage of state apartments in Scottish royal palaces (see p. 71). The following study – especially the section which discusses the functions of the apartment's rooms – can consequently only make some general observations.

The development of the state apartment in Scotland – known contemporaneously as 'the chamber' – followed, in general, the lines of that of England, France and other European countries. In the late medieval period, it was represented by just one or two main, multi-use chambers, with their associated closets.[93] At that time, the great hall – placed usually at first-floor level – still served as the centre of the court's public and ceremonial life. Gradually, the royal suite became more complex as rooms took on more specific functions, the royal household expanded, and both privacy and the setting of royalty became more important. By the reign of James IV, the standard apartment consisted of three main rooms with closets; these were generally known as outer, middle and inner chambers, though terminology was inconsistent. Such state rooms were always placed in diminishing order of size and increasing intimacy.[94]

Scottish royal apartments were invariably placed at first- or second-floor level, and usually opened off the upper end of the great hall. The interrelation of the king and queen's apartments does not seem to have been standardised, though evidence about arrangements is sometimes lacking. At Holyrood, the suites were superimposed – the king's at first-floor level and the queen's above – and were linked by a private stair. Meanwhile, at James V's palace block at Stirling,

[93] The earliest identifiable royal lodging, according to John Dunbar, is at Edinburgh Castle; it is fourteenth-century in date, and consisted of three rooms – hall, chamber and closet: Dunbar 1999, p. 145

[94] John Dunbar has shown that the various room dimensions in Scotland appear to have been standardised: Dunbar 1999, p. 153

the two suites occupied the same level, and were almost of the same size; the queen's bedchamber communicated directly with the king's (see Fig. 32).

The Rooms of the Apartment [95]

Outer Chamber

Also termed the hall, outer hall, court hall and subsequently the guard hall, the outer chamber was the first (and most public) room of the Scottish royal apartment. It served as a point of assembly for courtiers, noblemen and others awaiting access to the other state rooms, and was also used for dining by members of the royal household.[96] The room could, as appropriate, be adapted for other needs of public business and entertainment.

The outer chamber was open to a comparatively wide range of figures; all those of middle and high rank appear to have been regularly admitted by the yeomen and ushers who guarded the doors. The decoration was, therefore, often elaborate and could serve as a celebration of the Stuart kings. The outer chamber at Stirling had a ceiling which featured a series of around 56 portraits – known as the 'Stirling heads' – thought to depict monarchs of Scotland, well-known figures at James V's court and certain gods.[97]

Middle Chamber

The middle chamber, also known as the great chamber or (confusingly) the outer chamber, came to be called the presence chamber in the early seventeenth century. Like its English equivalent, it was the principal room of reception. At James IV's wedding of 1503, the King received the English delegation in this room at Holyrood, seated on a chair of crimson velvet beneath a cloth of estate.[98] Later the same day, James's Chamberlain and officers ate

[95] This section is greatly undebted to: Dunbar 1984 and Dunbar 1999, p. 131ff
[96] At James IV and Margaret Tudor's wedding of 1503 at Holyrood, the king's outer chamber was used as a dining room by the bishops, lords and gentlemen: Dunbar 1984, p. 17
[97] 38 of the heads survive in whole or in part. See: Shire 1996, pp. 85-94
[98] Dunbar 1984, p. 17

here, signalling the room's other use as a dining room for senior officials and courtiers. Its role, as this will show, could be fully public or semi-private; it might be used for dancing and banquets – as the queen's middle chamber was in 1503 – or might function as a private sitting room, depending on the occasion. It often hosted quite a throng of people; in 1598, Robert Bowes wrote to Lord Burghley that, on his visit the day before, James VI's presence chamber had been 'extraordinarily garnished and furnished with attendance'.[99] Typically, the room contained a cloth of estate, tables and the cupboard or buffet on which the royal plate was displayed.[100]

Given the room's proximity to the royal inner chamber, it is natural that access was more rigorously controlled than with the outer chamber. In 1602, it was ordered that 'nane have entres in the chalmer of presence bot Noblemen and Maisteris and the Lordis of his Previe Counsall'.[101] It seems, though, that the ushers based here formed a group with those responsible for the outer chamber, the suite's most public room. The inner chamber and associated rooms were separately staffed, a two-fold distinction which may reflect the early origins of the apartment.

Inner Chamber

The inner chamber was alternatively known as the chamber and later as the bedchamber. It was also occasionally named the second chamber or wardrobe, and the English sometimes referred to it as the privy chamber.[102] Here, the monarch dressed, dined and slept on occasion, and conducted other private activities; John Dunbar mentions games such as chess and cards.[103] By the late 1500s the King and Queen probably ate together in the inner chamber, though

[99] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 13, part 1 and 2, p. 157 (1 February 1598)
[100] The 1585 inventory of Stirling shows that the queen's middle chamber contained such a display: RCAHMS, *Stirlingshire*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 185
[101] RPCS, vol. 6, p. 208
[102] The English privy chamber had no administrative or physical equivalent in Scotland in the sixteenth century. Hugh Murray Baillie notes that the absence of such a room meant that 'the King and Queen of Scots were expected to live, as their ancestors had done, in their Bedchamber': Baillie 1967, p. 180
[103] Dunbar 1999, p. 134

at separate tables, or ate separately in their own rooms.[104] Typically, the inner chamber contained a cloth of estate and a rich bed of estate; this was the case, for instance, at Holyrood in 1503 and at Stirling in 1585. The bed was largely ceremonial, as the monarchs usually slept elsewhere.

Traditionally, the Scottish inner chamber was more accessible than its English equivalent, a fact which reflects both French influence and the limited size of the Scottish state apartment as a whole. The room effectively served as privy chamber and bedchamber in one, and was clearly open to quite a range of people. However, as we have seen, there was an attempt during the reign of James VI to monitor access, especially after the King's reforms of 1590. In 1602, a regulation stated that entry to the room should be gained only 'throw the hall in the foir werk of the palice', implying that some people had been using the back stairs.[105]

In terms of regular household staff, it is possible to gain some sense of numbers; according to Robert Bowes, there were around 20 gentlemen of the chamber before 1590. After that date, James limited numbers to four gentlemen of the chamber and two valets.[106] Such a court position was highly coveted, and was filled by James's most loyal and beloved noblemen. The most desirable of all positions was that of chief gentleman of the chamber, who had the right to sleep in the room with the king.[107]

Security was one of the most important considerations with regard to the royal chamber. Physically, such rooms might be placed in or near to corner towers – a position of defence – as they were at Holyrood and Linlithgow, for instance. Strong rooms and wardrobes, invariably placed in very close proximity to the royal inner chamber, served as repositories for valuable items such as clothes, jewels and bed hangings.

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[104] Ibid, pp. 133-4. In 1503, James IV and his new bride dined separately in their inner chambers, with a few honoured guests.
[105] Ibid
[106] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 10, p. 306 (Bowes to Burghley, 31 May 1590); RPCS, vol. 6, pp. 207-8
[107] See: Juhala 2000 (unpubl.), p. 65

Closet, Back Stairs and Long Gallery

Neil Cuddy has stated that in Scotland there was 'no separation … between the public ceremonial of the … outer chambers and the private world of the Privy Lodgings; and no frontier, like the Privy Chamber, to hold the two apart. Indeed there was very little privacy at all'.[108] Such an assertion overlooks the fact that there was a frontier, only it was different from that of English state apartments. The Scottish bedchamber may have been accessible, but – as in France – the area beyond it was not. In 1602, it was ordered that one of the four gentlemen of the chamber 'keip the cabinat dur, and the dur that enteris to hir Majesteis chalmer, at sic tymes quhen his Majestie is in the cabinat; and that he suffer nane to follow his Majestie in the cabinat, bot ane or tua of the ordinar nowmer, without a speciall directioun of his Majestie or Chalmerlane'.[109] The Scottish frontier between outer and inner was therefore the door between inner chamber and closet or cabinet.

The rooms which followed the inner chamber may, in fact, have numbered two or three. Here, the king and queen carried out the personal routines of their daily lives, eating, sleeping, washing, dressing, conducting business and private devotions, and entertaining intimates. Although private, they might still be quite impressive spaces; the oriel window opening off the closet at Linlithgow, offering views over the loch to the north, provides a sense of grandeur.

These inner spaces were served by a back staircase, such as that in the king's closet at Stirling (see Fig. 32). Such a stair could be used as a private right of access by the king or queen's intimates, and could provide an invaluable route of entry and escape for the monarch themselves, when they wished to avoid the more public rooms of the royal lodging. The private stair in the queen's quarters at Stirling led down to the lower square, while that at Linlithgow provided the king with access to the courtyard and, via a corridor, the palace garden.

[108] Cuddy 1987a, p. 180
[109] RPCS, vol. 6, p. 208

As to long galleries, evidence is sadly lacking, though they certainly existed at some Scottish royal palaces and were features of significance.[110] At Falkland, the east (state) wing contained two galleries, the use of which clearly surpassed mere communication, while at Stirling the gallery was in the west wing – adjacent to the most public rooms of the royal suites and forming a passage to the apartment of the queen (see Fig. 32). That there was no fixed practice is understandable, considering the date of the palaces concerned. It was only after the mid-sixteenth century that the long gallery came into its own, and by then, very little was being built in the palaces of Scotland.

DENMARK

Of the courts studied as part of this chapter, Denmark's has proved the most elusive. No material written in English exists on the country's court culture and, surprisingly, none has been found in Danish either. Thus, this section – necessarily brief – involves much new research and analysis. Denmark should be considered of special interest to any Jacobean scholar: James witnessed the country at first hand in 1589-90, and married a Danish princess, Anne (1574-1619), who corresponded regularly with her brother, King Christian IV (1588-1648), throughout the course of her life.

The country's architecture must have made a considerable impact on James VI and his retinue, which included his architect William Schaw and his Chancellor, John Maitland of Thirlestane. King Frederik II (1559-88), then only recently dead, had made a concerted effort to elevate the status of the Danish monarchy and court. During the reign of Frederik's son, Christian IV, Danish royal building activity reached fever-pitch. The many works which Christian initiated and oversaw – almost all of which survive – include: Frederiksborg Palace, Hillerød (1602-20); Rosenborg Palace, Copenhagen (begun 1606, completed 1634); the rebuilding of Kronborg Castle, Helsingør (1631-42, after a fire of 1629); the

[110] The gallery (west) wing of Stirling's palace block was demolished in the seventeenth century, and nothing survives of the galleries at Holyrood, Falkland and Linlithgow.

Børsen or Stock Exchange, Copenhagen (1619-25); and the building of Christiania (now Oslo), after a fire of 1624.

Of the published works which discuss Denmark's architecture, most concentrate on the buildings of Christian IV, although few do so in detail.[111] Contemporary accounts survive, written invariably in Danish or in German, the country's formal language during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They include a detailed description of Frederiksborg of 1646 and an inventory of 1650.[112] Altogether, this material does not amount to very much, and is particularly weak in illuminating the use of Frederik and Christian's royal palaces.

General History

Denmark's position on the Baltic gave it considerable power and wealth in the early modern period. The country's territories extended ten times as far as they do today – taking in modern Norway and parts of modern Sweden – and there were long-standing ties with neighbouring countries such as Holland and Germany; both Frederik II and Christian IV were married to German princesses, and both were deeply aware of European art and architecture.[113]

Until about 1580, Danish monarchs had been treated by the nobility as equals, elected to direct the kingdom in practical matters. Frederik's reign saw a change, as he laid down guidelines for royal ceremonial and created palaces that surpassed in size and magnificence the houses of the nobility.[114] His attention was focused in particular on Kronborg (Fig. 34), which was – together

[111] Works include: Skovgaard 1973; Heiberg 1988; and Mikkelsen 1988. For general information on Denmark's architecture, see: Paulsson 1958; Hassø 1944-5; Langberg 1955; and Roussell 1970. The three major palaces – Rosenborg, Kronborg and Frederiksborg – are all open to the public, and guidebooks have been published: Hein 2003; Woldbye and Holst 2001; and Mentz 2003

[112] Frederiksborg Description 1646 and Frederiksborg Inventory 1650; the former is in German and the latter in Danish. I am enormously grateful to Christine Morgenstern and Caroline Friis (my colleagues at English Heritage) for translating the relevant passages for me. Apparently, almost all Danish inventories of pre-1650 have been lost; see: Heiberg 1988, p. 153

[113] Anne and Christian IV's mother was Sofie of Mecklenburgh, and in 1597 Christian married Anna Katrine, a princess of Brandenburg.

[114] See: Heiberg 1988, p. 466

with Copenhagen Castle – Denmark's most important royal palace.[115] From 1574 to 1585, Frederik transformed the building from a fortress into an appropriate setting for a king and his court; by the time of his death, Kronborg was the largest castle in the whole of Scandinavia. The King's workmen came mainly from overseas: the castle's architects were the Flemish Master Masons Antonius van Opbergen and Hans Van Paeschen, while the King's Master Builder was the Dutchman Hans van Steenwinckel.

It was in Kronborg's great hall that the marriage of James VI and Princess Anne was celebrated,[116] and it was at this castle that the couple were accommodated throughout James's stay of 1590.[117] From here, James set out on a short 'progress' to see 'some of the King of Denmark's towns and houses'.[118] He visited sites including Copenhagen, Roskilde Cathedral, Frederiksborg, and the astronomer Tycho Brahe's observatory – Uranienborg – on the island of Hven; James also hunted in Danish forests.[119]

When James arrived on the Danish mainland in 1590, Christian IV was in his minority; he was to be crowned in 1596, at the age of 19. Thus, the Scottish King did not witness Denmark during the key years of Christian's reign – a time which is remembered as the country's golden age. Nevertheless, James VI/I would have remained closely tied to this culture through his Queen, and would have heard about news and projects from visitors such as Anne's brother, Prince Ulric, who came to England in 1604 and 1606, and Christian IV himself, who visited England in 1606 and 1614. For this reason – and for the light that

[115] Copenhagen Castle does not survive. It was replaced with Christiansborg Palace in 1740.
[116] The marriage was carried out by proxy in August 1589.
[117] For details of James's visit, see: Stevenson 1997. The circumstances of the voyage were complex: Anne had left Denmark for Scotland in October 1589, but her ship was driven back by storms, and James set sail from Leith on 22 October, with a rescue operation in mind. Within a week, he had arrived at the island of Flekkerøy, and in mid-November reached Oslo (then part of Denmark), where he met Anne. On 21 November, the couple were married in the Old Bishop's Palace. It was by now too cold to stay in Oslo, and too dangerous to re-cross to Scotland, so the train – James had a retinue of 40 or 50 – journeyed down the western coast of what is now Sweden. The couple spent a week at Bohus Castle, on the Swedish border, before moving on to Varberg Castle, and then to Helsingborg. They reached Kronborg on 21 January 1590, where they were met by Queen Sofie, Christian, and his brother Duke Ulric. James and Anne remained at Kronborg until soon after the wedding of Anne's sister Elizabeth to Duke Henry of Brunswick (19 April), and reached Scotland the following month.
[118] Stevenson 1997, p. 51
[119] Ibid, pp. 48-51. Brahe's observatory – built in 1576-81 – had a plan said to be based on Palladio's Villa Rotunda or possibly on Chambord; see: Skovgaard 1973, p. 15

may be shed on palaces of the earlier period – it is worth considering the development of Danish royal architecture in the decades around 1600, after James's visit.

Christian was personally interested in the royal building programme, and employed a number of foreign workmen on his projects, especially from France, Holland and Germany.[120] Among them were Hans van Steenwinckel the Younger, General Master Builder from 1619, while another figure connected by hearsay to Christian IV was the Englishman, Inigo Jones.[121] Christian's style of architecture was a natural progression from that of his father, but was also increasingly influenced by architectural treatises such as those by Sebastiano Serlio and Vredeman de Vries.

Among the many buildings of Christian IV's reign, Frederiksborg stands out in particular. This had been one of Frederik II's favourite palaces, and was Christian's birthplace in 1577. Soon after his coronation in 1596, Christian decided to use the site for a new building; work on the main complex took nearly 20 years to complete, and was carried out under the direction of the Steenwinckels, father and son. The palace complex straddles three islands (Fig. 35): the main courtyard is flanked, to the east (right), by the Chancellery and, to the west, by the Castellan's House, beyond which are a tilting gate, carousel yard and service buildings. The U-shaped palace block itself has three wings, with a low closing screen to the south.

At the centre of the main building is the king's block, built in 1602-6, with a two-storey marble gallery on its south (built 1618-21); to the left (west) is the chapel wing, begun in 1606 with, above the chapel, the great hall or ballroom (see Fig.

[120] A number of designs have been attributed to Christian IV; it is thought, for instance, that he was responsible for the design and building of Frederiksborg, and the planning of towns such as Christiania (Oslo); see: Stovgaard 1973, p. 51, and Mikkelsen 1988, p. 58. Mikkelsen also states (p. 112) that 'Christian IV doubtlessly was his own architect at Rosenborg, employing a hired builder as his clerk of works'.

[121] In John Webb's *A Vindication of Stong-Heng Restored* (London, 1665), pp. 123-4, Inigo Jones was described as having been architect to Christian IV, and Webb stated that Jones had lived in Denmark for quite some time; see: Skovgaard 1973, pp. 122-3. No evidence has been found for this assertion, though some writers continue to ascribe the design of buildings such as Frederiksborg and the Børsen to Jones.

38); to the right (east) is the kitchen wing – later known as the princess's wing – begun in 1608 and comprising service rooms with royal and guest accommodation above. At the north-west, the king's rooms are connected by a 'privy passage' to an audience chamber, with mint gate below. Sadly, large parts of the original interiors of Frederiksborg were destroyed by fire in 1859, and many rooms – the ballroom, for instance – were painstakingly restored in the years that followed.[122]

The second palace worthy of special notice is Rosenborg, named as such in 1624. Begun in 1606 as what Christian described as the 'summer-house in the garden', the palace was quadrupled in size over the course of the next 28 years, though it remains modest (Fig. 36).[123] As completed in 1634, Rosenborg was of three levels, with royal apartments on the ground floor, two large halls on the first floor and a single 'long hall' on the top storey. It was greatly altered in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but it is notable that Christian's ground-floor winter room and its adjoining study have survived intact. Due to its proximity to Copenhagen Castle, Rosenborg was used mainly as a royal retreat rather than a setting for full ceremonial occasions.[124]

How Kronborg, Frederiksborg and Rosenborg functioned, both on a daily basis and during ceremonial occasions, is a matter for conjecture. The comments made during and following James VI's journey of 1589-90 (see pp. 76-77) give some clues. They imply that a policy of distance was maintained; noblemen could enter the monarch's private rooms only when sent for. Literature on Danish architecture makes clear that this policy dated from the reign of Frederik II, who made a conscious effort to gain precedence over the powerful nobility. Given Denmark's close links with Germany, it is likely that Burgundian etiquette was the key influence.[125]

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[122] The only rooms that are largely original are the chapel, and the audience chamber and privy passage, though the latter date from the later 1600s.
[123] Mikkelson 1988, p. 110
[124] This was true especially of the years before 1624, when the barrel-vaulted long hall was built as a room in which festivities could be held.
[125] As Samuel John Klingensmith has shown in his study of ceremony and architecture at the court of Bavaria, German court ceremonial was based on the Burgundian model, as introduced to Austria by Emperor Charles V: Klingensmith 1993, p. 12. Burgundian etiquette began to be

The Danish State Apartment

Little evidence has been found regarding the historical development of Danish state apartments, and information about the fully developed apartment is also extremely limited.[126] What is clear is that Danish kings followed their European counterparts in preferring to live at first-floor level,[127] and that their private lives tended to be enacted within a suite of rooms placed in a single wing or block. This was the case at all three of the palaces studied here – Kronborg, Frederiksborg and Rosenborg. In each instance, one end of the wing was used by the king, and the other by the queen, with their innermost rooms adjoining each other in the centre.[128] This characteristic plan is discussed by Thomas Paulsson in *Scandinavian Architecture* (1958), where he names it the 'double apartment' and finds examples in the palaces and houses of Denmark, Sweden and Finland from the mid- to late sixteenth century.[129]

Of the detailed arrangements of the suites of the three Danish palaces under study, it is impossible to be specific; Kronborg and Frederiksborg were badly damaged in fires of 1629 and 1859 respectively, while Rosenborg was considerably altered in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Still, some reconstruction is possible through the existing fabric, together with primary evidence. As such material is particularly rich for Frederiksborg, that

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adapted by German rulers from about 1550, and reached Munich by the last decades of the sixteenth century.

[126] It is probable that they evolved gradually from one or two rooms to form a full suite, as privacy became more important and public functions became more specifically defined. The likelihood of this assertion is borne out by the short account of the 'double apartment' in: Paulsson 1951, p. 114

[127] Rosenborg is an exception to this, in that the rooms of the king and queen are at ground-floor level. This can be seen as an indication of the gradual development of the building – it originally comprised just a single storey – and also of the palace's setting in a private royal garden. Samuel John Klingensmith notes that, at some of the country palaces of Munich, the royal rooms were similarly at ground-floor level; see: Klingensmith 1993, p. 6

[128] Kronborg is a slight exception; as it survives today, the royal rooms occupy only half of the north wing. There are further rooms to the west of the king's chamber, but no evidence as to their original function has been found.

[129] Paulsson 1958, pp. 114-116. He names it the 'most common house plan of the new era' (i.e. from the mid-sixteenth century). In palaces or manor houses, the two sides were occupied by the king/lord and his wife, while in vernacular buildings one side was for everyday life and the other was set aside for special occasions and guest accommodation. Between the two sides were the stair and entrance lobby.

palace will form the focus for the following discussion.[130] This will be general, the paucity of information making a study of each room in turn impossible.

As has been noted, the suites of the king and queen were located on the first floor at Frederiksborg (Fig. 37). The first rooms of the royal apartments were known as the summer and winter parlours, and these were placed at opposite ends of the north wing.[131] Each of these large chambers – which were probably used for daily dining and occasional receptions [132] – had a bay window to the north and a corner tower, named the 'rondeel' or 'rundelen' in mid-seventeenth-century descriptions. On the king's side, there was an extra room, added in 1612-16 to the north-west of the wing (it was later destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the 1680s). This seems to have been used for private or informal audiences, and was joined to the summer parlour by a passageway (see Fig. 35).[133]

The arrangement of the rooms between the summer and winter parlours is unclear, though Harald Langberg, writing in 1955, has given a useful account of the probable plan and inventories provide details.[134] On the king's side, the summer parlour was followed by two rooms, which Langberg names the 'writing room' and the 'guard room'.[135] The king's bedchamber itself seems to have been almost at the centre of Frederiksborg's main wing, possibly stretching

[130] For the royal rooms on the first floor of Frederiksborg, see: Frederiksborg Description 1646, pp. 23-40, and Frederiksborg Inventory 1650; the latter is unpaginated; the royal rooms are listed under the 'middle house' (i.e. central wing). See also the ground- and first-floor plans of 1745 in Hassø 1944, p. 283, and the reconstruction and caption in Langberg 1955, vol. 1, p. 158 (Fig. 177)

[131] These rooms can be compared with the winter and summer rooms on the ground floor of Rosenborg – the former (on the north) for the king, and the latter (on the south) for the queen. Adjoining the winter room was Christian IV's study or writing closet. The equivalent space on the south side was the queen's jewellery room. The area between the winter and summer rooms was taken up with the royal bedchambers, while on the ground floor of the great stair tower on the west there was a tin-lined bathroom with adjacent flushing toilet.

[132] The 1650 inventory shows that the king's summer parlour included a large Turkish carpet 'used to put under the king's table when an entertainment/reception [*taffel*] is sometimes held'; see: Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, p. 28

[133] See: Bligaard 1983. Mette Bligaard has suggested that the privy passage originally served as a form of long gallery (pp. 64-66), comparing it to French galleries such as those at Fontainebleau, Blois and Chenonceau. However, she fails to note that French long galleries generally led nowhere, whereas the passage at Frederiksborg was not self-contained, serving as a through-route to the audience chamber.

[134] Langberg 1955, vol. 1, p. 158

[135] See Fig. 177 in Langberg 1955, vol. 1, p. 158. The Frederiksborg Inventory of 1650 mentions (on p. 29) the 'chamber between his Majesty's living room and his Majesty's sleeping chamber', which is clearly a reference to one of these rooms; it does not seem to refer to the other.

transversely across it and facing south onto the open gallery which joined the royal apartments and provided access to other floors (via the 'king's' and 'queen's towers').[136] Beyond the king's bedchamber was another room, adjoining the queen's jewellery chamber.[137] The latter is thought to have occupied the bay window ('cross house') at the centre of the north front of the state range. The room formed part of the queen's innermost suite; in the area to its east was the queen's bedchamber which, according to Langberg, had views over the gardens and water to the north.[138] The queen's bedchamber was divided by a passage from the 'Blue Room',[139] while it seems probable that the area in which the king and queen's rooms met contained a back staircase.[140]

At Frederiksborg – as at Kronborg and Rosenborg – such suites seem to have stood alone, and did not form the inner, private chambers of an extended sequence.[141] However, this is not to say that public state rooms did not exist in Denmark. In order to put the planning of the apartments into context, it is necessary to turn briefly to the Danish great hall (Fig. 38). Like their German counterparts, Danish halls (also known as ballrooms) generally occupied the

[136] The bedchamber is named the 'Red Room' in the 1646 description, presumably on account of its furnishings. The 1650 inventory mentions its elaborate red and gold bed furniture: Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, pp. 31-2. The room was decorated with portraits of members of the royal family, and contained a flushing toilet.

[137] The 1646 description terms it the 'passageway where the royal jewellery chamber is', while the 1650 inventory (p. 32) names it the 'chamber outside the queen's jewellery chamber'.

[138] Langberg 1955, vol. 1, p. 158. The queen's rooms at Frederiksborg were originally occupied by Anna Katrine (d. 1612), and later by Kirsten Munk (1598-1658), morganatic wife of Christian IV; the couple married in 1615 and divorced ten years later. By 1650, there was no bed in the queen's bedchamber, though the 'queen's turret room', attached to her winter parlour, contained a rich, canopied bed of blue and gold, and a close stool. See: Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, pp. 33-4 and pp. 38-9

[139] The 1650 inventory refers to the 'hallway outside the queen's sleeping chamber' (p. 35) and the 1646 description states that the bedchamber 'leads us into a passageway' and 'then to the Blue Room'. The 1650 description does not appear to include the Blue Room or an equivalent space, unless the turret adjoining the winter hall is counted. There are therefore two rooms described in 1646 which, it would seem, had gone by 1650. Possibly, alterations had been carried out following Christian IV's death in 1648.

[140] A spiral stair is believed to have led from the queen's jewellery chamber to the room below, part of the palace's service area: Langberg 1955, vol. 1, p. 158

[141] It is worth mentioning that there were further state rooms in Frederiksborg's east (kitchen) wing, at first-floor level. Those referred to in the 1646 description include: the Blue Hall, with blue floor and wooden ceiling; the English Room, containing tapestries depicting battle scenes and a rich bed embroidered with the royal arms; and the Blue Winter Chamber. These clearly provided further private accommodation, probably for guests or the royal children, and do not seem to have served any public, state function; Langberg states that the Blue Hall and the rooms to its north were the province of Christian's eldest son, and the wing was later known as the 'princess's wing'. It has been said that the King used the rooms nearest the queen's winter parlour (see: Langberg 1955, vol. 1, p. 158), but there seems to be no basis for this assumption.

second storey of a building, and seem to have served a similar use to English great halls or presence chambers: they were the setting for plays, dancing, musical performances, and the reception of important guests, and were also used for dining in state.[142] At both Kronborg and Frederiksborg, access to the second-floor great halls could be gained without the need to enter the first floors.

The natural place to look for further state rooms is alongside such a hall – that is, at second-floor level. Thomas Paulsson describes an arrangement which would seem to be of relevance: Gripsholm, a Swedish royal palace of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, contained two 'double apartments'; one (at ground-floor level) was for the king and queen, and the other (above) was for 'guests and festivities and for the hall of state'.[143] The mid-seventeenth-century description of Frederiksborg shows that such an arrangement was almost certainly followed in Denmark. The second floor of the palace's central wing contained some extremely rich interiors. For instance, immediately adjacent to the great hall – at the west end of the royal wing, above the king's summer parlour – was what the 1646 description names the 'Angel Hall'.[144] From its decoration and furnishing – which, as well as carved angels, included Christian IV's insignia and motto, wall hangings bearing the crests of all countries and regions governed by the King, and an elaborate chair or throne – this was clearly a major state room. In the turret opening off the room's north-west corner was a rich canopied bed, covered in black velvet and adorned with jewels and the royal crest. The Angel Hall was matched by the 'Royal Ship Hall' – likewise named for its decoration – at the other end of the second floor, above

[142] The decoration of these rooms – usually propagandist, highlighting the history and glory of monarchy – emphasises their link to English great halls and presence chambers. For instance, the hall at Kronborg was fitted out with a series of 40 tapestries, woven in 1581-6, which depicted Denmark's 100 kings. That the rooms were used for state dining is proven by a large embroidered table canopy woven in 1585-6 and placed at the upper (east) end of Kronborg's great hall. It is also notable that the halls at both Kronborg and Frederiksborg featured musicians' galleries.

[143] Paulsson 1958, p. 116

[144] The room is listed in Frederiksborg Inventory 1650 as the 'Old Queen's Dining/Entertaining Room' ('Wdi Gammell Droningens Taffell Stue') (p. 40), and was later to become known as Frau Mutter's Room.

the queen's winter parlour.[145] This too had an adjoining turret, containing an elaborate bed clothed in white and gold and bearing the royal arms and the name 'Jesus'.[146] Between the two halls were a number of chambers, most richly furnished bedrooms. In 1646, one was named the 'Royal Bedchamber'; its bed was embroidered with the royal arms, while the walls were covered with silk tapestries depicting the story of David and Goliath.[147]

The extravagant Angel and Ship Halls are likely to have served as presence/privy/audience chambers for king and queen. This concept is borne out by the fact that it was in the Ship Hall that Frederik III entertained Carl Gustav in 1658; the heraldic hangings were specially moved over from the Angel Hall for the occasion.[148] The suite continued with at least one antechamber or withdrawing room, Queen Sophie's Room, and with the royal bedchamber. As in England or France, the status of this room would have been official, the royal couple's bedrooms being located on the floor below. The bedchambers in the turrets were probably intended for guests or members of the royal family, while there were further family or guest suites at third-floor level, above the state rooms.

Thus, in Danish royal palaces, the private realm of the monarchs (generally on the first floor) seems to have been physically separated from the more public chambers of state (generally on the second). Like the Spanish kings, and others influenced by Burgundian etiquette, the Danish monarchs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries appear to have lived their lives in a private suite of limited extent. Probably, there was no expectation of access to such areas, even by important noblemen, and it is to be assumed that Frederik and Christian celebrated special occasions not here but in the grander second-floor

[145] The room, given this title in 1646, had a ceiling carved with sea creatures and ships, while its tapestries, of silver and gold, depicted maritime scenes. In 1650, the room was referred to simply as the 'room over the queen's room [i.e. winter parlour], with ships on the ceiling': Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, p. 59

[146] Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, pp. 64-5. This distinctive bed also appears in the 1646 description, in a bedchamber next to the Ship Hall. It is likely that this bedchamber was one and the same as the turret room.

[147] This room appears to be that named in 1650 'the Old Queen's Sleeping Chamber'. See: Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, p. 52

[148] See: Frederiksborg Inventory 1650, p. 59 note. The event was illustrated by Le Pautre.

rooms. This arrangement – a division of daily and public life – seems to have been an inspiration for the changes James VI instituted in Scotland in 1590, although the physical form of the Danish 'double apartment' was adopted neither in royal palaces (in Scotland or England) or English country houses.

ENGLAND

The ceremonial of the English court has long been a subject of investigation. Primary sources relating to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are comparatively abundant; there are accounts in documents such as the dispatches of ambassadors, descriptions by foreign visitors and the letters of figures including John Chamberlain. Of special note are the observations of Sir John Finet, Master of the Ceremonies to James I and Charles I, published as *Finetti Philoxenis* in 1656.[149] There are also a series of surviving household ordinances, most published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790.[150]

In terms of secondary material, public ceremonies such as coronations and masques have proved popular with historians, and there are many studies of the structure and administration of the court and government, the networks of patronage and the political context.[151] The daily rituals of the English court have

[149] Finetti Philoxenis

[150] Ordinances 1790. This volume contains transcriptions of fifteenth- to late seventeenth-century documents including the household book of Elizabeth I (1600-1), ordinances for James I's household (1604) and orders for the household of Henrietta Maria (1627). The volume remains invaluable as the only compilation of English royal ordinances to have been carried out to date, although it is not entirely comprehensive. It overlooks, as have a number of other works, an ordinance of 1603 relating to the households of Queen Anne, Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth. This document is calendared in: HMC, *Sixth Report and Appendix* (London, 1877), pp. 672-3. I am grateful to Michael Pearce for bringing this document to my attention. The 1790 volume also overlooks an ordinance of Henry VII; this, held by the College of Arms as Arundel MS XVII^{2}, is dated 4 February 1526, but David Starkey has shown that it belongs to the period 1494-1501 and was simply re-issued by Henry VIII: Starkey 1973 (unpubl.), pp. 17-22. The Antiquaries volume includes regulations of 1610 for Prince Henry's household (pp. 317-339), but these do not entirely correspond with regulations of c. 1612 for the Prince of Wales's household which survive as TNA LC5/179. The printed regulations are based on the British Library's Harleian MS 642, f. 241, which appears to be a summary – and slightly earlier – version of the very similar LC5/179 document.

[151] Relevant publications include: Akrigg 1962; Anglo 1969; Barroll 1991; Barroll 2001; Loades 1986; Peck 1991a; Peck 1991b; Smuts 1987; Smuts 1991; Starkey 1977; Strong 1980; Strong 1998; and Strong 2000. Aylmer 1974 is also of use; there is sadly no corresponding volume for

also been a subject of study. Among the most important work carried out in recent years is Robert Bucholz's 'Going to Court in 1700: A Visitor's Guide' (2000) and Anna Keay's doctoral thesis, 'The Ceremonies of Charles II's Court' (2004) – revised and published as *The Magnificent Monarch* (2008) – which looks at events such as the reception of foreign envoys and royal dining.[152] As for the rituals and setting of the Jacobean court, Neil Cuddy's article 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625' is perhaps most relevant, whilst for the Caroline period, Kevin Sharpe's 'The image of virtue: the court and household of Charles I, 1625-1642' is of note.[153]

Meanwhile, the royal palaces themselves have been a source of focused study since around the early twentieth century.[154] Although there are very few contemporary architectural or topographical drawings – and although the only major royal seats to survive in their entirety (though altered) are St James's, Hampton Court and Windsor – primary material is rich; for instance, there are numerous building accounts and contemporary descriptions. Such information has been drawn upon, most notably, in the *History of the King's Works*; this landmark collection, covering the medieval period up to the mid-nineteenth century, was published in six volumes between 1963 and 1982. This and other studies means that, today, there is a large and impressive body of work concerning English royal architecture, although – in terms of this thesis – it is important to note that very little of it discusses the royal country seats favoured by James I.[155]

James I. Starkey's work on the Privy Chamber (Starkey 1973 [unpubl.] and Starkey 1987b) is of particular note.

[152] Bucholz 2000; Keay 2004 (unpubl.); Keay 2008

[153] Cuddy 1987a; Sharpe 1987. Some of the claims made in the latter article should be treated with caution. Sharpe writes dismissingly of 'the bawdy decadence of James I's reign' (p. 236) and the King's 'easy familiarity' (p. 244), and there is a general playing down – even an overlooking – of the importance of ceremonial to the Jacobean court.

[154] Comparatively early works include W. H. St John Hope's *Windsor Castle: an architectural history* (London, 1913) and George H. Chettle's *The Queen's House, Greenwich* (London, 1937).

[155] These tend to be dismissed as 'hunting boxes', a description used by the *History of the King's Works* to refer to Royston, Newmarket and Thetford: HKW 1982, p. 8. It is a pity that such buildings have been ignored, and this thesis shows that there is a need for a reconsideration of their significance. It is interesting to note that the importance of Royston and Newmarket was recognised in the seventeenth century. In his life of Lord Keeper Williams of 1693, John, Bishop Hacket wrote, 'It is said, but mistaken, that Government was neglected at those Hunting-Houses; and by the way, why are they called obscure places, *Royston* and *Newmarket*? petty if compared with London, but they are market-towns and great thorowfares;

As to the function of royal palaces, taking account of court ceremonial, this has only come to be investigated comparatively recently. Perhaps the most notable historian working in this area is Simon Thurley, whose *Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (1993), based on his doctoral thesis of 1992, represents the most significant work carried out on the architectural, historical and social development of English royal palaces as a whole, even though it does not cover the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.[156] Thurley has since applied this approach to individual palaces; notably, Whitehall, Hampton Court and Somerset House.[157]

In terms of a direct study of James I's state apartments, and the way in which they were used by the King, his court and household, very little has been done. Neil Cuddy's work on the Jacobean Bedchamber is fascinating, but makes no attempt to relate closely to architecture.[158] There are many studies of Inigo Jones, the King's Surveyor in 1615-43, but his drawings and buildings have generally been looked at for their stylistic innovation rather than for the light they shed on royal planning and the function of palaces at this date. Furthermore, Jones's predecessor as Surveyor – Simon Basil – has been the subject of almost no scholarly attention.

The fact that few ordinances survive from James I's reign has tended to deflect interest from the period. It is especially unfortunate that the Bedchamber ordinances of James I and Charles I – which formed the basis for the Bedchamber regulations of Charles II and William III – have been lost.[159] The

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where the Court was so frequented, both for business and recreations, that many of the followers could not find a lodging in that town [Royston], nor scarce in the villages round about it. I held acquaintance with some that attended the principal secretaries there, who protest they were held to it closer, and sat up later in those retirements to make dispatches than at London. The king went not out with his hounds above three days in the week, and hunting was soon over. Much of the time his majesty spent in State Contrivances, and at his book': quoted in: Rye 1865, p. 244 (note 87)

[156] Thurley 1993; Thurley 1992 (unpubl.)

[157] Thurley 1999; Thurley 2003; Thurley 2009

[158] Cuddy 1987a and Cuddy 1987b (unpubl.)

[159] For more on this see: Keay 2004 (unpubl.), pp. 41-2 (note 133). The Bedchamber ordinances of 1661 are held as: Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS, Pw V 92. In this document (a transcription of which was kindly supplied to me by Anna Keay), mention is made of 'those two former bookes made by our Royall ffather and Grandfather when the late Earles of

image of the Jacobean court as extravagant, informal and uncouth has offered a further obstacle to serious study.[160] Works such as Maurice Lee's *Great Britain's Solomon* (1990) have done a great deal to undermine this popular misconception, though further championing of the many achievements of James VI/I is undoubtedly necessary if the view is to be overturned altogether.

General History

The accession of James I in 1603 brought together not just two different court cultures – one known for order, the other for French-style informality – but also two architectural traditions.[161] In both cases, however, James seems to have been quick to adapt to English practices. England's royal palaces, despite their lack of maintenance during the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603), must have seemed spectacular to the King. Most had been created by Henry VII (1485-1509) and Henry VIII (1509-47), who had clear ideas about the role of magnificence and display. Their reigns saw the construction or significant remodelling of palaces including Richmond (c. 1497-1502), Windsor Castle (from 1500), Greenwich (1500-1 and later), Eltham (1519-22), Hampton Court (from 1529), Whitehall (from 1531) and Nonsuch (1538-46). Following his arrival in England, James made ready use of almost all of these palaces (see Appendix 2), which, having accommodated an unmarried monarch for nearly 50 years, were given over to the new royal couple and their growing family.[162]

Carlisle and Kelly were Groomes of the Stole' (f. 1v). The 1661 orders were reissued with slight amendment in 1673 (NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 93) and with additional orders in 1678 (NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 93). The Bedchamber ordinances of James II, dated 1685, survive as: BL Add. 5017. Perhaps the most useful surviving document of the reign of James I dates from c. 1612 and sets out regulations for the household of the Prince of Wales: TNA LC5/179. This gives some idea of the King's own practice with regard to privy, presence and great chambers, but contains no details about the bedchamber and other inner rooms.

[160] David Starkey has gone so far as to term James's 'one of the least attractive courts in history': Starkey 1987a, p. 2. For a general discussion of the reputation of James and his court, see: Lee 1990, pp. xi-xv

[161] The Black Book of 1471-2, England's first written code of court etiquette, is closely based on Burgundian principles; see: Myers 1959. In 1626, the Venetian Ambassador noted how different the English court was from the French: 'the customs in that kingdom [England] are the exact opposite, being modest and reserved, and they with their princes to be adored, the grades of the Court to be apportioned and each grade to have its chamber, so that the place which befits one shall not be usurped by another. Everything proceeds with order and reserve, and their ancient institutions will not suffer any change': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 19, p. 607 (Appendix 1; part of sketch for a 'relazione' of England by Angelo Contarini, July 1626)

[162] James and Anne had, in all, five children – Henry (1594-1612), Elizabeth (1596-1662), Charles (1600-49), Mary (1605-7) and Sophia (born and died 1606). St James's, as was

However, the King cannot have been entirely satisfied with these provisions, feeling especially the lack of country seats which could serve as retreats and bases for his favourite sport, hunting. During his earliest years in England, James added a number of important residences to the royal portfolio: Royston, Hertfordshire, which he built in c. 1606; Newmarket, Suffolk, acquired in 1606; Theobalds, Hertfordshire, which James exchanged with Sir Robert Cecil in 1607; Sir Christopher Hatton's former house of Holdenby, Northamptonshire, acquired in 1608; and Thetford, Suffolk, acquired in 1609. Within five years of the King's accession, many of these had become firm favourites. The itinerary compiled as part of this thesis (see Appendix 2) shows that, after 1613, James spent more time at Royston, Theobalds and Newmarket than at any palaces but Whitehall and Greenwich, and in some years more even than at those.

Architecturally, James and Anne's reigns are notable for several ambitious projects, many of which involved Inigo Jones. These included the rebuilding of Whitehall's banqueting house in 1606-9 and again after a fire of 1619, the rebuilding and enlargement of Somerset House (from 1609), the initial construction of the Queen's House, Greenwich (1616-19), and the building at Newmarket of a lodging for Prince Charles (1619-21). In Scotland too the Royal Works was active, especially in the months before the King's visit of 1617.[163] Thus, building can be said to have formed a major feature of James's reign in England, and was clearly a strong interest (if not a passion) for the King, as it had been in Scotland; certainly, James is known to have been closely engaged in the activities of his Royal Works and to have had strong views on architecture.[164]

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traditional, was the London base of the Prince of Wales, while Henry was also given Oatlands, which he shared with Princess Elizabeth. In addition, Richmond, Nonsuch and Woodstock were given to the Prince of Wales, while Holdenby was purchased in 1608 for Charles, Duke of York. Oatlands passed in 1611 to Queen Anne, and Greenwich and Somerset (renamed Denmark) House followed in 1613 and 1617 respectively.

[163] See, for instance: RPCS, vol. 11, p. xiii. Works included the fitting out of the King's 'birth room' at Edinburgh Castle (painted with the date 19 June 1566), and internal decoration at the chapel royal, Holyrood.

[164] In September 1607, for instance, the King made a detour to Whitehall 'for no greater business than to see his new building [the banqueting house], wich when he came into it he could scarce see for reason of certaine pillars wich are sett up before the windowes, and he is nothing pleased with his Ld Architect for that device': quoted in: Thurley 1999, p. 80

It is, however, difficult to fully appreciate the Jacobean contribution to English royal palaces, as none have survived in their original form. Undoubtedly, the King seems to have encouraged stylistic daring; were this not the case, Jones's innovative banqueting house at Whitehall would simply never have been constructed. Such buildings formed the backdrop for a variety of ceremonies and grand occasions, which helped James promote Britain, its monarchy and court culture. On his accession, the King took up English traditions – such as annual St George's Day celebrations – with dedication, even alacrity, and began to institute changes of his own. In May 1603, he appointed Sir Lewis Lewkenor as first Master of the Ceremonies, a new post responsible for the daily administration of diplomatic ceremonial.[165] The reception of foreign ambassadors remained vital (and elaborate) throughout James's reign, while state banquets were another lavish Jacobean court event.[166]

However, behind the King's public displays there seems to have been an intensely private man, truly comfortable only when surrounded by his group of intimates, many of whom he had known since his youth. The King's need to be protected by this inner enclave must have been one of the reasons behind his major court innovation – the formation in 1603 of the Bedchamber, a new sub-department of the royal household which was given sole management of the innermost rooms of the King's apartments, thereby ensuring greater privacy and security.[167] Responsibility for the King's body service was placed wholly in the hands of the Groom of the Stool, chief of a small group of gentlemen of the

[165] Lewkenor was entrusted with the care of 'straungers of qualitie', the entertainment, reception and accommodation of ambassadors, and the arrangement of 'times of access and audience': Loomie 1987, pp. 22-23. For some of Lewkenor's bills, with details of his business, see: HMC, *Report on the Laing Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (London, 1914), pp. 125-7 and pp. 144-5. For general information on the duties of the Master of Ceremonies, see: Finetti Philoxenis and Loomie 1987, especially pp. 20-23. For royal audiences and presentations in general, see: Keay 2004 (unpubl.), pp. 58-93

[166] For evocative accounts of the reception of ambassadors during the early seventeenth century, see: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 11, p. 423 (18 February 1610), ibid, vol. 12, pp. 348-9 (18 May 1612), and ibid, vol. 16, p. 526 (15 January 1621). For descriptions of elaborate state banquets, see: ibid, vol. 11, p. 430 (25 February 1610) and vol. 12, p. 278 (13 January 1612)

[167] See: Cuddy 1987a; Cuddy 1987b (unpubl.); and Cuddy 2000, especially pp. 70-75. David Starkey, Neil Cuddy and others have shown that the formation of the Bedchamber reflects the institution over a century earlier of the Privy Chamber, and was a natural stage in its evolution; see, for instance: Starkey 1977, p. 213

Bedchamber, who naturally exerted considerable political power.[168] A former Venetian Ambassador wrote of the Bedchamber in 1618: 'There are eight or ten of them who sleep habitually in his [the King's] very chamber, who can enter when they please, no matter how private his Majesty may be, and who have the greatest influence with him'.[169] Almost all of James's Bedchambermen were Scottish, and had previously served in his native Chamber, a fact which caused considerable ill-feeling in England.[170]

James I's court has traditionally been viewed as informal and unruly. Shortly after the King's death, the Venetian Ambassador commented on the new order and 'decorum' instituted by Charles I, writing that 'The nobles do not enter his apartments in confusion as heretofore, but each rank has its appointed place'.[171] However, although order and rigorous daily rituals do not seem to have characterised the Jacobean court, this does not mean that the King was personally ready of access. The evidence shows that direct access was a carefully guarded prerogative, granted only to Bedchambermen and other inner household staff, together with family, intimates and key officials.[172] In the early days of his English reign, James was particularly strict with his new countrymen; it was said in 1603 that 'no Englishman, be his rank what it may, can enter the Presence Chamber without being summoned, whereas the Scottish Lords have free entrée of the privy chamber'.[173] There is evidence that, later in James's reign, an entrée list was being used to regulate access to the King.[174]

Certain people were, however, always admitted. Most important in James's later years was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who served as Gentleman of

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[168] For the duties of the Groom of the Stool and the other officers of the Bedchamber as they were set down in 1661, see: NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, ff. 3-7
[169] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 388 (19 December 1618)
[170] For more on this, see: Cuddy 1987a, especially p. 190, and Cuddy 2000, pp. 70-75
[171] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 19, p. 21 (25 April 1625). Similarly, in April 1625, John Chamberlain reported to Dudley Carleton that 'the court is kept more strait and private than in the former time': Birch 1848, vol. 1, p. 8. For more on the court of Charles I, see: Sharpe 1987
[172] The Venetian Ambassador wrote that James was 'suspicious and careful of his person, especially as his father and mother died by the sword and conspiracy', and he was also highly private, a lover of solitude: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 17, p.437 (21 September 1622)
[173] Ibid, vol. 10, p. 33 (22 May 1603)
[174] In 1622, James went to visit Buckingham at New Hall in Essex, 'onlye the Prince with him and his beddchalmer, all uthers debarred bothe Courte and Consell, but theis of the beddchalmer that warr in the liste': HMC, *Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie* (London, 1930), p. 186 (25 September 1622)

the Bedchamber from 1615. On Buckingham's reappointment in 1625, an observer commented upon his 'receiving the golden keys and the pass everywhere, whereby he can have access to the king at all hours, even though shut in by triple keys, a confidence he enjoyed with the deceased [James]'.[175] The Count of Gondomar, Spanish Ambassador, was another honoured with the King's favour; in 1622, he had 'access to the court at all hours, has audience without appointment like the King's own councillors and ministers, and finds wide open the doors which are usually shut or grudgingly opened to others'.[176] A desire to escape the throng was a major reason behind James's itinerant lifestyle, as was the pleasure he found in country seats such as Newmarket. The state apartments of the principal palaces might have thronged with a 'confusit nowmer of personis of all rankis', but the fact was that – for most of the year – the King himself simply was not there.[177]

The English State Apartment

The medieval arrangement of the English 'Domus Regis' was very simple: court life was focused on the great hall, while at its high end was a chamber in which the king's personal life – what little of it he had – was lived out.[178] Over time, this chamber took on new significance, accommodation being gradually expanded, though the division between public and private was not cemented until the reign of Henry VII. At Henry's accession in 1485, the basic royal suite consisted of

[175] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 19, p. 13 (18 April 1625). A reference to the Groom of the Stool and the 'treble key' to the bedchamber is also made in the 1661 Bedchamber ordinances (NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, f. 5) and those of 1685 (BL Add. 5017, f. 6). According to the latter, this bedchamber key also opened 'every door of all Our Gardens, Galleries and Privy Lodgings, and of all other Roomes of State and Honour in Our Palace of Whitehall, and in all other Our Mansion Houses'.

[176] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 17, p. 442 (21 September 1622). Other exceptional favours were occasionally granted. In 1619, Baron Dohna, ambassador to James's son-in-law and daughter Elizabeth, arrived at Newmarket. The King received him in the withdrawing chamber and, wrote Sir John Finet, 'took him instantly with him into his inner Lodgings … From that time he had his accesses to Court, and to his Majesties Presence as a Domestique without Ceremony, and this by the Kings Own Signification of his Pleasure to me to that purpose': Finetti Philoxenis, p. 62. The Venetian Ambassador noted that Dohna 'has never really been received, declared and treated by his majesty as the ambassador of a king, but rather like a familiar of the house, the servant of his daughter and son-in-law': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 16, p. 175 (20 February 1620)

[177] RPCS, vol. 6, p. 208. See also: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 19, p. 21

[178] For this and other information, see: HKW 1982, pp. 11-14; Thurley 1993, pp. 3-10; and Baillie 1967, pp. 172-181

three rooms: the outer or great chamber, the middle chamber, and the inner or privy chamber.[179] Under the reigns of the first two Tudors, these rooms survived, though with different names: they were known as great or watching chamber, second or presence chamber, and secret or privy chamber. Such rooms were provided both for king and queen, whose lodgings were typically arranged on a single level (usually the first floor), although they could also be horizontally stacked.

In the late fifteenth century, Henry VII established the Privy Chamber, a sub-department of the royal household with special responsibility for the inner rooms.[180] From this time on, all servants but Privy Chamber staff were excluded from the inner enclaves, and access was carefully monitored by the Privy Chamber's chief officer, the Groom of the Stool. During the reign of Henry VIII, the Privy Chamber developed into a significant political force, posts being filled by a number of the King's intimates and favourites. A desire for privacy was also reflected by an increase in scale of the realm in which the King's personal life was enacted.[181] From the 1530s, Henry divided the inner chambers into two sections, the outermost known as the privy lodging and the innermost as the secret lodging. From a core of rooms such as closet and garderobe, the inner chambers were transformed into an entire complex.[182]

James I's creation of the Bedchamber reveals that his concerns were the same as those of his Tudor predecessors. He wanted a space to which he could withdraw from public life – itself increasingly encroaching into the state rooms, as indoor activities like masques replaced the outdoor activities and processions of Elizabeth's reign.[183] Architecturally, James could do no more

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[179] For further information on the royal rooms and household as they existed on Henry VII's accession to the throne, see, in particular, the Liber Niger Domus Regis of Edward IV: Ordinances 1790, pp. 13-86. The three rooms equate with the outer, middle and inner chambers of Scottish palaces.

[180] For detailed information on the Privy Chamber, see: Starkey 1973 (unpubl.), especially part 1, pp. 13-181; Starkey 1977, pp. 196-222; and Starkey 1987b

[181] Simon Thurley has written of the expansion of the inner lodgings as 'one of the central themes in the evolution of Henry VIII's houses after 1530 until his death': Thurley 1993, p. 135

[182] At Whitehall, for example, a reworking of 1530-2 meant that around ten rooms were available for the King's personal use; see: Thurley 1999, p. 63 and p. 67

[183] Malcolm Smuts has pointed out that in general, 'James's reign witnessed a gradual movement away from traditional public varieties of magnificence (public tournaments, royal

with the existing royal palaces – or, at least, he chose to do no more; the privy lodgings were already extensive and complex, and to develop them further would have involved time and expense. Instead, the King retreated into separate buildings – his country palaces – about which almost nothing is known.[184] This solution must have suited him for a number of reasons: it involved a relatively small amount of expenditure, it enabled him to indulge his passion for hunting and solitary pursuits, and it meant that access could be carefully regulated.[185] Charles I, who was based far more firmly in London, was to choose another method: the institution of a formal court etiquette, which involved a rebranding of the role of certain royal rooms (such as the privy gallery), a sharp reduction in access, and the reassertion of a strict hierarchy of status, 'limiting persons to places suitable to their qualities'.[186]

The Rooms of the Apartment [187]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, state apartments in English royal palaces were generally placed at first-floor level, and would have been accessed via the great hall (where one existed) and the great staircase, both of which formed key parts of the ceremonial route. This method of approach was long maintained as the right and public way, and on state occasions would have been lined with guards and other household officers.

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entries) in favour of private forms (masques, art collections), accessible only to those who gained admission to the king's palaces': Smuts 1991, p. 109

[184] In James's day, these buildings were sometimes referred to as 'hunting lodges', but were equally, and perhaps more often, known as 'country houses': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 174 (18 August 1604); ibid, p. 501 (30 May 1607) and vol. 18, p. 341 (14 June 1624). With the exception of Theobalds (and Ampthill, which was not built), their plans are not understood, though it is clear that full court ceremonial was not operational, and that they only provided limited accommodation for household officers, courtiers and other guests.

[185] On the whole, James resisted allowing visitors to Newmarket, Royston and Thetford (Theobalds was different, in functioning as something between country retreat and principal palace, depending on the occasion). In Bavaria, France and Spain, it would seem that entrée to 'country palaces' was similarly regulated; see: Klingensmith 1993, pp. 5-6, and Chatenet 2002, pp. 50-51

[186] Quoted in: Sharpe 1987, p. 236. Kevin Sharpe has noted that Charles 'literally retreated behind closed doors': ibid, p. 244

[187] The following discussion owes a great debt to Thurley 1993, pp. 113-143. See also: HKW 1982, pp. 11-13; Baillie 1967, pp. 172-181; Bucholz 2000, pp. 198-211; and Ordinances 1790 (especially pp 151-161 of the Eltham Ordinances, pp. 340-44 of the orders for Henrietta Maria's household, pp. 347-49 of the 1631 orders for Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and pp. 353-64 of Charles II's ordinances)

As has been noted, and as will be discussed below, the status of each state room varied with time and monarch, and this was especially the case for the privy chamber. Until the 1530s, the outward lodgings tended to consist of great (or watching or guard) chamber, presence chamber and any other room which preceded the privy chamber; these formed part of the Lord Chamberlain's jurisdiction, and were staffed by the yeomen of the guard. It was in such outer rooms – which generally occupied a single wing – that the public life of the king and queen was played out, and that events such as the reception of foreign envoys took place. Meanwhile, the privy lodgings typically consisted of privy chamber, withdrawing chamber (from the late 1500s), bedchamber, closet, other inner rooms and long gallery. Such rooms would have been closely guarded and secured; as we have seen, they were the province of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber until 1603, and thereafter the innermost rooms formed the jurisdiction of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

It should be noted that the summaries given of the state rooms below relate to the principal state apartment. English royal palaces generally included a second state apartment – reflecting the marital status of Henry VII and Henry VIII – but the use and status of such rooms will have differed somewhat from those of the principal (king's) suite, and they had an importance all of their own. In some instances, for example, the queen's apartment was clearly used as a place in which to avoid the more public ceremony of the main state rooms, and may have included the room in which the king slept on a daily basis.

Guard Chamber

This was the first and generally the largest room of the English royal apartment; it was known generally as the watching or great chamber until the reign of James I, and thereafter as the guard chamber. Here, as in the French *salle*, the yeomen of the guard – a body established by Henry VII – would keep watch, controlling entry to the adjoining rooms, and on state occasions would be drawn

up in order.[188] On a daily basis, liveried servants, footmen and 'ordinary persons' were the kind of people who were denied access by the guards, although court messengers would have been present, ready to set forth on state business.[189] In an ordinance of 1631, the room was referred to as a waiting area for the attendants of 'great persons of quallity'.[190]

In Henry VII's day, the guard chamber was used on occasion for public dining, but by the reign of Henry VIII it was used only as a dining room for household officials and courtiers. There are many references to it being used in this way in the early seventeenth century; for instance, in 1622, while the Russian Ambassador dined with James I in the privy chamber, his followers dined in the guard chamber.[191] During the night, the room became a dormitory for junior chamber staff, a use which continued into the reign of Charles I.

Presence Chamber

In the presence chamber, also known as the 'chamber of estate' or 'great chamber of presence', the sovereign sat to give audiences and receive important guests. The room's most prominent furnishing was the throne and its cloth of estate or canopy, which was usually placed against the wall opposite the entrance from the guard chamber. The king and queen would each have had canopies in their respective apartments, and no-one but the royal couple was permitted to pass beneath them. Whatever the occasion, 'the same respect was paid by all as if the King himself were present; every one standing on foot, with his cap in hand'.[192]

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[188] In an account of the visit of the Duke of Najera to England in 1543-4, mention is made of the guard chamber, in which 'were stationed in order on either side the King's body guard, dressed in habits of red, and holding halberds': Madden 1831, p. 351

[189] Bucholz 2000, p. 199. The Prince of Wales's regulations of c. 1612 instructed the yeomen of the guard not to 'suffer any strangers or others to passe throughe … unlesse they bee well knowne and allowable'. During the periods 10am-1pm and 4-7pm, when the Prince was taking 'his repastes in the presence', the Guard Chamber was to be kept 'free': 1612 regulations, p. 35

[190] Ordinances 1790, p. 347

[191] Finetti Philoxenis, p. 104

[192] Madden 1831, p. 351. Horatio Busino, a visitor to England in 1617-18, made the same observation; recounting a visit to Whitehall, he noted, 'In this hall, which is called the presence chamber and in the other similar rooms, no one is permitted to remain covered, even though the king may not be present': Platter and Busino 1995, p. 124

Contemporary documents, such as *Finetti Philoxenis*, contain a wealth of references to public audiences given in presence chambers.[193] In 1620, for example, the Venetian Ambassador wrote of James I being 'seated beneath a large rich canopy in the presence chamber', the throne being placed on a dais.[194] The banqueting house at Whitehall – which served as the principal presence chamber of the palace – was the setting for most of the great Jacobean court events, such as masques, touching for the king's evil and the receptions of important foreign envoys.[195]

The presence chamber was sometimes known as the 'dining chamber', signifying its daily use as a dining room by senior officials and courtiers. On special occasions, it might also be used as such by the king, queen and their honoured guests, though in general – especially from around 1540 – public dining took place in the adjoining privy chamber.[196] When state dining did occur, it would have been an event of great pomp and ceremony, the monarch seated beneath a cloth of estate, at the centre of a long table, the door being guarded by royal ushers.[197] At a banquet given in 1604 in the 'audience chamber' at Whitehall – presumably the presence chamber or banqueting house – the room was 'elegantly furnished, having a buffet of several stages … A railing was placed on each side of the room in order to prevent the crowd from approaching

[193] There were two types of audience, public and private. The first were generally held in the presence chamber, the second in the privy chamber or other inner room.
[194] Cal. SP Ven. vol. 16, p. 107 (10 January 1620). In 1618, Queen Anne received the Venetian Ambassador in the presence chamber at Oatlands; she was standing, then seated herself on the dais, inviting the ambassador to do the same. 'A circle was formed round them at some distance, of ladies and cavaliers, all standing respectfully': ibid, vol. 15, p. 314 (14 September 1618)
[195] For a contemporary description of the banqueting house prepared for masques, see: Platter and Busino 1995, pp. 136-144. For touching for the king's evil, see: Finetti Philoxenis, p. 58, and Rye 1865, pp. 151-2. One of the many receptions which took place in Whitehall's banqueting house was that of the Elector Palatine in 1612, on which occasion the King and Queen were 'on a dais raised up ten steps, which is unusual': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 443 (9 November 1612). For a further discussion of the banqueting house and its function as a presence chamber, see: Thurley 1999, pp. 78-88
[196] Interestingly, this was not the case with the Prince of Wales; Jacobean regulations make clear that he generally dined in the presence rather than the privy chamber: Ordinances 1790, p. 338-9; 1612 regulations, pp. 31-2 and p. 35
[197] See: Baillie 1967, pp. 169-170, BL Sloane MS 1494, f. 11ff, and Keay 2004 (unpubl.), pp. 94-126. An account describes how on St George's Day of 1610, James 'was quite four hours at table, owing to the number of courses and the various ceremonies that were observed': Rye 1865, p. 60. For some of the ceremony involved in dining, see: Platter and Busino 1995, pp. 60-62

too near to the table'.[198] The washing of hands and handing out of towels was one of the features of the elaborate ceremony of dining, and seating arrangements and provisions took on significance: the king and queen sat on the grandest chairs – at the banquet of 1604, they were 'on chairs of brocade with cushions' – while the other royals and honoured guests might sit, as they did in 1604, on 'tambourets of brocade' with cushions.[199] The hierarchy ranked through a variety of chairs with arms and backs, just backs, stools (high and low, some with backs), and ended with plain standing.[200] After the meal was over, the presence chamber could be cleared of its tables and chairs and used for dancing.[201]

As with other state rooms, the presence chamber was always to be attended by the monarch's servants. The 1610 ordinances for Prince Henry's household instructed the room's staff to ensure it was 'well furnished with gentlemen, that strangers and men of quality that shall retort unto his Highnes's court may not finde it emptie'.[202] The room's primary officers were many; they included gentlemen ushers daily waiters, carvers, cupbearers and sewers, and there were also the ceremonial guards, the sergeants at arms and the gentlemen pensioners.

Politically, the presence chamber was associated with the privy chamber – where the status of one declined, the status of the other tended to change. Hence, from c. 1540, the presence chamber declined in prestige as the privy chamber grew more public. During the Elizabethan period, when the privy chamber became once again a wholly private realm, the presence chamber was re-established as the last room of the outer lodgings. However, with the

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[198] Rye 1865, p. 118
[199] Ibid
[200] See: Keay 2004 (unpubl.), pp. 100-2. In 1618, at a dinner at Oatlands, the Venetian Ambassador alone sat on 'a high elbow chair of crimson velvet'. The rest of the company, 'cavaliers and ladies', sat on 'stools without any support, though covered in silk'. At the ambassador's side sat the Countess of Arundel, 'the chief lady of the court and kingdom', while 'others followed according to their rank, a matter in which they never make a mistake': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, pp. 314-5 (14 September 1618)
[201] This was the case, for instance, with the 'audience chamber' at Whitehall in 1604; see: Rye 1865, p. 122
[202] Ordinances 1790, p. 338. See also: 1612 regulations, p. 31. The 1627 ordinances of Queen Henrietta Maria state that 'it is dishonourable that the Presence Chamber, where the state and honour of the Queene oughte to be kept, be left empty': Ordinances 1790, p. 341

establishment of the Bedchamber in 1603, political focus moved to the inner rooms, and both presence and privy chambers were increasingly public. In 1605, Robert Naunton described the presence chamber as 'a mere passage … and little better to improve a man in matters of importance than the road between this and Royston'.[203] Access was, nonetheless, a privilege, allowed only with permission.[204]

Privy Chamber

For much of the period between the late fifteenth century and 1603, the junction between presence and privy chambers represented the crucial intermediary point between outer and inner. The Tudor institution of the Privy Chamber as a sub-department of the household ensured that the space and its staff were of major significance, and access was highly prized and guarded, especially in the period before c. 1540. Physically, the boundary between presence and privy chambers was often marked, to emphasise the fact that passage between the two rooms 'involved moving from one court arena to another'.[205] At Whitehall and Hampton Court, the two rooms were separated by a closet and a short gallery or passage. This provided, as Simon Thurley puts it, an 'air-lock', and served as 'an effective filter between the crush of the Court in one room and the relative tranquility of the privy chamber'. [206]

Access to the privy chamber was monitored by gentlemen ushers of the Privy Chamber, who, under normal circumstances, would admit only important figures such as Privy Councillors. An undated document – probably of summer 1603 – records 'noblemen allowed in the Privy Chamber' (including the Earls of Rutland, Sussex and Home), while the 1612 regulations for the Prince's

[203] Quoted in: Cuddy 1987a, p. 183
[204] In c. 1612, the Prince of Wales's regulations stated that the room's staff should 'not suffer any to enter into the presence chamber unlesse they bee suche of his highnes's servantes, and other men of qualitye as are fitte to have accesse into the said place': 1612 regulations, p. 31. These ordinances also state (on p. 42) that 'Noe inferior household servantes shall presume to bring any strangers into the presence chamber or other place where the prince shalbee without license granted by suche as have authoritye there'. For such restrictions during the reign of Charles I, see: BL Sloane MS 1494, f. 6v
[205] Thurley 2003, p. 59
[206] Thurley 1993, p. 126 and p. 125

household instructed that 'none enter into the [privy] chamber, but those of the Chamber … and such others as shall have his highnes's especiall allowance'.[207] The 1631 ordinances of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria stated that 'none under the degree of Barons or Baronesses' be admitted into the privy chamber.[208] During the night, the room formed the province of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; after the traverse had been drawn, they were to see that the back doors were 'locked and bolted on the inside' and that 'none enter into the privy chamber, or goe oute of the same by any other waye then through the presence and greate chamber'.[209]

It would have been in the privy chamber that Henry VIII dressed and dined on a daily basis. However, the room's role changed somewhat after c. 1540; as the presence chamber lost some of its privacy, increasingly becoming the domain of lesser courtiers, some of its traditional roles passed to the privy chamber. In the latter years of Henry's reign, the privy chamber was used for the monarch's private and public dining (Fig. 39), for the reception of important guests, and became an anteroom to the principal private rooms.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the privy chamber – although occasionally used for meetings with 'noblemen and others' – seems to have readopted much of its early Tudor privacy.[210] Unlike her father, Elizabeth did not favour public dining; it was said that she 'dines and sups alone with very few attendants; and it is very seldom that any body, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time'.[211] As Pam Wright has shown, the room's status as a private chamber of an unmarried woman with a predominantly female household meant that its political significance sharply declined and the right of entrée took on even

[207] HMC Salisbury, vol. 15, p. 220; 1612 regulations, p. 29. See also: Ordinances 1790, p. 338. Under Henry VIII, only 15 named individuals were allowed access to the privy chamber. See the Eltham Ordinances of 1526 in: Ordinances 1790, p. 154
[208] Ordinances 1790, p. 348
[209] 1612 regulations, p. 30. Prince Henry's household ordinances of 1610 stated that at least four such gentlemen should 'lye nightly in the Privy Chamber, to bee in readines upon any occasion wherein their service may bee used': Ordinances 1790, p. 337
[210] Cal. SP Scotland, vol. 10, p. 303 (30 May 1590)
[211] Rye 1865, pp. 106-7. The traveller Thomas Platter was admitted to see the Queen's luncheon laid and served (if not eaten) at Nonsuch in 1599; he noted that Elizabeth 'very seldom partakes before strangers': Platter and Busino 1995, p. 61

greater importance.[212]

James's arrival in England in 1603 represented a change. The privy chamber's political significance was now transferred to the bedchamber, and the Privy Chamber staff – once royal body servants – came under the control of the Lord Chamberlain. The room thus became one of the outer state rooms, though its position in the hierarchy meant that access was not entirely open. Once again, the practice of dining in public – meaning dining in state, not necessarily in front of an audience – was revived. Contemporary documents mention frequent public and semi-private dining in privy chambers during the Jacobean years, both at Whitehall and at palaces such as Theobalds.[213]

The privy chamber – which, like the presence chamber, usually contained a canopy of estate – formed a key part of the daily routine of Charles I. Soon after his accession, it was commented that, 'Every morning he shows himself in the privy chamber in the presence of all the lords and officials of that apartment'.[214] Throughout his reign, the room continued to be used for dining, and took on particular importance as an anteroom. In 1625, the Ambassador to Persia, Sir Robert Shirley, was shown into the privy chamber at Whitehall, where notice was given of his arrival, 'all further passage being begun then to be debarred to all, but Privy Councellours, and Bed-chamber men'.[215]

It is interesting to note that, where space or pre-existing arrangements did not allow for a separate privy chamber, the role of the room could be combined with that of the presence chamber. This was the case at Windsor, for example.[216] Household regulations of Charles I stated that, 'in all houses where one

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[212] Pam Wright has described the room's Elizabethan incarnation as 'a barrier or a cocoon', behind and within which the Queen 'could strictly control access': Wright 1987, p. 159

[213] In 1615, for instance, Ferdinand Boischot, Ambassador of Flanders, dined with the King in the privy chamber at Whitehall, and soon after the Spanish Ambassador dined with James in the privy chamber at Theobalds, 'The King seated (as alwaies) in the midst of the Table, the Ambassador on his left hand at the end', while other gentlemen and servants ate elsewhere: Finetti Philoxenis, pp. 29-30 and p. 35

[214] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 19, pp. 26-7 (2 May 1625)

[215] Finetti Philoxenis, p. 145

[216] in 1619, the French Ambassador was given audience by the King at Windsor 'in the Presence or privy Chamber (one there serving both turnes)': Finetti Philoxenis, p. 59, and see also p. 140

chamber is for Our Presence and Priuie Chamber, the said Chamber shalbe avoided and become the Priuie Chamber after warning giuen to couer the table there for Our meales, and also at all other times, when Our pleasure shalbee to haue the same priuate'.[217] This emphasises flexibility of function: a chamber could be public or private, according to the needs of the monarch or the occasion.

Withdrawing Chamber

The withdrawing chamber, placed between privy chamber and bedchamber, was a feature of the English royal apartment from the reign of Henry VIII, and became common from the late sixteenth century.[218] Like the spaces sometimes positioned between presence and privy chambers, the withdrawing chamber served as an 'air-lock', ensuring the bedchamber was not readily visible to those in the privy chamber. Access was controlled by the Groom of the Stool and his gentlemen, or – during the reign of Elizabeth – by the ladies of the bedchamber.

Under Elizabeth, the withdrawing chamber served as a retreat for the monarch, but during James's reign its use was often more public, the room taking on some of the roles traditionally ascribed to the privy chamber. It might be a waiting room or a dining room, and was also used for state business.[219] In 1624, James gave a first audience to the States (Dutch) Ambassadors in the withdrawing chamber at Whitehall, although the fact that such an important meeting took place in this room as opposed to the presence chamber was noted by Sir John Finet as being uncommon.[220] The holding of private or secret audiences in the withdrawing room was more frequent, and was practiced both by James and Charles, after measures ensuring privacy had been put in

[217] TNA LC5/180, f. 24v (regulations of c. 1630)
[218] It should be noted that there seems to have only ever been a single withdrawing chamber during the Tudor and Jacobean periods. The room does not appear to have been subject to the expansion which affected the French *antichambre* during the late sixteenth century.
[219] The Swedish Ambassador waited in the withdrawing chamber at Newmarket, before being taken to dine with the King in the presence chamber, and the Privy Council was appointed to wait in the withdrawing chamber when they came as a body to see the King: Finetti Philoxenis, p. 43; Cuddy 1987a, p. 192. On another occasion, James I received the Ambassador of Savoy in his withdrawing chamber at Newmarket: Finetti Philoxenis, p. 33
[220] Finetti Philoxenis, p. 137

place.[221]

Charles I seems to have been stricter than his father in granting access to the withdrawing chamber, the bedchamber and inner rooms; this fact is borne out by the remark made in 1625 that all passage beyond the privy chamber had 'begun then to be debarred to all, but Privy Councellours, and Bed-chamber men'.[222] The 1627 ordinances for Henrietta Maria's household include instructions that 'noe countess or other lady come into the Withdrawing Chamber, without asking leave, but onely as the Queene shall admit by express order delivered by herselfe to her Chamberlaine or Vice Chamberlaine'.[223]

Charles II's Bedchamber ordinances of 1661 show that the withdrawing chamber was the night-time province of the grooms of the Bedchamber, and the esquire of the body also had to wait in the room every night 'to receive the Watch-word from Us [the King]'.[224] By the late seventeenth century, however, the use of the room had changed markedly: it became a waiting room to the now public bedchamber, and it was not hard to gain access.[225]

Bedchamber

The bedchamber, together with its adjoining closets and inner rooms, formed the most private area of a palace. After 1603, it was served by dedicated staff, headed by the Groom of the Stool, first gentleman of the Bedchamber, who would have slept in the room during the night.[226] Other household officers were generally excluded, as were courtiers and honoured guests. Sadly, the

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[221] See, for instance: Finetti Philoxenis, p. 100 and p. 178. The 1661 Bedchamber ordinances state that when audiences were being held in the withdrawing chamber, the Groom of the Stool 'may appoint any of the Groomes of Our Bedchamber to waite att the Doore next unto Our Privy Gallery, And the Pages att the Doores next the Backstaires, and soe in the Bedchamber at such times the Groomes are to waite at the Doore within, and the pages without': NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, f. 7v

[222] Finetti Philoxenis, p. 145

[223] Ordinances 1790, p. 342, and see p. 348. See also: Pegge 1791, vol. 1, p. 66. When the Queen ate privately – in the withdrawing chamber, bedchamber or cabinet – 'none are admitted to attend or bee present but the ladyes and gentlewomen that are sworne in those chambers': Ordinances 1790, p. 343

[224] NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, ff. 6-7 and f. 8v, and see BL Add. 5017, f. 9v

[225] See: Keay 2004 (unpubl.), p. 50

[226] See: Cuddy 1987a and Cuddy 2000

Bedchamber ordinances of the early Stuart kings are not known to survive; however, the ordinances of Charles II, set down in 1661 and later amended, may illuminate earlier arrangements.[227] They state:

> That noe person of what Condition soever doe at any time presume, or be admitted to come to Us into Our Bedchamber, but such as now are, or hereafter shall be sworne of it, without Our speciall Lycense, Except the Princes of Our Blood [228]

It should be noted that the bedchamber was not always what its name implies: it was the room in which the monarch *officially* slept. In very few palaces did the king or queen have only one bedchamber; the monarch may have had two or even three such rooms, one of which was often situated in the secondary (queen's) apartment. On a daily basis, the bedchamber might be used for the carrying out of private business, dining and the king's dressing – the ordinances of 1661 instructed the gentlemen of the robes to 'come to Us every morning into Our Bedchamber' and to stay 'untill Wee shall be Apparrelled and drest'.[229]

Although the bedchamber was later – from the reign of Charles II – to be the setting for formal receptions and ceremonies,[230] such a use was highly unusual during the reigns of James I and Charles I.[231] For instance, in 1623, at Newmarket, the Ambassadors of Flanders and Spain passed through the privy and withdrawing chambers 'into the Kings Bed-chamber (where all others, but the Agent of the Archdutches Monsieur Van Mall, who attended him there) were

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[227] NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92 (1661 ordinances), NUL Portland MSS, PW V 93 (1673 amendment) and NUL Portland MSS, PW V 93 (additional orders of 1678). As Anna Keay has pointed out in her thesis (Keay 2004, pp. 41-2, note 133), care should be taken when using the late seventeenth-century Bedchamber ordinances as testimony of early Stuart practice, which was fundamentally different.

[228] NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, f. 7v

[229] Ibid

[230] Anna Keay has written at length about the use Charles II, familiar with French customs, made of his bedchamber: Keay 2004 (unpubl.), pp. 27-48. The King's reign saw the transferral of formal events from the outer state rooms to the bedchamber, and the room was also used for the newly instituted ceremonies of lever and coucher. Still, access was only theoretically possible with the explicit permission of the King.

[231] James I did give a few audiences in his bedchamber – generally when he was ill and, in particular, in his later years. See, for instance: Cal. SP Ven. vol. 14, p. 117 (29 January 1616); ibid, p. 348 (17 November 1616); vol. 16, p. 519 (8 January 1621); ibid, p. 273 (1 April 1622); vol. 18, p. 262 (5 April 1624); and Finetti Philoxenis, p. 120, p. 136 and pp. 137-8. In September 1622, the French Ambassador even dined 'with his Majestie in his beddchalmer privatlye': HMC, *Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie* (London, 1930), p. 186 (25 September 1622)

excluded'.[232] Access was generally strictly limited, and elaborate (triple) locks were placed on the bedchamber doors.[233]

Closet and Inner Rooms

The royal bedchamber was invariably followed by a sequence of other private spaces, which might include a garderobe, closet, study or library, jewel house and coffer chamber. Because of the private nature of the inner rooms – even during the reign of Charles II – it is difficult to be clear about specific details and functions. The chambers are rarely described by visitors, courtiers or household officers, and ordinances and accounts provide only a basic flavour. What is clear is that their number and size increased during the reign of Henry VIII, from the 1530s, a development which mirrored (or was mirrored by) similar expansion in the apartments of French royal palaces.

Of the various inner chambers, the closet has received the most attention. This was used by the sovereign for private business; the closet of Henry VIII at Hampton Court is known to have contained cupboards, tables, boxes, chests and a clock.[234] Hugh Murray Baillie refers to the closet as 'the effective seat of government', whilst Robert Bucholz has written that, 'Here, a monarch could dispense with the more ceremonial of his or her two bodies in order to inform or gratify the one that was mortal'.[235] Locks were naturally vital throughout the state apartment, but were especially so in the closet and other inner chambers; they are likely to have been changed with frequency, and keys were probably issued on a restricted basis.

[232] Finetti Philoxenis, p. 120
[233] NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, f. 5, and see Cal. SP Ven. Vol. 19, p. 13 (18 April 1625). According to the Bedchamber regulations of James II, those to hold keys were the King (two, for his 'private use'), the Groom of the Stool, and three members of the Bedchamber: BL Add. 5017, ff. 6v-7
[234] Thurley 1993, p. 141
[235] Baillie 1967, p. 175; Bucholz 2000, p. 211

Back Stairs

One of the most important components of the privy lodgings was the back staircase. Used principally by the monarch's personal attendants, the stairs were closely guarded by pages – there was often a waiting room close by – and provided access to ground-floor rooms such as the wardrobe and privy kitchen, as well as gardens and courtyards.[236] Provision of this staircase was vital; it meant that access to the king or queen and their private rooms was possible without the need to traverse the public rooms of the apartment.

Concerns for the monarch's privacy and security naturally meant that access to the back stairs area – like that of the inner lodgings as a whole – was limited. The 1661 Bedchamber ordinances stated that, 'noe Suitors, or Strangers [are to] be admitted to attend att the Backstaires, or in any of the Rooms belonging to Our Bedchamber without the knowledge and leave of Our Groome of the Stole'.[237] The 1627 orders for Henrietta Maria's household instructed that all access to the state rooms 'must bee by the fore way, and neither by back stayres, or private doores'.[238]

However, in James's reign, at least, the 'back way' appears to have been slightly more accessible. It was used, for instance, by ambassadors on their way to private or 'secret' audiences with the monarch (presumably after they had been granted special permission). Informed of a private audience he was to have with Queen Anne in 1617, the Venetian Ambassador was told that he should go 'without telling anyone and with few attendants, and that on reaching the apartments of one of the chief ladies of the court he would be introduced to her [the Queen] thence by the secret stairs'. According to Horatio Busino, the

[236] Some ordinances of the reign of Charles II shed light on the status of privy gardens, stating that they should 'be observed in all particulars as our privy lodgings, concerning the service to be performed there by the Gentleman Ushers of our Privy Chamber'. An usher attended the King when he walked in the garden. See: Pegge 1791, vol. 1, p. 69
[237] NUL Portland MSS, Pw V 92, f. 7
[238] Ordinances 1790, p. 343. Those of 1631 similarly ordered that 'no person att anytime … bee att the backstayres, but such as should bee there': ibid, p. 348

ambassador's chaplain, the pair 'proceeded together by stairs and unknown passages, which I fancy are not even visited by the sun'.[239]

As the most direct route to the king's (or queen's) private realm, it naturally follows that the back stairs were among the most politically important areas of the palace. Robert Bucholz explains it thus:

> of all the nooks and crannies in any royal palace, the backstairs was, arguably, of the greatest social, political, even constitutional significance. It was here that the politician out of official favour; the plotter of the coup; the informant; the drinking companion; the paramour, ascended to meet the sovereign … if one wished to pay court to the great, the backstairs was the most likely place in which to run into them.[240]

Long Gallery

Almost invariably, from the reign of Henry VIII onwards, a long gallery was included within the innermost state rooms of a royal palace. Like those in France, English royal galleries were generally intended as private, and often formed the connection between the king's state apartment and that of the queen.[241] During the early seventeenth century, long galleries (often known as privy galleries) continued to be favoured, both by James and Anne, and served state functions in much the same way as withdrawing chambers: they were used for private – and occasionally public – audiences, and also served as waiting rooms.[242]

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[239] Platter and Busino 1995, pp. 129-130

[240] Bucholz 2000, p. 209 and p. 211

[241] In 1540, John Wallop referred to the fact that, like François I, Henry VIII kept to himself the key to his long gallery: SP Henry VIII, Part 5, p. 484 (17 November 1540). For a discussion of such galleries, see: Coope 1994, pp. 245-6

[242] In 1600, Baron Waldstein spoke of the gallery at Windsor Castle as containing 'the Queen's couch where she sits when she wishes to consult privately with her ministers': Waldstein 1981, p. 141. Queen Anne clearly used her long gallery at Somerset House as a chamber of retreat; in July 1614, she was dining privately in the gallery when her brother – the King of Denmark – managed to enter the Queen's presence chamber before being recognised: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 13, p. 167. There are many references to private audiences being held in long galleries, both by James and Anne; see, for instance: Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 23 (5 August 1610); ibid, p. 241 (25 November 1611); vol. 14, p. 96 (1 January 1616); vol. 15, p. 16 (5 October 1617); and Finetti Philoxenis, pp. 33, 36, 62, 73, 90 and 102. In 1618, the Russian Ambassadors were shown to the privy gallery at Whitehall, via the 'Stone Steps', the guard chamber and the presence chamber; in the gallery, they found James 'seated about a third part distant from the doore there, towards the Councell Chamber with his chaire back to the wall on the left hand': Finetti Philoxenis, p. 52

The proximity of the gallery to the bedchamber and other inner royal rooms meant that it was often used, like the back stairs, as a private route of access. In 1623, for instance, the Spanish Ambassador Don Hurtado de Mendoza went to his last audience in the King's withdrawing chamber at Whitehall 'by the way of the Park and Privy Gallery, as private'.[243] It is interesting to note that errors in protocol sometimes occurred: in 1617, the agent for the Duke of Florence was 'by mistake brought in[to Whitehall] … by the way of the Parke, and privy Gallerie'; no agent was meant 'to be admitted to that place by that way, but by the way of the privy Chamber'.[244]

With the accession of Charles I, new restrictions were placed on access to the inner royal rooms, and the gallery is an instance in point; in 1625, the secretary to the Count of Gondomar was asked to leave the privy gallery at Whitehall, as was the secretary to the Venetian Ambassador.[245] The 1627 orders for Henrietta Maria's household stated that only the ladies of the bedchamber were to enter the Queen's lodging via the privy gallery, probably in an attempt to curb its use as a shortcut.[246] That galleries were not to be used as routes of passage was stated firmly in the household regulations, while by the late seventeenth century, the privacy of galleries was strictly controlled by royal 'gallery keepers'.[247]

Conclusion

This study has considered three particular aspects of royal apartments in France, Scotland, Denmark and England – their general planning and composition, their use and their accessibility (the latter area, in particular, introducing much new research). With regard to the first, it has been seen that, over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, royal

[243] Finetti Philoxenis, p. 129, and see also pp. 136-7
[244] Ibid, p. 37
[245] Ibid, pp. 145-6
[246] Ordinances 1790, p. 343
[247] Ibid, p. 363; TNA LC5/140 is a document of 1673 entitled 'instructions for our gallery-keeper'

apartments developed in extent and elaboration, moving from limited sequences of rooms to extensive, cohesive suites. In all of the countries studied, such apartments tended to be placed at an upper level – typically, in the case of the principal suite, the first floor. A similar pattern has been traced with regard to general usage; all royal apartments included one or more rooms for reception, dining and ceremonial occasions, a bedchamber, and one or more inner rooms used for business, relaxation and other private activities.

By the mid-sixteenth century, there was generally a clear demarcation between the public and private areas of a royal apartment; as privacy and distance became more important – even for court cultures like that in France, known for its familiarity – this transition became highly charged. The specific nature of the two areas, and the transition between them, varied with country, monarch and political context. For instance, it has been shown that in Denmark, the monarch's private rooms were physically divided – by the level of a floor – from the public chambers of state. Meanwhile, in France, Henri III adopted elaborate court ceremonial and an extended sequence of rooms that placed him increasingly out of reach.

In order to create and safeguard this privacy, monarchs gave careful consideration to the accessibility of the various state rooms. This concern with accessibility has been found in all of the countries studied. Typically, limitations on access were achieved by two principal means: rigorous court etiquette (reflected in household regulations and royal orders) and changes to the structure of the royal household; for instance, in England, the institution of the Privy Chamber (and, later, the Bedchamber) had a major bearing on the accessibility of whole areas of the royal apartment.

All three of the areas studied are of relevance to the country house state apartment, for it is clear that royal example set a precedent. Many builders of country houses had first-hand knowledge of the planning and working of royal apartments, especially in England, but – for the Jacobean court – also in Scotland, France and Denmark. Even where they were not personally familiar with the buildings, their plans and appearance are likely to have been well

known to them. By the early seventeenth century, palaces such as Fontainebleau and Hampton Court had become legendary, drawings and other records ensuring they had a continuous influence upon those interested and involved in building.

CHAPTER THREE

The State Apartment in the English Country House: Origins, Function and Use

The country house state apartment enjoyed its heyday during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, which was also the great age of house building in England. And yet, despite this fact, such apartments have been little investigated. The first historian to explore the subject was Mark Girouard, who in two seminal works – *Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era* (1966; republished in 1983 with a revised title) and *Life in the English Country House* (1978) – traced the evolution of country houses, giving accounts of the development and use of such rooms as the parlour and great chamber.[1] The baton was picked up by some of the staff of the RCHME: Nicholas Cooper's work was published as *Houses of the Gentry: 1480-1680* (1999), while John Heward was author of a 1995 conference paper, 'The State Apartment in the 17th Century', and co-authored an introductory section on state suites in *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire* (1996).[2] Malcolm Airs's work on the early modern great house has shed further light on the subject, as have the series of conferences held under his aegis at the University of Oxford.[3] More recently, Mark Girouard's *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (2009) has extended the scholarship in this area, though makes no attempt to return specifically to the subject of state apartments.[4] Alongside such publications stands a body of work analysing hospitality and the households of the nobility and upper gentry. Among the most valuable studies in this field are those by Kate Mertes and Felicity Heal.[5]

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[1] See, in particular: Girouard 1980, pp. 30-64 and pp. 88-118, and Girouard 1983, pp. 59-61
[2] Cooper 1999; Heward 1995; Heward and Taylor 1996, pp. 22-27
[3] Airs 1975; Airs 1994; Airs 1995; Airs 1996
[4] Girouard 2009. Also of note are the various studies of individual country houses and their state apartments (such as Drury 1980, on Audley End); these will be cited, where relevant, in Chapters 4 and 5. Although this and the following chapters will focus on England, it is worth drawing special attention to McKean 2001 (especially pp. 66-68), which includes a discussion of the Scottish equivalent of the English state apartment. For France, the most useful work is Chatenet 2002, the penultimate section of which ('Le roi chez sujets', pp. 258-296) is of particular interest and relevance; it is the only intensive study of French noble state apartments to have been carried out to date.
[5] Mertes 1988; Heal 1990. The latter includes a lengthy study of the 'social geography of the great house', and a summary of the architectural history of the period; see: Heal 1990, especially pp. 28-30, pp. 36-48 and pp. 153-168, and see also: Heal 2007

On the whole, this scholarship forms an invaluable basis for understanding, though none of it – with the exception of John Heward's brief and rather sketchy paper of 1995 – concentrates specifically on state apartments, looking instead at the country house and household overall. This thesis, therefore, represents the first attempt at understanding the detailed planning and use of the country house state apartment in the Tudor and Jacobean periods, and consequently contains much new research, especially with regard to function (both on a daily basis and at times of state). This new work has involved the challenging of previously held assumptions; notably, that state apartments in great houses were used only on occasions of the utmost ceremony, occasions which are usually viewed as being confined to royal visits.[6] One of the aims of this chapter is to show that, in fact, state rooms were used, if not daily, on a far more frequent basis than has hitherto been widely recognised.

Such arguments are built upon a quantity of primary material which remains comparatively untouched by architectural historians, though its significance has long been recognised by Mertes, Heal and other scholars of the medieval and early modern household. This comprises a number of surviving household accounts or rolls, a range of inventories, and (perhaps most important of all) various household orders or regulations.[7] These – clearly based on regulations for the royal household – almost all relate to specific noblemen's households, and vary in detail and length.[8] There are, in addition, two key advice documents

[6] In the 2nd edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1989, vol. 16, p. 560), a 'state-room' is defined as 'a state apartment; a room in a palace, great house, hotel, etc; splendidly decorated and furnished, and used only on ceremonial occasions'. More recently, certain country house state apartments have begun to be referred to as 'royal apartments' or 'royal lodgings' by some architectural historians; see, for instance, Girouard 2009, p. 116, and Nicholas Cooper, 'New Hall at Hardwick', *Country Life*, 3 April 2008, vol. 202, p. 87. This obviously places emphasis on royal visits, overlooking the fact that, even where such rooms were built specifically with a monarch in mind, they had other functions, and would not have been covered in dust sheets for much of the year round. Girouard even proposes that, once a monarch had slept in a room, it was 'reserved for royal use': Girouard 2009, p. 121

[7] For a list of household rolls relevant to the period 1250-1600, see: Mertes, pp. 194-215 (Appendix A); for a list of inventories, see: Howard 1998; and for a list of household regulations, see: Girouard 1980, pp. 319-320. Most regulations list the officers of the household by job title, and provide information on their various responsibilities. The intention of such documents was to bring order and obedience to the household. Thus, they aimed at an ideal situation, though they can still provide invaluable evidence on the daily functioning of a great house.

[8] The only known example for a gentry household is that relating to Wollaton Hall: Willoughby 1572. For royal regulations, see: Ordinances 1790. Other documents worth noting include: BL Add. 71009 (see Appendix 1), 1612 regulations, and BL Sloane MS 1494 (royal regulations dating from reign of Charles I)

which survive from the early modern period: one undated but seemingly of the early Tudor period, with a late sixteenth-century copy, and the other of c. 1605.[9]

It should be noted that, given the comparative paucity of the evidence, the following account draws upon material dating from the second half of the fifteenth century to the late seventeenth century. Key points will be investigated that shed light on the focus of study here, the Jacobean period, and documents of that date will be used wherever possible. The distinctions between state and great apartments have also been treated flexibly; this differentiation was not made at the time, and references to bedchambers, for instance, remain illuminating, even where they do not relate specifically to state bedchambers. The great household has been given particular focus, with the aim of populating the early modern state apartment – showing who used it and why – and of illustrating the fact that state apartments had a function beyond the royal visit. The arrangements surrounding royal visits are also discussed here, as they have an important usefulness in helping to shed light on the furnishing, decoration and function of state apartments at a particular moment. In addition, visits made by other figures of rank are given focus, to emphasise the fact that members of the royal family were just one of a number of potential illustrious guests.

The Evolution of the Country House and the State Apartment

What was to become the standard plan of the medieval and early modern country house was well established by the fourteenth century, and was possibly in existence from the twelfth.[10] It comprised, at its most basic, a central hall range – in the early medieval period, the great hall represented the focus of the life of the household – with upper (family/guest) and lower (service) wings to

[9] The Tudor document (cited here as 'Orders of service') is fully entitled 'Orders of service belonging to the degrees of a duke, a marquess, and an erle used in their owne howses'; it is preserved in the British Library and has never been published. The Jacobean document (Braithwait 1605) was published in 1821 as *Some Rules and Orders for the Government of the House of an Earle*; it has been ascribed, incorrectly it now seems, to Richard Braithwait (1588?-1673).
[10] Pevsner 1960, p. 3

either end.[11] The divisions between the two end wings were both architectural and hierarchical. At the upper end of the hall, beyond the dais, was the solar or great chamber block, to which the owner and his family could retire. Approached by a staircase, originally external and later incorporated within the body of the house, the upper floors of this block included the great chamber or solar and various bed-sitting rooms. These were flexible in use; Mark Girouard has written that 'even great people used the same chamber for sleeping, playing games, receiving visitors, and occasional meals'.[12] On the other side of the hall was the service wing or low end, which typically contained a buttery, pantry and kitchen, and may also have included rooms for the daily, informal use of the owner and his family.

The 1400s saw a considerable refinement of this basic arrangement. With an increased demand for comfort and privacy, the growth in size of the household and an added emphasis on hospitality (see below, pp. 125-126 and pp. 131-138), the two wings expanded to include a variety of lodgings, typically arranged around one or more courtyards. One of the most notable changes of this period was the erosion in importance of the great hall. By the second half of the fourteenth century, the noble owner and his family had – following royal example – begun to eat and entertain in the great chamber and parlour, and the transferral was more or less complete by the reign of Edward IV. The hall, given over to the use of the upper servants, was henceforth used by the owner only on important occasions.[13]

Thus, the great chamber – usually placed at first-floor level – became the focus for increasingly elaborate ritual, especially that associated with dining. By the time of its greatest magnificence, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the room had become the 'ceremonial pivot of the house'.[14] As the hall became smaller in size, the great chamber became larger and grander,

[11] The following account is based largely on: Wood 1983, especially pp. 55-80 and pp. 177-188; Girouard 1980, especially pp. 30-64 and pp. 88-118; and Cooper 1999, especially pp. 273-322. Also of use is Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales: 1300-1500*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1996), p. 4, and vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 31-33

[12] Girouard 1980, p. 40

[13] At Cowdray in 1595, Viscount Montagu and his family did not even use it then: Montagu 1595, p. 120

[14] Girouard 1980, p. 88

signifying an owner's wealth and power. As the room's status rose, its function began to change; by c. 1500 it was, according to Mark Girouard, in a 'state of considerable flux'.[15] By the early to mid-sixteenth century, the room's role as a sleeping chamber for the owner or honoured guest had generally been transferred to one or more specialised bedchambers (a term common from the mid-1500s).[16] The diversification of room spaces and functions which resulted in the state apartment had begun.

The change in status of hall and great chamber was reflected elsewhere in the house. It resulted, for instance, in the growth in importance of the great parlour, an informal sitting and eating room on the ground floor.[17] The staircase also grew in significance. From the fifteenth century (and especially from the mid-1500s), with the new emphasis on first-floor rooms, a stately ascent became essential. One of the pioneering staircases of this type was that at Holdenby, begun in 1571.[18] Other notable examples include the staircases at Theobalds (c. 1582), Hardwick (New) Hall (1591-7), Knole (c. 1604-8) and Hatfield (1607-12).[19]

As shall be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the state apartment underwent considerable refinement, in particular during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. With the duties of hospitality in mind – and the increasing possibility of a visit by members of the royal family or others of rank – the nobility and upper gentry placed greater emphasis on rooms for the entertainment and accommodation of honoured guests. During this period, state apartments grew ever more complex and elaborate, and became the chief means by which a house owner might demonstrate his power, taste, pedigree and allegiances.

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[15] Ibid, p. 53

[16] The term had existed earlier. See, for instance: Furnivall 1868, p. 316 ('The Booke of Courtesy' of c. 1420)

[17] The parlour was usually placed beneath the great chamber, though second or even third parlours ('little', 'low' or 'winter' parlours) might be located at the service end of the house, for warmth and to facilitate the oversight of household business.

[18] Lord Burghley, visiting Holdenby in 1579, famously remarked to the house's builder, Sir Christopher Hatton, that he 'found no one thing of greater grace than your stately ascent from your hall to your great chamber': quoted in: Hartshorne 1868, pp. 15-16

[19] Newman 1985, pp. 175-6. According to Nicholas Cooper, formal stairs did not appear at all commonly in gentry houses until after the mid-sixteenth century, and in most houses older arrangements persisted until the 1590s: Cooper 1999, pp. 310-11

The Noble Household

The similarities between the noble household and its royal equivalent are striking. Like the monarch, members of the nobility were served by a large body of servants, whose responsibilities were clearly (and hierarchically) defined; royal household positions were replicated in roles such as steward and master of the horse. These similarities do not necessarily mean that the royal household set the precedent; as Kate Mertes has pointed out, 'royal grew out of noble, not vice versa'.[20] Nonetheless, whatever their origin, noble households were clearly mimicking the household of the sovereign by the sixteenth century.[21]

The scale of the noble household was impressive. By the 1450s, the average household of an earl included 200 or more servants, more than double the average size of its late fourteenth-century equivalent.[22] By the early Tudor period, the average size had dropped to around 150, which was, of course, still comparatively large.[23] However, although there were exceptions,[24] very large households were increasingly uncommon after the accession of James I.[25] Around 1605, it was said that 'noble men in these daies (for the most parte) like better to be served with pages and groomes, then in that estate which belongeth to their degrees'.[26] The King is known to have been concerned about

[20] Mertes 1988, p. 9. Mark Girouard has described the royal household as 'only the grandest of a series of households all organised on the same lines and each equipped with its own administrative service, its own courts, and its own fighting force': Girouard 1980, p. 16
[21] Henry VIII's Eltham ordinances describe the King's household as 'requisite to be the myrrour and example of all others within this realme': Ordinances 1790, p. 146
[22] Mertes 1988, p. 187. This number may have included retainers, employed on special occasions when an extraordinary show of magnificence was required.
[23] In 1512, the household of Henry Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland – one of the most elaborate of the day – included nearly 170 staff, including a chamberlain, steward, treasurer, comptroller, six chaplains and two gentlemen ushers: Jones 1918, p. 10 and see pp. 12-14
[24] During the reign of Elizabeth, the Earls of Derby maintained a household of around 140 staff, while Henry, 5th Earl of Worcester, who died in 1646, employed more than 150 staff at Raglan Castle: Derby, p. xiii; Jones 1918, p. 10. Lupold von Wedel, who visited England and Scotland in 1584-5, remarked that, 'The gentlemen and nobility retain more servants here than I have ever seen elsewhere': Robson-Scott 1953, pp. 47-8
[25] An idea of size is given by the fact that, in the Jacobean period, the principal household of Sir Robert Cecil at Hatfield House totalled about 65 individuals: pers. comm. (Robin Harcourt Williams). The household of Apethorpe Hall was similar in size, comprising about 60 people in the mid-seventeenth century: pers. comm. (Kathryn Morrison)
[26] Braithwait 1605, pp. 11-12

such a decline and, in a number of proclamations, sought to restore ‘magnificence’ to the English great house (see pp. 50-51 and p. 137).

Naturally, the larger the household, the more complex and specialised was its structure. The lord and his family, at the top of the scale, were served by a number of principal servants. In general, these were three in number: the steward or seneschal, ‘a kind of general manager’; the treasurer, who supervised household finances; and the comptroller or controller, who assisted the treasurer and provided independent accounts.[27] Each of the chief officers was responsible for a group of servants, ranked hierarchically from gentlemen down to yeomen or valets, grooms and pages.

The gentleman usher – the most significant officer as far as this study is concerned – governed the areas ‘above staires’: the great or dining chamber and associated rooms, galleries, and family and guest lodgings.[28] The usher – who seems to have carried a ‘dubble keye’ – was served by a body of staff which included yeomen and groom ushers and waiters, responsible for keeping the rooms clean, well presented, heated and lit.[29] The gentleman usher oversaw the service of food in the great chamber and other ‘above stairs’ areas, and had special responsibility for the reception and entertainment of guests, an aspect of his role which will be discussed below.

There was a sense of staff jurisdiction with regard to specific rooms of the house and appropriate levels of access. For instance, regulations of 1603 refer to the ‘dining chamber, great chamber with the gallerie entries and staires’ as ‘belonging’ to the charge of the groom of the chamber.[30] A guidance document

[27] Mertes 1988, p. 22. Exceptionally, the family might also have been served by a chancellor, chamberlain, auditor and receiver.
[28] Banks 1605, p. 321. The gentleman usher had no authority over the hall or service areas, though it is interesting to note that at Cowdray in the late sixteenth century the gentleman usher was responsible for appointing ‘all serrvanttes chambers, and who shall lye in them’: Montagu 1595, p. 125
[29] Montagu 1595, p. 126, and see: Braithwait 1605, p. 11
[30] Ellesmere 1603, point 1 (groom of the chamber). In 1601, the Berkeley regulations ordered that ‘none of my gentlemen only the gentleman usher excepted’ should have access to the service rooms. The same document described the hall as ‘a fit place for the yomen’ and the dining room as ‘most convenient for the gentlemen to make their most abode in’: Berkeley 1883, p. 421 and p. 418

of c. 1605 is especially interesting in introducing a sense of differentiation between those staff responsible for the great chamber and those who looked after the withdrawing chamber, galleries and associated private areas.[31] This division in responsibility seems to imitate a contemporary change in the structure of the royal household: the institution of the Bedchamber (see pp. 99-100).

In noble households, the staff of the inner chambers – headed by the same officer responsible for the apartment's outer rooms, the gentleman usher – seem to have included the grooms of the bedchamber and yeomen and grooms of the wardrobe (the house's chief store of furnishings), who were directed by the gentleman usher 'in what sorte to furnish both strangers lodgings and other chambers'.[32] They were to keep clean not only the bedchamber, 'but also the withdrawing chamber and galleries', and were to be experienced in repairing textiles.[33]

The service of chamber staff was not limited to special occasions or times of ceremonial: it was all day and, in general, all year round. The regulations for the household of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, dating from c. 1520, include lists of gentlemen ushers and other staff who were to wait daily in the great chamber from 7am until 10pm.[34] In 1609, regulations for the Earl of Huntingdon instructed the grooms of the chamber to clean and tidy the dining and withdrawing chambers 'every morning by seaven of the clock in the somer, and eight in the winter'.[35] Six years before, Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere (later Viscount Brackley), had instructed his hall and great chamber staff to be ready by 6am in summer and 7am in winter; throughout the day, they were not to be absent, 'unlesse upon some occasion knowne unto my selfe the steward or

[31] The profit of the gaming box in 'the great or dining chambers' was to be 'divided betwixt the yeomen and groome', while that from the box in the withdrawing chamber or galleries 'belongeth to the groomes of the bedchamber, who are to keepe faire those Roomes': Braithwait 1605, p. 26
[32] Ibid, p. 3 and p. 27. The term 'stranger' was used in the early modern period to refer to anyone who did not form part of the normal household.
[33] Ibid, pp. 27-28
[34] Northumberland 1520, p. 310ff
[35] The grooms were to 'be alwaies there attendant, to make fyeres, and to doe suche other service as the … gentleman-usher shall commande him': Huntingdon 1609, p. 594

gentleman husher'.[36] Around 1605, it was similarly stated that the great or dining chamber should always be furnished with gentlemen and yeomen, 'to attend upon the Earle and Countes, either within the house or abroade, as they shal be commanded'.[37] The staff waited in shifts; in the early sixteenth century, the 5th Earl of Northumberland divided service between morning (which included the serving of dinner), afternoon and evening.[38]

Ceremonial in the Noble Household

One of the key functions of the noble household was the keeping of state – that is, the upholding of ceremonial suitable to an owner's rank and degree. In this aspect, as in structure, the noble household closely resembled its royal equivalent. Just as the sovereign was surrounded with ritual, especially when dining and receiving honoured visitors, so too was the nobleman.[39]

Different occasions were associated with varying levels of state, and it is probably true to say that no two households were exactly the same in their approach. In general, magnificence and display were focused primarily on the serving of food, a critical part of the routine of every household. Although these rituals of dining would not have been in operation on a daily basis, household regulations show that they were certainly very regular.[40] Meals were served at

[36] Ellesmere 1603, point 2 (general). This source is especially useful to this study as Lord Ellesmere (1540-1617) was active in the Jacobean household and court, and his rank meant that a royal visit was always possible (though one does not seem to have come to pass). Master of the Rolls in 1594-1603, Lord Ellesmere served as Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal from 1596 until his death. He was also Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire (1607-16). Ellesmere's principal country home was at Dudleston, Cheshire.

[37] Braithwait 1605, p. 12

[38] 20 servants were present between 7am and 1pm; 18 were on duty in the afternoon (from 1pm until around 4pm); and 30, in all, were in attendance during the evening (7pm until 9pm): Jones 1918, p. 149-150

[39] Such shows of state were frequently noticed by overseas visitors. In 1598, Paul Hentzer found the English to be 'lovers of show, liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their master's arms in silver': Rye 1865, p. 196 (note 30)

[40] They are described as 'ordinary' in Viscount Montagu's late sixteenth-century regulations: Montagu 1595, p. 133. A writer of the 1570s was anxious that table 'ceremonies' should be maintained even when they were unnecessary, in order that the house owner did not fall into bad habits and risk social mistakes with strangers: Bryson 1998, pp. 95-6. A document of 1605 reveals that decisions regarding the keeping of state could be made at quite short notice; gentlemen ushers were instructed to let the kitchen staff know 'whether the Earle be that day served in state, with Carver and Sewer, or otherwise': Braithwait 1605, p. 11

various points throughout the day. In the early sixteenth century, the 5th Earl of Northumberland took breakfast between 8am and 9am, dinner between 10am and 1pm, drinks at 3pm, supper between 4pm and 7pm, and brought the day to a close with a smaller meal known as the livery, served up 'for all night' at around 9pm.[41] Dinner was universally 'the pièce de résistance, upon whose elaborate pageantry no pains were ever spared'.[42]

Food was carried in a formal and elaborate procession from kitchen to great or dining chamber, via the great hall and stairs. As the sewer (waiter) carried the dishes through the screen, the usher of the hall caused those gathered in that room to clear the way and to 'stande uncovered' until the procession of dishes had passed by.[43] Usually, there were two tables in the great chamber (see p. 151), at which the owner, family members and guests were carefully positioned, taking account of precedence and status; as in royal ritual, the great salt cellar – placed at the centre of each table – was the key signifier of rank.[44] In 'the midest' of the principal table – known as the 'Lord's Board-End' – sat the owner, often beneath a canopy of estate, 'his face beeinge to the whole vewe of the chamber' (Fig. 40).[45] Alongside him at the upper end of the first table would have been his immediate family, while 'the best sorte of stranngers' would also have been placed at this end, 'above the lorde and ladie, as the principall place'.[46] The serving of food was replete with etiquette; the yeomen were, for instance, to give two curtsies, 'one at the middest of the chamber, and an other att the table'.[47] Individual courses had their associated actions; at the lord's table in the great chamber, the carver was to give the sewer 'a saye, of the

[41] Jones 1918, p. 152. The 2nd edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (vol. 8, Oxford, 1989, p. 1055) includes a quotation from Edmund Spenser of 1596, which states that 'In great howses, the liverye is sayd to be served up for all night, that is theyr nyghtes allowaunce for drinke'. A livery cupboard was originally an item of furniture from which 'liveries' or food were served out (ibid, p. 1056).
[42] Jones 1918, pp. 152-3
[43] Ibid. For more on these rituals, see, in particular: Braithwait 1605, pp. 22-4
[44] That practices were influenced by those at royal palaces is evidenced by a remark made around 1605. In describing the procedures for dining in the great house, a writer referred the gentleman usher to 'marke and see how the table in the presence chamber of the Kinges Majestie is served and ordered … and the better to furnish themselves with knowledge, they are to make meanes that they may be in the presence chamber, not onely at ordinarye times, but also when the Kings Majestie feasteth and entertaineth great strangers and Embassadors': Braithwait 1605, pp. 10-11
[45] Banks 1605, p. 321; Northumberland 1520, p. 419 (note)
[46] Banks 1605, p. 321
[47] Montagu 1595, p. 128, and see also p. 125

meate hee beareth; at the first course standinge, and the seconde course, kneeling on one knee'.[48]

During meal times, the porter locked the gates to the house; according to advice given around the late fifteenth century, they were only to be opened 'at the cumyng of a man of honor of the degree of a baron and upward'.[49] Once the lord's board was covered, none of the grooms were to enter the great chamber unless to tend the fire, lights or plates, nor were 'strangers under the degree of a gent to enter the said chamber'.[50] The door to the great chamber itself was kept by a yeoman, who ensured that none entered while the lord was at table, save 'the head officers and gents'.[51] Once the meal in the great chamber had been served, the usher of the hall saw that those dining in the great hall (such as officers of the household and guests of lesser rank) were seated.[52]

Household ceremonial, and the show of officers, was considerably elaborated on certain days of the year – most importantly, Easter, St George's Day, Whitsuntide, All Hallow's Eve and Christmas – and at other 'tymes of greatest service and state'.[53] The 2nd Viscount Montagu defined the latter as visits 'of the Prince, marriage of my children … Christmas, and the like'.[54] It was specifically instructed that yeomen waiters wear their household liveries on such occasions, while a Jacobean document mentions the white staves which the chief officers were to carry in the hall 'all Christmas time'.[55] The same source describes how 'At great feasts, or in time of great strangers' the coming of the ewer with the service was accompanied by the playing of a drum. When the earl's service was

[48] Banks 1605, p. 324. According to John Russell, writing around 1450, the tasting of food by servants was considered necessary only for royals, the pope, a duke and an earl: Furnivall 1868, p. 196
[49] Orders of service, f. 40
[50] Ibid, f. 41v
[51] Ibid
[52] Willoughby 1572, p. 539. The usher of the hall placed 'all noblemen's men which be fellows together, and all gentlemen according to every of their master's degrees'.
[53] Montagu 1595, p. 125. For the five principal feasts of the year, see: Northumberland 1520, pp. 70-1. Viscount Montagu mentions that he employed an extra gentleman usher 'for increase of state': Montagu 1595, p. 126
[54] Montagu 1595, p. 127
[55] Ibid, p. 131; Braithwait 1605, p. 25

going to the table, musicians were to play wind instruments, while during meal times they were to 'play upon Violls, Violins, or other broken musicke'.[56]

Surviving documents show that on 'principall feastes', the chief officers of the household were more closely involved in the ritual of the lord's meal than on 'ordinary' days, and that therefore the sense of display was increased. An early Tudor document describes the procession of the head officers with the sewer, who carried the lord's food.[57] Around a century later, these arrangements were still in place, at least in the household of the 2nd Viscount Montagu. His regulations of 1595 stated that 'in extraordinary actions, and festivall tymes' the steward and comptroller – wearing similar gowns and holding white staves – were to 'goe from the screene next before the Sewer through the hall, and the Marshall before them'. At their arrival at the great chamber, the yeomen ushers were to 'parte in the middest of the chamber, and give place to the service'; similarly, the two gentlemen ushers, 'a little forwarder', were also to part, 'the one to the one side, and the thother to thother side of the table, and soe meete at the salte'.[58]

The Duty of Hospitality

Aside from ceremonial and administration, the other key function of the great household was hospitality or 'housekeeping', considered a fundamental duty for members of the nobility and gentry in the late medieval and early modern periods. In 1698, it was defined as the 'Liberall Entertainment of all sorts of Men, at ones House, whether Neighbours or Strangers, with kindness, especially with Meat, Drink and Lodgings'.[59] The importance of hospitality to the English sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century great house can hardly be

[56] Braithwait 1605, p. 44
[57] Orders of service, f. 39v. At the front stood the marshall of the hall 'with his rodde', and then 'the head officers in degree'. The marshall was to stand at the foot of the 'stayers assending toward the great chamber', remaining there until the procession of food had passed, while the head officers were to carry the food to the lord's board, 'standing at the upper end of the same till the hole service be set on the table'.
[58] Montagu 1595, p. 133
[59] Quoted in: Heal 1984, p. 66

over-stated.[60] From the 1530s in particular, following the dissolution of the monasteries, the responsibility for hospitality was placed firmly on the shoulders of private figures of rank. Tradition, along with a proliferation of conduct and advice books and sermons, ensured that it was viewed as a prerogative of the élite and as one of the most visible manifestations of true nobility. House owners used hospitality as a means of ensuring and demonstrating their place in society, reinforcing social hierarchies and promoting social harmony. The duty was also closely bound to notions of reciprocity, and was a way in which figures exchanged vows of respect and loyalty, both political and economic.[61]

Household accounts and regulations show that during the heyday of the noble household, and of hospitality, the owners of great houses welcomed a huge number of visitors each year. Peers, friends, neighbours, family members – sometimes figures of state, ranking officials and foreign dignitaries – converged regularly on these residences, especially at traditional feasting times, on Sundays, and in the weeks around a royal progress. The frequency of visits is revealed by surviving guest lists, usually recorded as a means of keeping track of the provisions required and consumed.[62] For the year 1512-13, the 5th Earl of Northumberland calculated on entertaining the prodigious number of 57 strangers on average daily throughout the year.[63] At the Christmas celebrations held at Thornbury Castle in 1507, the Duke of Buckingham feasted just under

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[60] This emphasis on hospitality was recognised as being peculiar to England – it was said in 1563 that the English 'have bene ever counted the chiefest honourers of straungers' – though there was also a long tradition of hospitality in Scotland: Heal 1984, p. 71

[61] The duty of hospitality reflected the perception of the great house as a microcosm of society. In 1624, Sir Henry Wotton wrote of 'Every Mans proper *Mansion* House and *Home'* as being 'the *Theater* of his *Hospitality* … a kinde of private *Princedom*; nay, to the *Possessors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*': Wotton 1624, p. 82. The great house was also seen as a pseudo royal palace, in which an important nobleman was surrounded by his court and household and reflected the power of the sovereign. In the mid-1600s, Archibald, Marquess of Argyll – in advice to his son – wrote that open hospitality was essential, since 'Every ordinary mans house is his Castle, but a Noblemans is that and a Palace both, where there is reverence due to you as well as bare power and command': quoted in: Heal 1990, p. 189

[62] Documents of particular note are the Beauchamp household book of 1431-2 and the Paget household book of 1550-1, both of which cover significant periods of time rather than one-off occasions; see: Heal 1990, p. 51. The 'wekely brieffements' of 1587-90 included in the Derby household books give a breakdown of visitors to the Earl of Derby's houses, revealing a constant stream of guests – some on friendly visits, others for theatrical events or field sports: Derby 1853, pp. 28-90

[63] Jones 1918, p. 166

300 people for dinner and supper, a large proportion of whom were 'strangers'.[64]

Such examples are atypical – both the Earl of Northumberland and the Duke of Buckingham were known for their exceptional magnificence and generosity – but even in more regular households, the scale of hospitality is notable. On 11 November 1587, Sir Francis Willoughby held a dinner for 120 people at Wollaton Hall; the guests of honour were the Earl and Countess of Rutland.[65] As late as 1618, Belvoir Castle could still be described as 'a continual palace of entertainment, and a daily receptacle for all sorts both rich and poore'.[66] Occasions such as christenings, marriages and funerals were generally confined to family, friends, neighbours and the immediate peer group, but even they strained resources; Felicity Heal has commented that 'only a royal visit was more traumatic'.[67]

The granting of hospitality involved set procedures, fixed by tradition and upheld by conduct and other literature. The level, form and place of welcome depended on the rank of the guest, and there were clear (and rather complex) guidelines to aid in this regard. In general, the great chamber was used as the place of reception for men and women of influence, the hall for those of lesser rank who still had a claim to welcome, and the gatehouse for the poor.[68] The need for sensitive handling of visitors began with the porter; it was at the gatehouse that 'strangers' were first evaluated, and their treatment would follow accordingly.[69] The gentlemen ushers were tasked with the greeting, entertainment and

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[64] Gage 1834, pp. 319-27. At the feast of the Epiphany of 1508, Buckingham's guests increased to a vast 519 for dinner and 400 for supper.
[65] Friedman 1989, p. 135
[66] Quoted in: Heal 1990, p. 188
[67] Ibid, p. 81. In 1548, at Ingatestone Hall, as part of the wedding feast of 'Mistress Anne' (probably Lady Petre's daughter by her first marriage), about 400 guests were fed and many also accommodated: Emmison 1961, pp. 127-8
[68] Men of worship were generally entertained in the hall and, according to an account of the household of the Earl of Worcester in the 1630s, gentlemen 'under the degree of a Knight': Worcester 1827, p. 420
[69] Usually, a visitor's rank would be immediately obvious, conveyed through their method of arrival; the early Tudor 'Orders of service' stated that none were to ride into the courtyard of a house 'unles he be of the degree of the estate … and none to enter in on horsebacke wt hym but onlie his ladie': Orders of service, f. 40v

accommodation of honoured guests, a welcome which was carefully adapted to suit their status.[70]

Once the porter had identified visitors as gentlemen or ladies 'of quality', the gentleman usher was quickly alerted. The early Tudor 'Orders of service' stated that such visitors should be met at the gate by the head officers, accompanied by gentlemen, and brought 'to the place where the estate receyveth hym the hall being furnished wth the marshall, ushers, and yeomen of the chamber'.[71] Either before or soon after the visitor had been greeted and settled, the gentleman usher made a decision regarding accommodation, or sought 'to knowe his lord or lady's pleasure' as to where the 'strangers … shalbe lodged'.[72] He would then give notice to the yeomen of the wardrobe, who were responsible for readying and trimming up the chambers of guests, 'according to their qualitie and degree'.[73] In 1595, Viscount Montagu's yeoman of the wardrobe was ordered to 'see the galleryes, and all lodgeinges reserved for strangers cleanely, and sweetely kepte wth herbes, flowers, and bowes in their seasons, and the beddes … to be made'. After guests had departed, the yeoman was to ensure that their chambers were 'well, and handsomely drest uppe; and that noethinge be missinge'; he was then to see that 'the dores be locket uppe'.[74]

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[70] The Earl of Huntingdon's regulations of 1609 summed up the gentleman usher's duties as follows: upon the 'repaire of any strangers to the house', he was to 'be ready to give their enterteynment, and to see them brought to their lodgeings; and to keep them company as to their severall callings shall appertayne': Huntingdon 1609, p. 595. Depending on the rank of the visitor, reception and entertainment might also fall to the usher of the hall, who had to be astute enough to recognise any people 'of the better sort' who might have eluded the notice of either the porter or gentleman usher: Willoughby 1572, p. 539

[71] Orders of service, f. 41. If the visitor arrived during dinner or supper time – that is, when the gates were normally closed – the porter was to inform the head officers as soon as possible. In instances where the second course had not yet been served, and 'the honourable personage of no higher degree than the estate himself'', the host rose from his table to receive the guest 'without the great chamber dore': Orders of service, f. 36

[72] Ellesmere 1605 (office of a gentleman usher)

[73] Huntingdon 1609, p. 597. John, 1st Earl of Bridgwater instructed his wardrobe keeper to ensure that guest lodgings were 'well swept, and the beds in goode order' and to 'see that any thinge, that may be liable to give offence, be removed at a due and convenient tyme': Bridgwater 1652, p. 52. That furnishings were graded is proven by a reference made in advice for the future Charles II, written by the Duke of Newcastle. He noted that 'none under the Degree off a Barones can have Carpetts bye her Bedd & shee butt one or two att the moste': Newcastle on Government, p. 211

[74] Montagu 1595, p. 130

The presence of 'strangers' in the great house naturally prompted an increase in ceremonial, the scale of which depended on the rank of the guests. For instance, upper servants will usually have been expected to wear their livery coats, bearing the device and/or colour of the house owner.[75] Visitors were treated with special courtesy, as befitting their rank. Lord Ellesmere's household regulations of 1603 instructed his yeoman usher to 'give dilligent attendance at the Chamber doores'; if he saw the approach of gentlemen or 'personages of great accompt', he was to 'holde up the hanginge, and call to those that be in the waie, sainge by your leave my Masters geve place'.[76]

The serving of meals became, in the presence of strangers, an even more elaborate affair than usual. The gentleman usher and his staff had to be especially careful about placing guests and others at table, in order not to cause offence.[77] Throughout their time in the house, guests were attended by the gentleman usher or his staff, while the great chamber was kept continually furnished with attendants, partly to increase the sense of display but mainly to ensure that staff were there to 'doe such service as cause shall require'.[78] If there were a number of strangers – 'as', state the Viscount Montagu's regulations of 1595, 'will often happen' – the gentleman usher was to allocate one gentleman to accompany each guest to their chambers, 'soe that the most

[75] In regulations of 1601, the Earl of Berkeley instructed his chamber staff to mark visits by figures exalted enough to 'come into the dining chamber' by replacing their cloaks with livery coats for the 'first and the next day after the[ir] coming', unless it was a Sunday or holiday: Berkeley 1883, p. 419

[76] Ellesmere 1603, point 6 (yeoman usher)

[77] If the officers were in any way unsure, they were to 'take the opinion of the lorde, for the better avoidinge any such wronnge; and soe in like sorte for theire lodginges': Banks 1605, p. 325. John Russell's mid-fifteenth-century conduct book discusses this subject in detail, and provides suggested ways of grouping people at table: Furnivall 1868, pp. 187-190. During the presence of visitors of rank, extra staff may have been in attendance, both in the hall and in the above stairs area; see: Braithwait 1605, p. 23

[78] Berkeley 1883, p. 366. Other late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century documents reinforce this point, stating that gentlemen ushers and their staff should attend in the great chamber before and after meals, their purpose at those times being 'to give enterteynemente to all stranngers' and to 'fetche, or cause to be fetchte for strangers, what they shall wante or desire to have'; staff were 'not to departe the place but upon specialle cause': Banks 1605, p. 323, and Montagu 1595, p. 128. The Berkeley regulations of 1601 stated that, during such visits, the gentleman usher and his staff 'keep most in the dining chamber to make show of themselves both for the honor of my lo: and me and to be ready to do such service as shall be commanded them': Berkeley 1883, p. 419

sufficyent be allotted to the stranger of most worth'.[79] In the great chamber – or, more often, in their own lodgings – guests were served livery, a bed-time meal; this seems to have been placed 'upon the cupboard' in the guest's chamber.[80] The Earl of Berkeley's regulations of 1601 emphasise that such a repast was only to be served to 'those that are of credit', 'none to have any in my house under the degree of an esquire of an hundred pounds a year of an inheritance at the least'.[81] In the morning, the gentleman usher or one of his staff was to attend the guest, serving them breakfast, and afterwards attending them 'as shall seeme most convenient'.[82]

Nevertheless, although guests were treated with the utmost courtesy, and were the cause of a great deal of show, the privacy of the owner and their family seems to have been carefully maintained; the granting of hospitality did not necessarily mean a granting of ready access. In 1603, Lord Ellesmere stated that his gentleman usher was 'to bring into the presence of my selfe or my wife, such strangers as uppon occasion are to have acces or causing such doores as are needfull to be kepte shutt carefully so as my selfe nor my wife, be not ouer greatlie pestered, especially when wee or either of us woulde be private'.[83] This concern for privacy is similarly evident in the 1652 regulations for the household of the 1st Earl of Bridgwater, who instructed his yeoman usher to entertain 'strangers' but not to 'suffer such as come in to have access immediately to myselfe, or my wife, but must take care, that wee be first made acquainted with their cominge in'.[84] It is interesting to note that, in 1660, Sir Roger Pratt advised

[79] Montagu 1595, p. 126. A document of 1603 instructs that servants 'must be a knight, or theire mistress, in degree ffor noble men, and other honorable personages must be served by gents by direction of ye gent husher': Ellesmere 1603, point 15 (yeoman usher)
[80] See note below (Berkeley 1883, p. 420)
[81] Berkeley 1883, p. 420. Neither the gentleman usher, nor any other gentlemen staff, were permitted to attend the serving of liveries to guests 'under the degree of a baron'; only yeomen were to attend, 'unless it be a knight's son and heir or a gentleman of hundred mark lands of inheritance'. If the guest was the son of an earl or baron, then one gentleman was permitted to go with his livery and 'place the bread drink and plate upon the cupboard in his chamber'. See also: Ellesmere 1603, point 9 (gentleman usher)
[82] Montagu 1595, p. 125, and see: Huntingdon 1609, p. 595, and Berkeley 1883, p. 420
[83] Ellesmere 1603, point 2 (gentleman usher)
[84] Bridgwater 1652, p. 50. The Earl of Bridgwater's gentleman usher was instructed to 'Be ready to bringe strangers to myselfe, and my wife, with civill respect, but yet take care that access be not soe far to us that wee be troubled with those wee desire not to admitt': ibid

that ‘rooms of ordinary use ought to be placed as not to give the least disturbance to those of his [the owner’s] strangers, or theirs to each other’.[85]

With the course of the seventeenth century, there were increasing concerns about the decay of hospitality.[86] The supposed decline, blamed particularly on the drift of landowners to London, was a subject on which James I himself held passionate views.[87] In his Star Chamber speech of 1616, the King recalled a time when ‘it was wont to be the honour and reputation of the English Nobilitie and Gentry, to liue in the countrey, and keepe hospitalitie’.[88] He emphasised the importance of residing in country houses, especially during festivals such as Christmas and Easter, and of living with due decorum.[89] Certainly, the nature of hospitality had changed. The open, unselective generosity of the Middle Ages had increasingly been replaced with hospitality directed only at those of a certain social level – men of known ‘civility’, the few rather than the many.[90] Nonetheless, it is clear that the keeping of both state and hospitality lasted well into the seventeenth century. In the 1630s, the Earl of Worcester was being served dinner at Raglan Castle with as much state as the nobility of the preceding century.[91] Later still, in 1652, John, 1st Earl of Bridgwater was as

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[85] Pratt 1928, p. 27

[86] The demise of hospitality was bemoaned, in particular, in the ‘country house poems’ – a small group of works of the first half of the 1600s, authored primarily by Ben Jonson, Robert Herrick, Thomas Carew and Andrew Marvell. See: McClung 1977

[87] Of the 17 royal proclamations issued between 1596 and 1640 in an attempt to rejuvenate and encourage hospitality, 10 were published by James and 6 by Charles I. For a further discussion of these proclamations, see: Heal 1988, and see also: Lubbock 1995, p. 50. In the royal proclamations, together with Privy Council chivying, sermons, pamphlets and other literature, Jules Lubbock has identified a general ‘propaganda campaign aiming to advocate and uphold the values of country life against the dangers of erosion, and to present that way of life in the best possible light’: ibid, p. 53

[88] James VI & I, p. 226

[89] Ibid, p. 227. Having criticised the growth in importance and popularity of London, the King spoke as follows: ‘as as euery fish liues in his owne place, some in the fresh, some in the salt, some in the mud: so let euery one liue in his owne place, some at Court, some in the Citie, some in the Countrey; specially at Festiuall times, as Christmas and Easter, and the rest’.

[90] Heal 1984, p. 88. Nicholas Cooper has stated that the ‘man of culture showed his education and breeding among his intimates rather than by public parade of wealth and retinue’, and displayed his taste ‘in rooms to which only his friends had access’: Cooper 1999, p. 269. Similarly, Maurice Howard has written that, for owners of great houses in the 1500s, notions of hospitality shifted ‘towards a sense of the social requirement to entertain members of their own class on specific and pre-arranged occasions’: Howard 1994, p. 258. Ironically, this change may have been partly due to the monarchs themselves – the demands that both Elizabeth and James placed on the nobility and upper gentry ‘did much to create a convention of ceremonious hospitality which was inevitably at odds with the ideas of informal feeding of and generosity to the poor’: Heal 1990, p. 163

[91] Worcester 1827, p. 420

concerned for the proper entertainment of 'strangers' as his sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century forebears.[92]

The Entertainment and Accommodation of Honoured Visitors

A visit by a figure of special note – most particularly a member of the royal family – would have been considered an 'extraordinary' occasion in any household, and would have been associated with a specific code of behaviour, entirely different from the familiarity acceptable for peers or inferiors.[93] A royal visit was, of course, exceptional. Most members of the nobility or upper gentry could not expect to receive such an extraordinary honour. However, there were a number of other possible visitors who would have been the cause of considerable anxiety and anticipation for an owner and their household. For instance, members of the Privy Council, officers of the royal household, prominent courtiers, foreign dignitaries and lord lieutenants – in essence, anyone of equal or higher social standing than the owner himself.[94]

Such visits may, like those made by royalty, have been centred on the summer months – royal officers and others of rank generally accompanied the royal progress, and often found accommodation in houses in the immediate vicinity of the lodging place of the monarch.[95] At such times, the monarch may have made express provisions for their lodging; in 1617, for instance, Antonio Foscarini (former Venetian Ambassador) recalled how in one year King James had given him 'quarters at a palace called Burleigh [probably Burghley House], three miles off, and sent to fetch him for the hunt every morning, and sometimes to dine'.[96]

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[92] Bridgwater 1652, p. 50

[93] Obadiah Walker wrote that, 'The more familiarly, the more honorably are inferiors, or equals treated, (but superiors the less:) as to your table, or your bed-chamber, or closet, to your self in bed, dressing, or retired': Walker 1687, p. 232

[94] Lord Ellesmere, in his regulations of 1603, makes specific reference to times 'when noble personages, or privy counsellors shall lodge in the house': Ellesmere 1603, point 3 (general)

[95] For example, in anticipation of a visit by Elizabeth I to Berkshire in 1601, Sir John Popham invited Sir Robert Cecil to stay with him at Littlecote: Cole 1999, p. 68. In the end, the court did not go that far. In 1603, on their way to meet Queen Anne and Prince Henry at Dingley Hall, Lady Anne Clifford, her mother (the Countess of Cumberland) and aunt stayed with Sir Edward Watson at Rockingham Castle: Clifford 1990, p. 23. While the Queen was at Basing, the group lay '2 or 3 nights' at Sir Henry Wallop's at Farley: ibid, p. 26

[96] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 14, p. 601 (13 May 1617; articles of defence of Antonio Foscarini). The King's lodgings 'three miles off' were either at Apethorpe Hall or Burley-on-the-Hill.

There is also evidence that members of the nobility and upper gentry made progresses of their own.[97] For example, Lady Arabella Stuart made a progress in 1609, and Lady Anne Clifford describes a progress of nearly two months made in 1617 by her husband, Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset, during which he and his train stayed 'at many Gentlemen's Houses'.[98] Five years earlier, in 1612, the terminally ill Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, made a progress from London to Bath, staying at houses including Caversham, Shaw House and Lacock Abbey.[99]

Foreign visitors likewise made regular progresses. In 1600, Baron Waldstein visited houses and palaces including Fotheringhay, Burghley, Collyweston, Holdenby, Woodstock, Windsor, Hampton Court and Nonsuch, while in 1615 the Spanish and Archduke's Ambassadors went to Burghley 'and so in progresse to Sir Lewes Treshams [Rushton Hall], Sir Anthony Mildmayes [Apethorpe Hall] and other places thereabout in Northamptonshire'.[100] On his travels around England in 1608, the Duke of Wirtemberg was accompanied by royal letters instructing that he be 'received with due honour'.[101] Ten years later, the Venetian Ambassador reported that James had 'desired several noblemen whose estates are on the road by which the [Spanish] ambassador will travel when going down to the sea, to wait on him and receive him into their houses'.[102] There were also the judges, who rode circuit, followed by a train of law officials, barristers and attendants; as representatives of the monarch, they would have been warmly welcomed by house owners throughout the country. When travelling, such figures were often accompanied by a considerable number of attendants, and – like members of the royal family – might send ahead harbingers to ready their lodgings.[103] A nobleman's degree and status

[97] John Chamberlain frequently refers to progresses made by himself, noblemen and ambassadors; for instance, on 11 August 1612 he stated that 'Sir Henry Nevile with his Lady is gon a progresse into the Yle of Wight, and so into Somersetshire to see theyre daughters': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 376
[98] Parkes 1925, p. 65; Clifford 1990, pp. 61-2
[99] Nichols James, vol. 2, pp. 446-7. Cecil's progress lasted six days, from 27 April to 3 May.
[100] Waldstein 1981, especially map showing his route (p. 22); Chamberlain Letters, vol. 1, p. 612 (24 August 1615)
[101] Heal 1990, p. 204
[102] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 15, p. 244 (28 June 1618)
[103] Wood 1983, p. 178

was partly defined by the size of his retinue, which might have comprised anything from 30 to 200 people on horseback and in carts.[104] On his visit to England in 1606, Christian IV of Denmark was accompanied by a suite of over 300 people, including his guard, 'his private band' and around 50 gentlemen, an entourage considered 'not very large' by the Venetian Ambassador.[105]

Visits made by figures of rank seem to have involved the kind of ceremonial, feasting and entertainment associated more usually with the royal progress. The Earl of Rutland paid in 1541 for a drum 'agaynst the Duke of Norfolke's comynge to Belvoire', while in 1607 a visit by Alice, Countess Dowager of Derby, mother of Lady Huntingdon, was marked with a masque, held in the great chamber of Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle.[106] On these and other occasions, actors and musicians will have come to the house concerned in order to entertain the family and their guests.[107]

The principles of hospitality were firm with regard to the reception of figures of higher rank than the house owners themselves. In acknowledgment of the presence of a greater man or woman, the house was – symbolically at least – handed over by owner to guest for the length of the stay.[108] The early Tudor 'Orders of service' stated that:

> if any honorable personage of greater degree then thestate is of repaire to his house then at thentrie of the gate of the said honorable personage the hedd officers of the said Estate to delyver their stavis to the hedd

[104] McKean 2001, pp. 61-2; Mertes 1988, p. 133. The household accounts for Ingatestone Hall show that visitors to the Petres included Lord Rich, with a train of 30 persons, and Lady Darcy, also with a retinue of 30 or more: Emmison 1961, p. 128 and p. 132. In 1603, the Venetian Secretary described how 'even the smaller members of the Council, the lesser Peers and gentlemen, appear in public with forty or fifty pack-horses and some with teams of horses to the number of one, two or three hundred horse with double sets of livery, one for the valletaille [lesser servants] and the other for the gentlemen of the suites': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 27 (15 May 1603)
[105] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 10, p. 382 (2 August 1606)
[106] Jones 1918, p. 175; Nichols James, vol. 2, pp. 145-152 and especially p. 148. The Countess was met at the head of the great stairs and conducted into the great chamber, which was divided by a traverse (curtain).
[107] For instance, the Queen's players visited Chatsworth in 1593 and Hardwick (New) Hall in 1600. The latter house (probably the High Great Chamber) also saw performances by the players of Admiral Lord Thomas Howard and the Earls of Huntingdon and Pembroke, and the musicians of the Earls of Lincoln, Rutland and Essex. See: David N. Durant, *Arbella Stuart: A Rival to the Queen* (London, 1978), pp. 82-3
[108] Girouard 1980, p. 64

> officers of the honorable personage and in lyke manner the porters and all other officers to gyve place to his officers and to be mynister under them during his abode ther.[109]

Felicity Heal has described this as 'a ritual of inversion designed to show that the hierarchical principle was retained intact, despite the natural authority of the householder over his own social territory'.[110] Sometimes, a house owner might have chosen to temporarily leave his home altogether.

During their stay, the 'honourable personage' occupied the chief place at the lord's table in the great chamber.[111] The status of the attendant serving staff was carefully considered and adapted as appropriate, while, as has been shown, visitors were allocated appropriately selected and furnished lodgings.[112] Likewise, as has been mentioned, the greeting and farewell accorded to visitors was adapted depending on their rank; mistakes, which could potentially cause offence, were carefully avoided.[113]

The Royal Visit

Members of the royal family were the only guests who could out-rank all of their potential hosts, and therefore took precedence at any house they chose to visit. The royal visitor 'became both guest and host', while their hosts 'became almost guests in their own homes'.[114] The provision of such hospitality was seen as a duty, given in exchange for such a sign of honour and royal favour.[115]

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[109] Orders of service, f. 56v
[110] Heal 1990, p. 33
[111] Banks 1605, pp. 321-2
[112] See, in particular: Banks 1605, p. 325, and Huntingdon 1609, p. 597
[113] In the late seventeenth century, Obadiah Walker wrote that 'superiority is to *accompany* the departed but a little way; whereas your equall you wait upon to the utmost door or gate, the superior to his Coach or Horse': Walker 1687, p. 232
[114] Cole 1999, p. 65
[115] A description of Sir Anthony Mildmay's reception of James I at Apethorpe in 1603 emphasises this sense of reciprocity; it was said that 'nothing wanted in a subject's dutie to his Soveraigne, nor any thing in so potent a Soveraigne to grace so loyall a subject': Nichols James, vol. 1, pp. 96-7

In certain cases, the sovereign might take complete possession of a residence, forcing its owner to temporarily move elsewhere.[116] This was usually an issue of convenience to both parties, but was also an expression of royal might and an emphasis of social hierarchies.[117] Such ceding of jurisdiction was often celebrated with elaborate verses and gestures. It is particularly common to find, in progress entertainments, a ceremonial handing over of keys by the porter. For instance, at Cowdray in 1591, the porter presented Elizabeth with his key and bade her to 'Enter' and 'possesse all', while in a speech made to James I at Hoghton Tower in 1617 two household gods rendered up 'to thy more powerfull Guard/ This House'.[118] For their part, the royal family and household would have regarded the country house as little different than a royal property, and would have imposed on it the usual ceremonial and practices (see Appendix 1).

The preparations made for a royal visit by house owners and their staff focused on three main areas: provisions, reception and entertainment, and accommodation.[119] With regard to the first, owners were often assisted by friends and neighbours, reflecting the fact that the provisions necessary were vast, as is evidenced by surviving accounts.[120] Arrangements for appropriate reception and entertainment – the writing of poems, plays, music and the like –

[116] In 1591, for instance, Lord Montagu removed to a priory, ceding his house at Cowdray to Queen Elizabeth: Wilson 1980, p. 90. Decades later, the Duchess of Newcastle recalled how, on a visit of Charles and Henrietta Maria in 1634, her husband 'resigned Welbeck for their Majesties lodging': Cavendish 1667, p. 132

[117] A curious incident of winter 1608 illustrates this point. The 15-year-old Prince Henry – staying in the country some distance from the King – 'sent to tell the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke to move their households and their horses as he desired to occcupy their lodging'. Precociously, they refused to give way, 'and the prince had them removed by his people to the indignation of these gentlemen, who are of very high rank': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 11, p. 206 (26 December 1608)

[118] Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 3, p. 91; Assheton 1848, p. 45. For more on Elizabeth's visit to Cowdray, see: Breight 1989. For James's visit to Hoghton, see: Nichols James, vol. 3, pp. 398-9

[119] For an example of preparations taking in all three of these areas, see Spence's excellent summary of the work carried out in 1617 in advance of James's arrival (and during his stay) at Carlisle and Brougham: Spence 1991, especially pp. 54-62

[120] See, for example, the expenses incurred in relation to: Elizabeth's 1578 visit to Kirtling (Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 2, p. 237); Elizabeth's visit to Ingatestone Hall in 1561 (Emmison 1961, pp. 241-2); Elizabeth's 1602 visit to Harefield (Wilson 1986, p. 319); James's visit to Hoghton Tower in 1617 (Nichols James, vol. 3, pp. 401-3; Assheton 1848, pp. 42-4); and James's visits to Cranborne Manor in 1609, 1615, 1618, 1620 and 1623 (Hatfield House, Cranborne Papers, vol. 2). In 1617, the Earl of Huntingdon – in expectation of a royal visit to Ashby-de-la-Zouch – was aided by the liberality of neighbouring house owners, and by the Corporation of Leicester: Nichols James, vol. 3, pp. 421-2

must have been time-consuming indeed, and were usually highly expensive.[121] The preparation of suitable accommodation was another focus of considerable energy and expense, and was especially challenging for figures who were not closely familiar with the practices and expectations of the royal household and court.[122]

Although many houses visited by both Elizabeth and James seem to have been surprisingly modest, it is clear that there were strict expectations with regard to suitability; if houses were not sufficiently large or 'convenient', they were simply not chosen by the harbingers (see pp. 32-33).[123] The nature of this suitability is demonstrated by a highly significant document surviving from the reign of Henry VIII; recorded by one of the King's gentlemen ushers, this sets out 'How the kinge and the Quenes lodginges shalbe made' during their removals (Appendix 1).[124] It makes clear, firstly, that the type and extent of the lodgings required were decided by the monarch, whose instructions were enacted by the Lord Chamberlain and, beneath him, by a gentleman usher. At the very least, the King was to be provided with three chambers: one 'for the kinges Beade Chamber', a second 'to make the kinge ready in' and a third 'for the kinges dyninge', where the cloth of estate was to have pride of place and which could be used as a dormitory by the 'knightes and esquires for the kinges body'. Ideally, he would also have a fourth chamber, 'for the yeoman of the chamber to watche in'.[125] Together, these roughly equate to bedchamber, closet (or possibly withdrawing chamber), great chamber, and watching or guard chamber. The Queen was to have the same provisions; interestingly, where

[121] In 1633, the Earl of Newcastle spent 'between four and five thousand pounds' on an entertainment marking Charles I's visit to Welbeck Abbey; the masque *Love's Welcome* was written by Ben Jonson and performed at dinner: Cavendish 1667, p. 132. The following year, the Earl's entertainment for the King and Queen at Bolsover Castle is said to have cost 'in all between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds': ibid

[122] Even Sir Nicholas Bacon was unsettled; in 1572, he wrote to his brother-in-law Lord Burghley for advice on how to accommodate Elizabeth, claiming that 'no man is more rawe in such a matter than my selfe': Cole 1999, p. 69

[123] The word 'convenient' is frequently used in royal documents. For instance, the accounts of the Royal Works for 1606-7 record the 'frameinge and makeinge the roomes and lodgeinges fitt and conveynient for his matie and his trayne duringe his aboade and continewanc' in a number of private houses while on progress: TNA E351/3242. Later, in March 1617, two yeomen ushers of the King's chamber were sent to Scotland 'to view suche howses as should be fitt to entertayne his Majesty, and also such townes and villages as should be convenyent to lodge his Majesty's trayne': APC, vol. 35, p. 182 (9 March 1617)

[124] BL Add. MS 71009, ff. 19-20

[125] Ibid, f. 19v

King and Queen were accommodated together, Henry insisted that his consort be given 'the ffayreste and the largest romes', since he would resort there 'for his comfort pastime solas and disporte'.[126] Such instructions would have become routine by the reign of James I – although the specific requirements are likely to have changed somewhat – and would certainly have been known to hosts who were close to the royal household and court. House owners would also have been aware that, at the most basic level, the monarch's rooms had to be secure and free from disturbance, while accommodation also had to be provided for members of the royal train.[127]

Often, temporary or smaller buildings were constructed by owners. These might include tents – for the accommodation of lesser household officers and others – and buildings in the garden or park which could be used for entertainment, feasting or the viewing of revels and field sports.[128] In undertaking such works, house owners might be assisted by the royal purse, while the monarch's officers took full responsibility for changes which they felt were necessary.[129] Existing houses were scrubbed and beautified, sweetened and aired, and seem usually to have been specially decorated and furnished.[130] Once the time of the visit approached, however, some (or even all) of these furnishings undoubtedly gave place to the monarch's own 'stuffe', carried with the progress (see pp. 38-40

[126] Ibid, f. 20

[127] In 1594, with regard to Elizabeth's forthcoming visit to Sir John Puckering's house in Kew, the royal gentlemen ushers were to be consulted 'how her Majestie would be lodged for her best ease and likinge, far from heate or noyse of any office near her lodging, and how her bed-chamber maye be kept free from anye noyse near it': Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 3, p. 253

[128] Standings and banqueting houses were especially common, as were kitchens. In 1578, for example, the charges of Lord North of Kirtling included £32 laid out for the building of 'ye bancketting howse, ye new kychens, & tryming upp chambers & othr rowmes': ibid, vol. 2, p. 237

[129] The works carried out at the expense of the royal purse are listed (without details, alas) in the accounts of the Royal Works (TNA E51/3239-3258) and the Treasurer of the Chamber's accounts (TNA E351/543-544). Amounts given in the Royal Works accounts show that the average outlay was minor; in general, costs amounted to between 20 and 40 shillings per house, though they occasionally rose to several pounds (see, for instance, the works at Salisbury and Beaulieu in 1609: TNA E351/3244).

[130] In anticipation of Elizabeth I's visit to Ingatestone in 1561, Lady Petre lined the curtains of the state rooms with green taffeta sarcenet, brought in the best hangings from the family's Aldersgate house, and perfumed the chambers: Emmison 1961, p. 238. For more on the kind of work undertaken, see the anonymous sixteenth-century poem 'Preparations': ed. A. T. Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1900* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 90-1

and Appendix 1).[131] In terms of more permanent decoration, the house owner had greater responsibility, and may have taken the opportunity to display painted or sculptural works intended to flatter the sovereign. References to hunting were particularly common – an appropriate subject, given the timing of most royal visits.[132]

When the day of the royal visit arrived, the host and their household were usually arrayed in the greatest splendour, and set out to meet the monarch and their train at a fixed point – usually the edge of the house's park.[133] In 1574, Queen Elizabeth was received by the Earl of Pembroke on a hill five miles from Wilton; she rode in her 'chariott' through the house's outer court, which was lined by the Earl's men, and 'lighted at the inner gate', where she was received by the Countess.[134] At Hinchingbrooke in 1603, Sir Oliver Cromwell greeted King James at the gate of the great court and conducted him up to the main entrance, while soon after Sir Robert Cecil met the King at the entrance to the first court of Theobalds.[135] The physical location of these encounters is telling. Usually, a host would have met a guest of rank outside the door of the great chamber or at the bottom of the great stairs.[136] In the case of a royal visit, house owners, their families and staff entirely left the confines of the building, a sign of the utmost deference and respect.

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[131] In April 1603, shortly before James's visit to Burghley House, Sir Thomas Cecil wrote of being hopeful that the royal household would 'bring some stuff down with them, for mine is but mean, and not the tenth part to serve': HMC Salisbury, vol. 15, p. 31 (4 April 1603)

[132] In England, for instance, hunting is represented in the decoration at Hardwick (New) Hall (High Great Chamber) and Apethorpe Hall (king's bedchamber). In Scotland, Scone Palace – built in the early seventeenth century by Sir David Murray – featured a long gallery with painted decoration showing hunting and hawking. King James VI apparently featured 'in every scene, attended by the nobles of his Court, many of the portraits of which were drawn from life': McKean 2001, p. 209

[133] In 1591, the Earl of Hertford rode out into his park at Elvetham accompanied by all of his 200 or so servants, mounted, 'most of them wearing chaines of golde about their neckes'. There, Queen Elizabeth was saluted with poems, before riding up to the door of the great hall, where she was met by the Countess of Hertford, 'most humbly on hir knees', with other ladies and gentlewomen: Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 3, p. 103 and p. 109. See also: Wilson 1980, pp. 102-6, and Breight 1993, pp. 34-5 and p. 43

[134] Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 1, p. 409. In this case, the Queen's arrival was marked by 'a peale of ordnance', but it was more common to find that the local church bells were rung and trumpets were sounded.

[135] Nichols James, vol. 1, p. 99 and p. 111

[136] Obadiah Walker, writing in the reign of Charles II, suggested that a man should receive his superior at the bottom of the stairs, his equal at the top of the stairs, and his inferior within a room. The distance traversed by a host in his receiving or taking leave of a guest was a measure of his respect: Walker 1687, pp. 232-3, and see: Bryson 1998, p. 95

During the course of the royal visit, the most important figures would have been given lodgings in the house, selected as being suitable to their rank, while others will have been accommodated in nearby houses, inns or temporary structures.[137] The way in which the great house was overtaken during royal visits is illuminated by a series of documents relating to Theobalds, which constitute a unique survival and have never before been fully studied.[138] Most important are Lord Burghley's schedules of accommodation for Elizabeth I's visits of 1572, 1577, 1583 and 1591, and there is also a list of people to be lodged at the house during the latter year.[139] Alongside a number of household officials and members of the nobility, including Lord Cobham, Lady Stafford and the Queen's maids, there was a group who were 'to be lodged by the harbingers', including Sir Charles Blount, the royal equerries and the various kitchen departments.[140]

Together, the documents show that arrangements were not always what might be expected. During her stays at Theobalds, the Queen's suite spread beyond the state apartment itself, placed at second-floor level in the south range of the principal (middle) court (see Figs 48 and 49). All of the schedules ascribe the following uses during royal visits: the great hall was to serve as the Queen's great (or guard) chamber; the great parlour, at the high end of the hall, became the presence chamber; the second-floor great (or dining) chamber became the privy chamber; and the adjacent vine chamber served as the withdrawing chamber.[141] The Queen's bedchamber followed to the east, as did a long

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[137] In 1612, the Venetian Ambassador, attending the summer progress, wrote that Belvoir Castle was 'abounding in courtyards, halls and galleries and an infinite number of chambers, capable of housing the more distinguished part of two Courts as large as these of the King and of the Prince, which number upwards of one thousand mouths': Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 411 (19 August 1612)

[138] They have been cited and (in some cases) published, but never analysed. I am looking at the documents in detail for an article on Theobalds, in preparation.

[139] All of the documents are among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House. For the schedules of accommodation, see: CP 140/18-19 (1572), CP 140/22-24 (1577), CP 140/29, CP 140/26 and CP 143/63 (1583), and CP 140/33 (1591). For the document of 1572, see also: HMC Salisbury, vol. 13, pp. 110-1; for the document of 1583, see: Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 2, pp. 400-4, and Wilson 1980, pp. 52-56. For the list of people to be lodged at Theobalds in 1591, see: CP 143/66-68 (three copies)

[140] CP 143/66-68

[141] Such uses must reflect the comparatively limited size of the second-floor state apartment at Theobalds (which clearly continued to be used despite the completion of larger state rooms to

gallery (projecting south) and rooms for the gentlewomen of the privy chamber and bedchamber. Courtiers and noblemen, such as the Earl of Warwick, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Christopher Hatton, were distributed around this main court, most being given one principal room with an adjoining pallet chamber. Interestingly, at the south end of the Queen's private gallery, rooms were allocated to the Earl of Leicester; by 1591, these were occupied by the Earl of Essex. Lord Burghley and his wife were left with rooms on the north side of the main court – curtailed versions of their usual lodgings.

As is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the rooms provided for the monarch were invariably the best in the house. These might, in gentry houses, be those usually occupied by the owner, but in houses of higher status took the form of a lodging dedicated to the accommodation of figures of significant rank – that is, the state apartment. However, as the allocation of lodgings at Theobalds reveals, the rooms given over to the monarch's use and accommodation might have been spread throughout the house, including the great hall. All such rooms would have been used for the entertainment of the honoured visitors. For instance, at Lord Knollys's house of Caversham in 1613, Anne of Denmark was entertained by a play and a dance in the great hall.[142] The sheer scale of such events is captured by the Venetian Ambassador's account of a feast held in 1612 at Belvoir Castle, where the Earl of Rutland was said to live 'like a sovereign'. The King and Prince were staying at the house, accompanied by a suite of 1,000 individuals; there were, in all, four tables 'for persons of quality', each holding about 200 people.[143] Other entertainments frequently took place in the areas outside the country house. James I's visit to Hoghton Tower in 1617 included 'a rushbearing and pipeing' before the King in the middle court and a 'maske of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and courtiers … in the middle round,

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the west in 1585), and exemplify the fact that royal practices in terms of the constituents of a state suite were, during royal visits, imposed on private country houses. It is notable that, according to royal regulations of the 1530s (see Appendix 1), the King was to supplement a limited (in this case, two-room) suite by making use of the parlour and hall as royal great/guard chambers. Such a use is likely to have been common during royal visits in the reigns of both Elizabeth and James.

[142] Nichols James, vol. 2, pp. 636-8. The Queen rested 'herselfe in her chaire of state' while 'the scaffoldes of the Hall' were 'on all partes filled with beholders of worth'.

[143] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 411 (19 August 1612)

in the garden'.[144] In 1612, the Venetian Ambassador visited a house in the Midlands, where he supped with King James 'in a delicious garden', entertained by a 'concert of voices and instruments' and surrounded by a large crowd of 'the nobility and gentry'.[145]

Hosts would be measured by their success or failure at pleasing Crown and court. In 1619, John Chamberlain reported that the King had been 'very noblie entertained at the Lord St John's [Bletsoe], which he tooke in so goode part that he professes he will not forget so honourable usage'.[146] Things could easily go the other way: during the same progress, the Earl of Northampton (who had received James at Castle Ashby) was criticised for his 'penurie', while the King was particularly displeased by the 'mechanical usage' at Sir Noel Caron's house, 'so that he could not forbeare to tell openly what favors he had don him and how yll he was requited'.[147] House owners grew increasingly competitive: in 1620, Sir Edward Zouche wrote from Woking (which he had newly acquired from the King) that, 'while he cannot equal the good cheer which the Bishop of Winchester will provide for the King's entertainment at Farnham, he will give his Majesty and the Prince more mirth at Woking, and masques each night'.[148]

Nevertheless, despite being costly and involving the owner in a huge amount of work and expense, the entertainment of a member of the royal family was evidently seen as worthwhile. An impressive reception not only pleased the monarch, but also helped to justify signs of favour already given and furthered the interests of the owner, his household, family, friends and neighbours. As has been shown in Chapter 1 (see p. 53), a king or queen would often end a visit by knighting an owner or some of his family or neighbours, and might grant

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[144] Assheton 1848, pp. 41-5. See also: Nichols James, vol. 3, p. 400

[145] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 12, p. 410 (19 August 1612). Seemingly, this event took place at Apethorpe Hall, though it may have taken place at Burley-on-the-Hill or Belvoir Castle.

[146] Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, pp. 262-3 (11 September 1619)

[147] Ibid, p. 263. This seems to be a reference to Bagshot, of which Caron served as keeper from 1612. The King visited the royal lodge on 1-3 September 1619. Sir Noel's principal residence was Caron House in South Lambeth.

[148] Quoted in: Steele 1926, p. 193. The entertainments referred to, staged by Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, at Farnham Castle, are said to have cost around £1,000: Nichols James, vol. 4, p. 616; Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 313 (27 July 1620). John Chamberlain even stated that 'in three dayes (besides presents and other helpes) yt cost him [the Bishop] toward three or fowre and twentie hundred pound': Chamberlain Letters, vol. 2, p. 316 (9 September 1620)

them further honours (gifts of land, and so forth). Royal visits also provided an invaluable opportunity for promotion and aggrandisement for house owners, affirming their social status and reinforcing hierarchies.

The Rooms of the Country House State Apartment

As the best rooms in the house, the state apartment formed the focus for an owner's keeping of state – for rituals of dining, in particular – and would also have been used on 'extraordinary' occasions, such as feasts, weddings and visits. Such activities centred on the great chamber, but might additionally have involved the withdrawing chamber and long gallery. As will become clear below, the complexities of use of the inner state rooms – especially bedchamber and closet – are not so easy to grasp; such areas are rarely mentioned in household regulations, and the lodgings reserved for 'strangers' are not known to have been discussed in detail.[149]

Clearly, the use of state apartments varied according to the space available and to individual tastes and household practices. Furthermore, it is important to remember that – even with the increasing specialisation of use – the rooms of the early modern house continued to serve a number of roles. However, there are certain patterns in terms of use and function, and these will be outlined in this section (the planning, decoration and furnishing of the state rooms being outlined in Chapters 4 and 5). Given the paucity of contemporary information on this subject, rooms have been considered broadly; for example, great and withdrawing chambers throughout the house have been included, rather than just those that formed part of state apartments, since their functions were almost certainly very similar.

It should be noted that the country houses of England (rather than of Scotland) form the focus here. North of the border, as Charles McKean has shown, it seems that family and guest accommodation were clearly segregated,

[149] It is clear, however, that there *were* certain rooms allocated specifically to visitors. Viscount Montagu's regulations of 1595 make reference to 'all lodgeinges reserved for strangers': Montagu 1595, p. 130

especially by the period 1590-1640.[150] The lord usually lived in the best rooms of a house – the suite formed by hall, chamber of dais and bedchamber – while the guest was provided with rooms in a self-contained wing or tower. In England, the differentiation is equally well marked, but with a reversal of hierarchy: while state rooms may have been used by the resident family at times of ceremony, owners of rank seem always to have had lodgings of their own elsewhere, a point further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.[151]

This division is revealing. It emphasises, firstly, the importance of hospitality and privacy and the frequency with which guests were received. Providing a fully integrated apartment meant that the privacy of both guest and owner was carefully maintained, and that the visitor was thereby treated with due courtesy and honour. The division also underlines the sense of appropriateness, of suitability and civility, that was so vital in England in the early modern period. The rank of a visitor would be reflected in the grade of lodging (and overall reception) awarded to them.[152] The allocation of these lavish rooms to 'strangers' cannot have been seen as an inconvenience; it gave the house owner an opportunity to impress and please the visitor, and to demonstrate his allegiances, lineage, learning and taste.

Great Chamber

The great chamber, sometimes known as the dining chamber, formed the focus of ceremonial in the houses of the early modern nobility and upper gentry, and – with the decline in importance of the great hall – had evolved into the principal

[150] McKean 2001, especially pp. 66-68, p. 140 and pp. 161-67, and McKean 2002, especially pp. 6-15

[151] The separation between guest and owner is underlined by a statement made by Roger Pratt in the late seventeenth century. He writes, 'Let the apartment for strangers, which cannot well consist of less than 4 principal rooms, be divided so from that of the ordinary family that they may not at all be disquieted by any noises from it, nor come to the hearing of anything which should be concealed from them, and this will be best done, if the great rooms aforesaid are interposed between them, and there be a different back stairs for those of the family': Pratt 1928, p. 64

[152] This social code was alluded to by Francis Hawkins in the mid-seventeenth century, when he wrote that 'to him who is ones peer, or almost the same, one ought to give the chiefest place in ones own lodging, and he ought gently to refuse it, then at the second offer to accept it, with thanksgiving and recognizance': Hawkins 1654, p. 13. According to Obadiah Walker, it was 'better to give too much honor to any person then too little': Walker 1687, p. 231

room of entertainment and reception. A document of 1605 includes a passage which is highly instructive in illuminating the room's status. It states that:

> in that place there must bee noe delaye, because it is the place of state, where the lorde keepeth his presence, and the ieyes of all the best sorte of stranngers bee there lookers on; that what faulte beeinge there committed, bee never so littell, sheweth more then in any place ells wheresoever, and therefore a speciall respecte, care and dilligens, is to bee had therein, for that place befor all others is the cheefe and principall staite in the house.[153]

The room – usually at first-floor level and invariably large and lavishly decorated – typically contained tables, chairs, stools (a comparatively high number) and sideboards, and might also feature a canopy or cloth of estate (Fig. 41). According to a document of 1605, the form of this and its associated chair would have been varied in line with the owner's rank and position.[154] During meals, two tables would generally have been set out: the principal or 'lord's' table, for the owner, close family and honoured guests, and the 'knight's board', which usually accommodated knights and gentlemen of the household and might also have been used by the lady's gentlewomen.[155] While the floor – like those of the other state rooms – will usually have been covered by rush matting (perhaps with some carpets), the walls of the great chamber would usually have been covered with tapestry, and the ceiling, frieze and chimneypiece were very often the source of elaboration.[156] At the upper end of the great chamber, lighting the area in which the lord's table would have been placed, there was usually a large window, akin to the oriel of the medieval great hall.[157]

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[153] Banks 1605, p. 322. Interestingly, the diaries of Lady Anne Clifford imply that use of the great chamber was sometimes associated with certain times of the year; on 4 April 1617, she wrote that, 'This day we began to leave the little room and dine & sup in the Great Chamber': Clifford 1990, p. 53. However, the room's purpose was clearly valid all-year round, even if regular attendance was concentrated on the warmer summer months and on special occasions.

[154] 'The lorde whoe beinge an earle or upwards, if hee bee servide in staite, hee is to have in the greate chamber a cloathe of estate accordinge to his place, vidz. an earle, to the pummel of his chaire, a marquesse to the seate of his chaire, a duke to within a foote of the grounde, placede in the upper end thereof, with chaire, cushinge, and stooles suetable thereunto': Banks 1605, p. 321

[155] Ibid, p. 322

[156] Flooring is not always mentioned in inventories, though there are exceptions; for instance, the inventory taken of Ingatestone Hall in 1623 (ERO D/DP/F221) shows that the 'Garden Chamber' (probably the state bedchamber) was 'matted with bulrushed matt'.

[157] Additionally, the relationship between hall and great chamber was sometimes emphasised by physical proximity. For instance, the queen's great chamber in the middle court of Theobalds was adjoined by a lobby 'with an open wainscott case wrought and carved to looke downe into

The gentleman usher, whose duties have already been discussed (see p. 126 and pp. 133-134), had overall responsibility for the room. He and his staff – yeomen and groom ushers – were to ensure that the great chamber be 'fynne and neatlie kepte'.[158] Early each morning, around 7am, the yeomen would clean and ready the chamber for use.[159] Regulations of about 1590 ordered them to daily 'strew the rushes; to take out all spots as shall happen in the carpetts, chaires, or stooles; to dust the cushions; In the winter to have fire in the chimney, and in the sommer flowers in the windows'.[160]

From that time forward, the room was to be attended by the gentleman usher's staff, 'for furnishing of the same, when any strangers shall come to the house' and 'to be sent upon messenggers or other wise imployed in his lordships service'.[161] Working in shifts, such staff were responsible for three main areas: they ensured the great chamber was well kept and furnished, were involved in the serving of meals in the room, and attended on visitors of rank. They also regulated access to the great chamber, especially during meals; according to the 'Breviate' of 1605, the yeoman usher was to 'cause the dining chamber doore to be kept' and was to have particular regard 'to those that passe in and out, that no plate silver vessell napkins nor case-knives be carried forth'.[162] On special occasions – which involved the 'greate receipte of stranngers' – the yeoman usher was to let in none 'but such as in his discretion shal bee thought meete'.[163]

According to Obadiah Walker, writing during the reign of Charles II, audiences with 'Persons of Quality' were 'given with the *portiere* (or hanging that covereth

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ye hall' (E351/Herts/26, p. 13), while both state great chambers at Audley End communicated with galleries overlooking the hall (Drury 1980, p. 9 and plate 4).

[158] Banks 1605, p. 322

[159] An early seventeenth-century document instructs that they 'see the greate chamber everie day early swepte and neatlie kepte, with fier to bee made at the seasone of the yeare, or ells the chemney to bee garnishede with greene bowes, or flowers': ibid, pp. 332-3

[160] Berkeley 1883, p. 366. For similar instructions, see: Montagu 1595, p. 128, Ellesmere 1603, point 1 (groom of the chamber), Banks 1605, pp. 332-3, and Braithwait 1605, p. 26

[161] Berkeley 1883, p. 418; Ellesmere 1603, point 10 (yeoman usher). See also: Ellesmere 1603, point 2 (general)

[162] Banks 1605, p. 333; Ellesmere 1603, point 12 (yeoman usher). The yeoman usher was at no time to 'suffer any part to be removed out of the roome it belongs to': Bridgwater 1652, p. 50

[163] Banks 1605, p. 333

the door on the outside) down'. For public audiences it was left open, 'yet if then a person of quality come, it is also let down'.[164] It was also important that, in recognition of visitors of special note, the whole door be opened, 'it being an action of great superiority to give but half a door'.[165] Walker's notes reveal the rich etiquette that was associated with the reception and entertainment of visitors of differing ranks, at that period as (probably) in the early seventeenth century. For instance, the allocation and position of seats; the 'principal seat' (for the honoured guest) was to be 'set in such a manner as it may look full upon the door of the entrance, and the greatest part of the room', while the owner's should have its 'back towards the door'.[166]

It was vital that order was maintained within the great chamber. The gentleman usher suffered 'no gentleman or yeoman waiter to stand with his hat on his head, or to sitt or walke in the great chamber, after the bourdes be covered', and ensured that there was 'no drawing or shewing of swords or daggers' in the room or the associated withdrawing chamber, nor 'any wrestling or striving … noyse or disorder'.[167] The gentleman usher's assistants were to see that 'noe gentleman come into the great chamber without his cloake or livery coate', and ensured that no dogs came into the room, or anything else which might result in 'greate Noise' or 'unseemlie behaviour'.[168]

The great chamber was the setting above all for dinner and supper, the rituals of which have already been discussed (see pp. 128-131 and Fig. 40). These meals – often accompanied by the 'hereynge of instruments' and followed by pastimes – might have been served for any member of the resident family, and not just for the lord and lady and their guests.[169] Beyond meal times, the great chamber might be used for sermons and prayers (presumably, where the house

[164] Walker 1687, p. 234
[165] Ibid
[166] Ibid
[167] Huntingdon 1609, p. 595
[168] Berkeley 1883, p. 366; Ellesmere 1603, point 10 (yeoman usher)
[169] Fumerton 1991, p. 114. Lord Ellesmere instructed that 'whensoever my wife and my self, shalbe desposed to dine or suppe privately, and my children shall take their meate in the dining chamber, or other roome therefore appointed, there be always one as a gent husher to directe the service … and the rest of the servants give their due attendance on them as if my selfe or my wife were present': Ellesmere 1603, point 9 (general)

did not contain a dedicated chapel).[170] An inventory taken of Apethorpe Hall in 1629 shows that the (old) great chamber included a Bible, a book of common prayer and a book of matins, reflecting this role.[171]

The great chamber was also used for gaming, but only at certain times. The activity was generally banned during meals, and Lord Ellesmere extended such censure to times 'when strangers of greate accounte shall come unto the house', and 'at night after my selfe and my wife shalbe with drawne, from the dining chamber'.[172] However, there were exceptions; during meals, staff were permitted to play in the great chamber at the specific request of 'noble men, or others of honor, or greate accompt', as long as such 'strangers' were not 'not under the degree of a knight or a knyghtes eldest sonne'.[173] For visitors of quality, gaming was always permissible, and the resident family was likewise able to play at any convenient time.[174]

On special occasions, the great chamber was used for music, dancing and the staging of masques and plays; great chambers which contained musical instruments include that at Kirby Hall, which in c. 1619 featured a pair of virginals.[175] In 1617, when James I visited Brougham Castle, a lavish entertainment was staged in the great chamber, a wooden 'arbour' having been specially constructed for the purpose.[176] There is evidence that, at the greatest (and largest) houses, this entertainment role was all-important. At Hatfield

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[170] Lord Ellesmere's household regulations of 1603 state that 'when sermons are or when prayers shalbe in ye Dyning Chamber', a yeoman or groom usher was to set chairs, cushions, stools and books in readiness; if services were held elsewhere this task would fall to the chaplain and his staff: Ellesmere 1603, point 2 (groom of the chamber) and point 3 (yeoman usher)

[171] NRO W (A) box 6, parcel V, nos. 1 & 2

[172] Ellesmere 1603, point 19 (general), and see also point 8. Lord Ellesmere ordered that 'no man at any time, shall plaie at any game, or use pastimes in the dining chamber, Greate Chamber or in the hall after my Table for meales shalbe covered'.

[173] Ibid, point 9 (yeoman usher) and point 8 (general). The Earl of Huntingdon's regulations of 1609 reveal a similar concern for position and hierarchy. No yeoman was to play at cards, tables or chests in the great chamber; gentlemen waiters were permitted to do so, but during the afternoon were to use the sideboard, and not the lord's board, and were to cease play when the boards were covered. Play was forbidden 'upon the Sabbath or Lord's day': Huntingdon 1609, p. 595

[174] In 1595, Viscount Montagu instructed his yeomen and grooms, after dinner or supper, to 'provide, and have in a redynes cardes, and tables for such strangers, as shalbe willinge to playe and passe some tyme thereat': Montagu 1595, p. 128

[175] NRO FH 2977

[176] Spence 1991, pp. 61, 72, 77 and 84

House, inventories show that the principal (east) great chamber contained a great organ, but did not contain a dining table until the 1620s.[177]

Staff attended in the great chamber until the very end of the day, when the lord and lady of the house, or their guests, made their way to bed. At that point, the grooms swept the chimney, tidied and took the lights away. Regulations of 1603 instruct the groom, before leaving the chamber, to 'looke under the Tables and other Corners in the Chambers, that no doges, or anie thinge els be lost there, that either might foule the place, or disquiet his Lorp etc'. Staff were, 'having seene all thinges safe, and in good order', to 'shutt the doores'.[178]

During a royal visit, the great chamber would have taken on the traditional roles of presence and privy chambers – dining in state and the reception of important guests – the monarch sitting on a great chair beneath a royal cloth of estate (Fig. 42, and see Fig. 39). The fact that one room served for both does not seem to have mattered; as has been noted (see p. 111), the household regulations of Charles I stated that a single chamber could fulfil both roles, where required, becoming public or private as appropriate.

Withdrawing Chamber

The origin of the withdrawing chamber can be traced back to the fifteenth century, but – as is discussed in Chapter 4 (see pp. 192-193) – such a room only became a standard feature of country house state apartments from the 1560s.[179] Where included within such suites, it was invariably placed after the great chamber, although withdrawing chambers could also be found elsewhere in the great house; for instance, opening off a ground-floor parlour. The chamber was essentially a room of retreat, of retirement, from the ceremonial

[177] Inventories of 1611 (CP Box A/1), 1612 (Box B/5), 1620 (two copies, Box A/2 and 3) and 1621 (Box A/4 and 5) show that the great chamber contained chairs, stools, curtains and the organ (indeed, pair of organs). A 'long table' is first listed in the room in 1629. Previously, it seems that the adjacent withdrawing room served as the dining room (at least on non-ceremonial occasions) – it was referred to as the 'King's dyning chamber' in the inventories of 1620 and 1621 – and the role seems also to have been fulfilled by the west great chamber.
[178] Ellesmere 1603, point 16 (yeoman usher) and point 4 (groom of the chamber)
[179] Mark Girouard has pointed out that Charlecote in Warwickshire had a withdrawing chamber between great chamber and the owner's chamber by 1496: Girouard 1980, p. 94

activities of the great chamber. However, it was still the source of display, and – like the royal withdrawing chamber (see Chapter 2, pp. 111-113) – may have become more public during the reign of James I, a fact reflected by its often elaborate decoration and considerable size.[180] Certainly, by the early modern period, the role of the state withdrawing chamber was flexible – although it might usually be private or semi-private, it could become public when need required.

Some of the activities traditionally associated with the great chamber seem to have been transferred to the withdrawing chamber over the course of the later sixteenth century. It was used for informal dining, as a private sitting room and for the entertainment of selected guests, and typically contained chairs and stools (a lesser number than in the great chamber), a cupboard, and one or more tables; as in the great chamber, the dining table would probably have been placed at the room's high end, which was often lit by one or more large windows. In this room, in a more intimate setting than the great chamber, people conversed, played games, ate and listened to music; in 1629, the 'best Drawing Chamber' at Apethorpe Hall contained a harpsichord, while the 'great withdrawing chamber' at Kirby Hall contained (in c. 1619) a billiard table.[181] Patricia Fumerton associates the withdrawing chamber with one meal in particular: the 'void' – a serving of sweetmeats, confectionaries and sweet wines, which were consumed informally.[182]

According to the 1595 regulations of Viscount Montagu, the withdrawing chamber associated with the owner's own apartment seems to have been used for his dressing and readying, and as a waiting room for his staff, and these

[180] According to the inventory taken of Bramshill in 1634, the contents of the state withdrawing or privy chamber (valued at £230) were worth more than those of the adjacent great or presence chamber (£170) or gallery (£200): TNA C108/187 and Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix C

[181] NRO W (A) box 6, parcel V, nos. 1 & 2; NRO FH 2977. Lady Anne Clifford's diaries illuminate the use of one (or more) of the withdrawing chambers at Knole: on 8 April 1617, Lady Anne 'sat by my lord and my Brother Sackville in the Drawing Chamber & heard much talk about my Businesses', and in the same month she wrote of her husband, the 3rd Earl of Dorset, dining 'abroad in the Great Chamber' and supping 'privately with me in the Drawing Chamber, at which time they 'had much discourse of the manners of the folks at Court': Clifford 1990, p. 53

[182] Fumerton 1991, p. 114

functions probably also applied to the state withdrawing chamber when in occupation.[183] The yeomen of the chamber were each morning to remove the pallets from the withdrawing chamber (like the neighbouring rooms, it served as a dormitory for chamber staff), to clean, tidy and sweeten it, to lay fires, and 'to prepare brushe and laye forth my wearinge apparrell for that daye'.[184] The same document shows that staff were expected to attend after dinner and supper, when the lord retired to the withdrawing chamber straight after his meal.[185]

The upkeep of the withdrawing chamber was, like the great chamber, overseen by the gentleman usher. According to the Berkeley regulations of 1601, he was to be present in the room – as in the great chamber – by 8am in the winter and 7am in the summer.[186] It seems that, from the evidence of one Jacobean source, the room (with gallery and other inner rooms) was served by specific staff, although such a distinction may not have been generally made; the Earl of Huntingdon's regulations of 1609 show that the grooms of the chamber were still responsible for both great and withdrawing chambers.[187] However, staff would have exercised special discretion in allowing access to the latter room, reflecting its status as a more private domain than the adjacent great chamber; typically, entry would only have been permitted at invitation from the owner or the occupant of the apartment.[188]

During visits by a monarch, the withdrawing chamber may – following royal practice – also have been used for audiences, and as a waiting room for those few permitted access to the inner rooms and long gallery. It has been noted above that, where necessary, the roles of royal presence and privy chambers

[183] In 1595, the 2nd Viscount Montagu instructed his gentlemen of the chamber to 'give their diligent attendance uppon me in my withdraweinge chamber. especyally agaynst my ryseinge in the morninge'. While he was in 'myne owne lodgeinges', staff were to 'be continually remayninge in my wthdraweinge chamber, to be allwayes redye to receave my directions, and to give me notice of such as woulde speake wth me': Montagu 1595, p. 126, and see also p. 129
[184] Ibid, p. 129
[185] Ibid
[186] Berkeley 1883, p. 418
[187] Braithwait 1605, p. 26; Huntingdon 1609, p. 594. The former, a guidance document of c.1605, mentions that the profit of the gaming box in the great chamber was to be shared by the yeomen and grooms. Meanwhile, that 'which commeth into the box in the withdrawing chamber or galleries … belongeth to the groomes of the bedchamber', who had jurisdiction there.
[188] Girouard 1980, p. 99

could be combined within a single room. From the evidence of an unexecuted plan for the royal palace at Ampthill, it would seem that a single room could also serve as royal privy and withdrawing chambers (see p. 238 and Fig. 65).[189] Given that both were more private in status than the associated great chamber, this arrangement was probably more common during royal visits to country houses than the combining of royal presence and privy chambers.

Bedchamber

The bedchamber was, as might be expected, a room to which access was carefully monitored. Even the most trusted and honoured household servants had to show a degree of courtesy. In 1595, Viscount Montagu ordered his steward 'nott to presume to enter into myne, or my wifes bedchambers, or private places until he first knocks att the dores, or give some other signification by his voice, or message, of his … desire to come in'.[190]

The early Tudor 'Orders of service' are especially instructive in illuminating the daily activities associated with the room at that time. They describe an elaborate order of service for 'araieing the estates bedd and service for all nyght'. Once supper was finished, one of the yeomen of the chamber was to make a fire in the bedchamber. That done, a yeoman usher lit the candles and some grooms with 'curtesies and bareheaded, kissing their handes', made the bed 'playne and softe'. They were assisted by the chamberer, who brought in sheets, cushions and pillows, 'alwaies kissing her handes' as she did so. Once the curtains were drawn, 'and the chaier set at the bedds fete with a cusshion in it', one of the grooms went to the ewery and called for 'all nyght'. He was given and carried up to the bedchamber a towel, a basin and ewer with water, a torch, a cup of state, bread, a mug of beer and pots of wine. These items were respectfully placed on a cupboard, and 'so all with a curtesie departe and

[189] The combining of these two rooms is also suggested by the terminology applied to the state apartment at Bramshill. The withdrawing chamber is consistently named as such in contemporary documents, except for the inventory of 1634, in which the room appears as 'the Privie Chamber', listed after the 'King's Presence' (i.e. the great chamber): TNA C108/187; Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix C

[190] Montagu 1595, p. 123 and p. 125. The steward was to knock even 'though the dores be open'.

avoyde the chamber'.[191] On the lord's 'uprisinge', the grooms were to make ready a fire and help the lord to dress, the yeoman of the wardrobe giving his attendance in an adjacent room 'with such apparell as that daie is his pleasr to weare'. The gentleman usher took the principal part 'in all services to his bodie within his said bedchamber done'.[192]

Around a hundred years later, similar activities were being undertaken in Lord Montagu's bedchamber at Cowdray. For instance, in the regulations of 1595, it was stated that the gentlemen and yeomen of the chamber were to light Montagu to his bedroom and serve him livery. Once he was 'layde to rest', the staff were to 'be verye carefull to extinguishe the fyre, and lightes' and to 'locke faste and barre all the dores'.[193] As will be clear, these practices refer to the bedchamber of an owner, but it is to be imagined that the general activities were replicated in the state bedchamber. The room's privacy would always have been carefully protected – locks were especially important here – and this would have been even more the case during a royal visit, when (after 1603) it would have formed the focus of the area controlled by the staff of the Bedchamber.[194]

In terms of contents, the most important item was the state bed – often the most valuable piece of furniture in a house – which would have been devoted to the use of honoured guests (Fig. 43).[195] In addition, a typical state bedchamber would include tapestry hangings, chairs (or perhaps a single great chair), stools, a livery cupboard and a small table. The 'best bedchamber' at Kirby Hall, inventoried in c. 1619, also contained a looking glass and a number of

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[191] Orders of service, ff. 37v-39
[192] Ibid, f. 26
[193] Montagu 1595, p. 126 and p. 129
[194] Locks were clearly of great importance to state rooms. Early seventeenth-century inventories of Ingatestone Hall are instructive in mentioning such locks. For instance, that of 1600 (ERO D/DP/F215) shows that the 'Garden Chamber' (probably the state bedchamber) had a 'springe locke upon the portall dore' and a 'dubble plate lock to the outer dore and a single key to it'. Meanwhile, the door leading from the 'Cellar Chamber' (then the lodging of the owner's son) into the long gallery had 'a dubble plate lock, a single key to it, and a bolte upon the insyde'.
[195] That owners of high social standing did not sleep in these rooms (except, perhaps, on rare occasions) is proven by the existence elsewhere in their houses of their own dedicated bedchambers, a point discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. It is worth noting that I do not concur with the view that state bedchambers were reserved for royal use, either in advance of or following a royal visit. As I have set out, the duties of hospitality meant that a huge number of guests (often high-ranking) visited country houses, and would have expected to be honourably lodged. In many cases, the state bedchamber was the only fitting room for such accommodation.

paintings, including portraits of James I, Anne of Denmark, Prince Henry and Queen Margaret of France.[196]

A state apartment need not have contained just a single bedchamber. As is discussed in Chapter 5 (see pp. 261-263), secondary bedchambers were often provided from the early seventeenth century, although there would have been a clear ranking between the two rooms – one being placed in the conventional position, immediately beyond the state withdrawing chamber, and the other being placed beyond the state bedchamber, near the closet and inner rooms. This difference in status will have been reflected by the furnishing, decoration and size of the two chambers, though secondary bedchambers still contained elaborate beds and hangings, and were usually associated with their own closet; where this was not the case, the secondary room may have contained a close stool.

Whilst state bedchambers would have been highly private during occupation, they would at other times have formed a major showpiece of the state apartment, especially where such rooms had been occupied – or fitted up for occupancy – by a member of the royal family or another figure of significant note. The bedchambers' associations would have been used to demonstrate the resident family's status and allegiances, and there are many instances of a bedchamber's furnishings being carefully preserved for generations.

Closet and Inner Rooms

The increasing privacy of the various state rooms was intensified in the area of the closet, a room placed beyond the bedchamber and which formed the focus of the occupant's personal life.[197] Mark Girouard has described the closet as 'perhaps the only room in which its occupant could be entirely on his own',

[196] NRO FH 2977
[197] For a discussion of the early modern closet – though one that concentrates on meaning and representation rather than architecture – see: Stewart 1997, pp. 163-170

though Alan Stewart and Patricia Fumerton have emphasised the public nature with which the withdrawal into privacy was enacted.[198]

The medieval and early Tudor closet differed from its post-Reformation successor. Before the 1530s, the room – sometimes known as an oratory – was the focus for private prayers and devotions, and might be placed in close proximity to the chapel. Under Elizabeth and James, the closet continued to be so used, as is evidenced by the diary of Lady Margaret Hoby and the early seventeenth-century 'painted closet' of Lady Anne Drury.[199] On the whole, however, the early modern closet seems to have been a functional room. Here, the occupant of the neighbouring bedchamber might have completed their toilet, while the room was increasingly used for business and study.[200] In the late sixteenth century, the author of *The English Secretorie* wrote:

> [W]ee do call the most secret place in the house appropriate vnto our owne priuate studies, and wherein wee repose and deliberate by déepe consideration of all our waightiest affaires, a *Closet* … a place where our dealings of importance are shut vp … of this we kéepe the key our selues, and the vse thereof alone do onely appropriate vnto our selues.[201]

The early modern closet was also a store-house for precious and valuable belongings; in *The English Secretorie*, the room was described as 'a reposement of *secrets*'.[202] Reflecting its nature, the closet seems to have been

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[198] Ranum 1989, p. 228; Girouard 1980, p. 56; Stewart 1997, pp. 168-9; Fumerton 1991, pp. 71-2. It is worth noting that Fumerton's argument about 'privacy exhibited in public' (p. 72) is not wholly convincing with regard to the closet. She argues that 'even the most private rooms in Elizabethan houses … were sites where privacy could never be achieved. Private rooms were essentially public, readily open to servants and visitors' (pp. 76-7). As I have shown in this thesis, the inner rooms of a state apartment were *not* readily open to visitors or even to staff; entry was permitted only on the terms of the suite's occupant.

[199] The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby (1571-1633) shows that she very frequently 'praied privatly' in her closet; see, for instance, Hoby 1998, pp. 6, 46 and 59. Lady Drury's closet, originally at Hawstead Hall, Suffolk, bears emblematic decoration intended as an aid to contemplation and probably devotion. For a full account of the room, dismantled in c. 1612 and now at Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich, see: Farmer 1984

[200] This function is borne out by the journal of Lady Anne Clifford, who in January 1617 recorded that her husband spent 'the most part of the Day reading in his Closet': Clifford 1990, p. 45. In April of the same year, Lady Anne 'spent the evening in working and going down to my lord's Closet where I sat and read much in the Turkish History and Chaucer': ibid, p. 54

[201] Quoted in: Stewart 1997, pp. 170-1

[202] Stewart 1997, p. 171. Again, Lady Anne Clifford's diaries are instructive; in December 1617 she took a visitor 'up to my Closet and shewed her all my things': Clifford 1990, p. 45 and p. 65

served by specific staff, at least by the 1630s; an account of the household of the Earl of Worcester includes reference to a 'Closett-keeper', though no further details of this post are given.[203]

There is evidence that, as in royal palaces, the number of inner rooms expanded in country house state apartments during the early seventeenth century (a point discussed in Chapter 5). The functions traditionally associated with the closet were distributed through such rooms (typically two in number); one may have contained a close stool and pallets for servants, while the other may have served for business, private conversation, relaxation and contemplation.[204] Furnishings of the latter sort of rooms may have included a table, cupboard, stools and chairs. In addition, many closets included beds – for instance, those at Kirby Hall (in c. 1619) and Apethorpe Hall (in 1629) – which were presumably intended for use by attendants or family members of the occupant of the state apartment.[205]

During visits by members of the royal family, or by honoured guests such as Privy Councillors, the closet must have formed the hub of the visitor's personal and business life. It must surely have been in his closet, if not in his bedchamber, that Charles I 'wrote all the afternoon, shut up in his own chamber, two long letters' while at Apethorpe Hall on progress in 1636.[206] Access would have been highly prized, and both routes of entry – via the state suite or via the back stairs – would have been strictly guarded by royal attendants.

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[203] Worcester 1827, p. 421

[204] With this in mind, it is notable that Roger North advised in the last decade of the seventeenth century that inner rooms of a state apartment should consist of: 'a passage to a back stair, for the servants in their comon offices to pass by'; a room for 'a servant to be within call'; and lastly a closet, 'where the person, who is supposed of quality, to retire for devotion, or study'. There could also be one or two dressing rooms, close to 'chambers for the servant … to be within call': North 1981, p. 134. North stated that the 'placement' of such inner rooms was flexible, 'to be done any where, as the places shall happen to invite, with least annoyance to the best room'. There was also flexibility in the positioning of the 'lights' (i.e. windows) of inner rooms, 'any disposition' being 'tollerable', 'because not on the cour of parade, and seen by servants or as belonging to such': ibid, p. 135

[205] NRO FH 2977; NRO W (A) box 6, parcel V, nos. 1 & 2

[206] Cal. SP Dom., Charles I, vol. 10, p. 83 (1 August 1636)

Back Stairs

The two realms of the state apartment, public and private, necessitated two different routes of access. Before the great chamber came the great staircase, the principal route to the most ceremonial rooms of the house and therefore the focus for considerable display. The bedchamber, closet and inner rooms required more discreet service, and this was provided by the back staircase, a component of the state suite which has not previously been fully appreciated.[207] As has been noted, back stairs were well established in royal state apartments by the mid-1500s (see Chapter 2), and were a vital means of providing a necessary escape route for – and private access to – a monarch. Contemporary drawings such as those by John Thorpe show that back staircases were included in country houses by at least the late sixteenth century, and this fact is borne out by inventories (see Chapters 4 and 5).

What is clear is that the back staircase changed in use over time. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was far from uncommon or inappropriate for them to be used by figures of rank, including the state apartment's occupant, their family and guests. However, with the increasing importance of privacy, the growing division between the 'polite' household and the serving staff, the change in the status of household servants and the move of public spaces to ground-floor level, back stairs became routes largely of service, avoided by the resident family and guests.[208]

The back staircase of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods worked in two main ways: it enabled servants and others to reach the inner chambers of the

[207] For instance, Mark Girouard is wrong in stating that such staircases appeared in England 'in embryo' in the first half of the seventeenth century (Girouard 1980, p. 138), although their systemisation was, as he asserts, the work of Roger Pratt.

[208] Roger Pratt saw back staircases as enabling servants to come and go without disturbing the resident family or guests. In 1660, he wrote that back stairs should adjoin a closet and servant's room, and meant that servants 'need not foul the great ones and whatsoever of use may be brought up or carried down the back way': Pratt 1928, p. 27 and p. 64. A few decades later, around 1695, Roger North wrote that the main stairs 'must not be annoyed with disagreeable objects, but be releived [*sic*] of them by a back-inferior stairecase': North 1981, p. 123. Nevertheless, as Mark Girouard has pointed out, back staircases continued to be used as a means of discreet entry and exit by people of worth until at least the eighteenth century – hence the phrase 'backstairs intrigue': Girouard 1980, p. 149

state apartment without the need to ascend the great stair and cross the outer rooms of the suite; and it gave the occupant of the state rooms an easy (and discreet) means of exit.[209] Such staircases enabled all kinds of things stored elsewhere to be conveyed in private – clothes, for instance, the wardrobe often (as in royal palaces) being positioned close by.[210] Many back stairs provided direct access to private gardens, loggias, and roof-top walks and banqueting houses; for example, those at Hardwick (New) Hall, Apethorpe Hall and on the king's side at Audley End.

The provision of such a staircase would have been considered essential, especially for any royal visit.[211] During such time, given the need for security and privacy, the back stairs would probably have been the most carefully guarded area of the house. Most (if not all) of the owner's household are likely to have been forbidden access to the staircase and its immediate confines, and it would have been considered of paramount importance that no-one disobey royal household regulations by entering the state suite from the 'back way'.[212]

Long Gallery

In country houses of the nobility during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the innermost state rooms were frequently connected with a long gallery (Fig. 44) – a practice well established in royal palaces (see Chapter 2).

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[209] Louis Savot, writing in 1624, noted that a lord's closet and bedchamber 'doivent toujours avoir au près quelque eschappée secrette, soit par une montée, ou entrée en d'autres chambres, des quelles il puisse sortir quelquefois sans estre apperceu de ceux qui attendent': Savot 1624, pp. 35-6. A rough translation of the relevant passage is as follows: 'It should be noted that a lord's closet and bedchamber should always have a secret means of escape nearby, either by way of a stairway or through other chambers, so that he [the lord] may occasionally leave the room without being seen by waiting guests'. The same is said to be true of the garderobe. I am grateful to Lucie Carayon for her help in translating this work.

[210] For the positioning of wardrobes in royal palaces, see: Thurley 1993, pp. 74-5 and pp. 138-9. It is notable that, during Elizabeth's visits to Theobalds, 'the robes' seems to have been located on the ground floor of the south range of the middle court, beneath the Queen's bedchamber; it was presumably accessible via a back staircase: CP 140/29, and Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 2, p. 400

[211] In France, there are a number of recorded instances of royal workmen preparing houses for the king by building secondary stairs; in 1497, for instance, Charles VIII's carpenters took special care to erect stairs which gave the King access to a court, garden or even a street: Lecoq 1994, p. 84. Such stairs were also built for François I, Charles Quint and Charles IX: ibid, and see: Boutier, Dewerpe and Nordman 1984, p. 134

[212] Ordinances 1790, p. 343

As Mark Girouard has written, ‘to have great chamber, withdrawing chamber, best bedchamber and gallery *en suite* on the first floor was the commonest Elizabethan and Jacobean recipe for magnificence’.[213]

Galleries in English country houses have been discussed at length by Rosalys Coope, and have been further explored by writers such as Mark Girouard and Nicholas Cooper.[214] As has been shown, these characteristic rooms developed over the course of the 1500s, evolving from simple walks or passageways into rooms of considerable splendour and importance, and were common from around the 1570s on. They were used as a space for contemplation and exercise, and – especially from the mid-sixteenth century – were often adorned with portraits (typically, depicting members of the royal family).[215] Other furnishings might have included chairs, stools, tables, musical instruments and a billiard or ‘shuffleboard’ table. By the end of the sixteenth century, long galleries had become status symbols, house owners vieing with each other to achieve the greatest size and magnificence.

The positioning of long galleries is discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. Here, it can simply be stated that most were placed at first-floor level, at the innermost end of the state apartment. The most recognisable characteristic of galleries inspired by those at royal palaces was that they were self-contained (‘closed’), not leading anywhere. Others, however, were used to join the innermost ends of two state apartments (as at Audley End), to join a state suite and a lodging range (as at Aston Hall), or were associated with the outer rooms of a state suite (as at Kirby Hall).

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[213] Girouard 1980, p. 102

[214] Coope 1984; Coope 1986; Coope 1994; Girouard 1980, pp. 100-2; Cooper 1999, pp. 300-5. For galleries in France, see: Guillaume 1993

[215] In 1609, Viscount Howard of Bindon asked Sir Robert Cecil for his portrait, which he planned to place in the ‘gallery I lately made for the pictures of sundry of my honourable friends, whose presentation thereby to behold will greatly delight me to walk often in that place where I may see so comfortable a sight’; quoted in: Girouard 1980, pp. 101-2, and see Coope 1984, p. 450. Galleries which contained numerous royal portraits included that at Hardwick (New) Hall; see: Of Houshold Stuff, pp. 49-50. It is noteworthy that Roger North recognised two types of gallery: a grand one for guests, and a more modest one ‘for the private divertion of the master’. While the former invariably offered splendid views over gardens and countryside, the latter might be found close to the house’s offices, so that ‘the master may in his promenade there see to the acting of servants’: North 1981, p. 136, and see: Cooper 1999, p. 303

Traditionally, long galleries have been likened to great chambers, and it has been felt that their usage was complementary. Mark Girouard mentions the fact that they were used for activities such as masques, games and music.[216] Given their size, outlook and the impressiveness of their decoration, long galleries clearly formed the perfect setting for special events of this type, especially where they were located close to the great chamber (as, for instance, at Hatfield House). However, it would seem that on a more usual basis long galleries were, like their royal equivalents, private rooms, intended for the use (at various times) of the owner and his family, the occupant of the state apartment, and selected friends and guests.[217] They often featured bays or recesses, where private conversations could take place.[218] Unfortunately, surviving household regulations do not greatly illuminate their daily use, though it is telling that, according to a document of 1605, these rooms formed part of the jurisdiction of the grooms of the bedchamber – responsible for withdrawing chamber, bedchamber and galleries.[219] Certainly, galleries were used for the reception of important visitors and as a place to hold private meetings; for instance, a commissioner sent to Hardwick (New) Hall in 1603 to enquire into Arabella Stuart's affairs was received in the long gallery by the Countess of Shrewsbury.[220] Slightly later, Arabella referred to walking in Hardwick's great chamber 'for feare of wearing the mattes in the Gallery (reserved for you Courtyers)'.[221]

Thus, in many ways, most long galleries resemble withdrawing chambers more than great chambers. Like the former, they could be public or private as need required, and served as a convenient place of retirement. As is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, this relationship with the withdrawing chamber may have

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[216] Girouard 1980, p. 102, and see: Cooper 1999, p. 303

[217] Roger North, writing in the 1690s, described galleries as being 'intended to entertein and divert the best company': North 1981, p. 136. Earlier, in 1566, Thomas Larke had said that the long gallery at Ingatestone Hall was 'mete for any man of honour to come into': Ingatestone Introduction, p. 7

[218] Roger North recommended such recesses, which he stated 'are for select companys to converse in, and vary the prospecte by side lights, being as small withdrawing rooms to the grand tour of the gallery': North 1981, p. 136

[219] Braithwait 1605, p. 26

[220] David N. Durant, *Arbella Stuart: A Rival to the Queen* (London, 1978), p. 99

[221] Ed. Sara Jayne Steen, *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart* (New York and Oxford, 1994), p. 151 (4 March 1603)

been underlined by the room arrangements; for instance, the door of the withdrawing chamber at Hardwick (New) Hall led into the centre of the long gallery (see Fig. 62).

When in their usual position – at the inner end of the state apartment – galleries could never be truly public, as it would often have been essential that access to this area was controlled. This would have been the case, in particular, during royal visits, when long galleries may well have been guarded by the monarch's 'gallery keepers' (see Chapter 2, p. 117). It is known that James I often held private audiences in galleries, both in palaces and at the homes of his subjects. For example, in 1616 the King gave audience to the Venetian Ambassador at Wanstead, then the home of Sir Mountjoy Blount; the pair 'conversed for rather less than half an hour walking up and down in a gallery'.[222]

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn upon a range of primary material to illuminate the use of the country house state apartment, both on 'extraordinary' occasions such as royal visits and on a more regular basis. It has been shown that these rooms – managed by the gentleman usher and his staff – formed the setting for the reception and accommodation of guests of honour, and were therefore bound up with the duty of hospitality. They were also the setting for household ceremonial, such as the practice of dining in state and the holding of entertainments. It has become clear that access to the state suite was by no means possible for all visitors, or even all household officers. Made up of the best rooms in a house, the state apartment was specifically dedicated to times of ceremony or state, though it has been argued that these occasions were far more numerous than has generally been accepted.

[222] Cal. SP Ven., vol. 14, p. 262 (22 July 1616)

CHAPTER FOUR

The Planning, Decoration and Development of the State Apartment in the Sixteenth-Century Country House

It has been said that 'in the case of state apartments, it is difficult to divorce the 17th-century examples from the 16th-century prototypes', and that 'by the mid-sixteenth century the suites of rooms considered necessary for a great house had already crystallised in a form that was to remain virtually unchanged for another seventy years'.[1] This chapter shows, for the first time, that this is far from being the case, and that there is a clear pattern of development in the position, extent and fitting out of state suites, even between the years 1540 and 1580. This argument is made following a detailed study of 29 country houses, and has involved much rethinking about the state apartments concerned.[2] The houses have been chosen as exemplars for two key reasons: firstly, they are of high status, and were either visited by royalty or seemingly built or altered with royalty in mind; secondly, in almost all cases, their sixteenth-century plan and use is illuminated by primary source material or notable fabric evidence.[3]

[1] Heward 1995, p. 66; Girouard 1983, p. 59

[2] The principal houses which have been studied are as follows (roughly in date order, in terms of sixteenth-century building work relating to state rooms): Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire (1507/8-21); Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire (c. 1514-23); Hampton Court, Surrey (1514-29; later altered as a royal palace); Sutton Place, Surrey (c. 1521-33); The Vyne, Hampshire (1524-26 and c. 1535); Hengrave Hall, Suffolk (1525-38); Acton Court, Gloucestershire (c. 1535, with later alterations); Cowdray, Sussex (built c. 1520-30, rebuilt c. 1535-42 and 1554-92); Ingatestone Hall, Essex (c. 1540-45); Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire (c. 1541-54, rebuilt c. 1584-99); Wilton House, Wiltshire (rebuilt from c. 1543); Longleat, Wiltshire (1546-63, rebuilt from 1568); Burghley House, Lincolnshire (1553-66, rebuilt 1573-88); Bisham Abbey, Berkshire (c. 1557-62); Chatsworth, Derbyshire (1550s, rebuilt 1570s); Loseley Park, Surrey (1561-69, extended c. 1602); Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire (c. 1562); Gorhambury, Hertfordshire (1563-68, extended c. 1572); Theobalds, Hertfordshire (1564-85, in phases); Copthall, Essex (1560s, rebuilt 1570s); Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire (c. 1570-71, rebuilt c. 1575); Holdenby, Northamptonshire (1571-83); New Hall, Essex (c. 1573); Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire (from 1574); Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire (c. 1575-84); Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (1580-88); Hardwick Old Hall, Derbyshire (1587-96); Hardwick (New) Hall, Derbyshire (1591-97); and Cobham Hall, Kent (1590s).

[3] In only a few cases, the houses themselves survive comparatively unaltered – notably Thornbury Castle, Acton Court, Broughton Castle, Kirby Hall, Wollaton Hall and Hardwick (New) Hall. Those partially demolished or now ruinous include Cowdray, Kenilworth Castle, New Hall, Kirby Hall and Hardwick (Old) Hall, while others have been lost in their entirety (Copthall, Theobalds, Holdenby).

Particularly useful are inventories; of the 29 houses studied, 25 are associated with inventories dated between 1520 and 1765.[4] In addition, other contemporary evidence has served to shed light on arrangements; for instance, dating from the sixteenth century are two important surveys of Thornbury Castle and a series of schedules of accommodation for Theobalds, detailing accommodation on royal visits.[5] Contemporary building and/or household accounts survive for 16 of the 29 houses, and visitor descriptions set down in the eighteenth century or earlier are of assistance in 8 cases.[6] John Thorpe's book includes plans of Burghley House, Loseley Park, Theobalds, Copthall, Holdenby, Kirby Hall and Wollaton Hall, while the Smythson collection includes plans of Wollaton Hall and Hardwick (New) Hall, and there are plans of Longleat and Theobalds among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield.[7] In some instances, early modern plan forms survived until around the eighteenth century, and are captured in drawings of that date.[8] Specialist studies have been extremely

[4] 18 of the houses are described in inventories dating from before the Civil War: Compton Wynyates (1522/3); Hampton Court (c. 1522-3, 1547); Sutton Place (1542); The Vyne (1541); Hengrave Hall (c. 1562, 1603, 1617, 1621, 1624); Ingatestone Hall (1600, 1623, 1639); Longleat (1594, 1639); Chatsworth (c. 1565-7, 1601 [for the dating of the former, see: White 2005, vol. 2, pp. 390-1]); Loseley Park (1633); Apethorpe Hall (1629); Gorhambury (1636); Kenilworth Castle (c. 1578, 1582, 1583, 1588); New Hall (1583); Kirby Hall (c. 1619); Wollaton Hall (1596, 1599, 1601, 1609); Hardwick Old Hall (1601); Hardwick (New) Hall (1601); and Cobham Hall (1603). Those with inventories dated between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries are: Compton Wynyates (1694, 1705, 1754); Hampton Court (various, including one of 1659); Hengrave Hall (1661); Acton Court (1709); Cowdray (1682, 1708); Ingatestone Hall (1689); Broughton Castle (1662, 1731); Wilton House (1683); Longleat (1682, 1719); Burghley House (1688, 1738); Loseley Park (1684, 1689); Apethorpe Hall (1691, 1705, c. 1736); Gorhambury (1707); Copthall (1674, 1679); Castle Ashby (1681, 1755); Hardwick (New) Hall (1764); and Cobham Hall (1672).

[5] The surveys of Thornbury Castle were taken in 1521 and 1583. For the former, see: TNA E36/150, ff. 4-5v, Caffall 1942, p. 65, and Gage 1834, pp. 311-313. The latter is held at Gloucestershire Record Office as D108/M122; it has been published in: Ellis 1839, pp. 24-32, and Caffall 1942, pp. 66-75. For the schedules of accommodation for Theobalds, see: Hatfield House, CP 140/18-19 (1572), CP 140/22-24 (1577), CP 140/29, CP 140/26 and CP 143/63 (1583), and CP 140/33 (1591). For the document of 1572, see also: HMC Salisbury, vol. 13, pp. 110-1; for the document of 1583, see: Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 2, pp. 400-4, and Wilson 1980, pp. 52-56

[6] Contemporary building accounts exist for: Thornbury Castle, Hampton Court, Hengrave Hall, Ingatestone Hall, Longleat, Burghley House, Bisham Abbey, Chatsworth, Loseley Park, Gorhambury, Theobalds, Kenilworth Castle, Castle Ashby, Wollaton Hall, Hardwick Old Hall and Hardwick (New) Hall. There are descriptions of Hampton Court, Wilton House, Burghley House, Gorhambury, Theobalds, Copthall, Kenilworth Castle and Holdenby.

[7] Thorpe 1966; Girouard 1962; Cecil Papers at Hatfield House

[8] For instance, drawings of this type relate to New Hall, Copthall and Wilton. There are two late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century plans of New Hall; one, at Boughton House, has been published as HKW 1982, Fig. 17, and the other is in the British Library (King's Maps, vol. 13, no. 27). Ground- and first-floor plans of Copthall were produced in the early eighteenth century, prior to the house's demolition; see: Newman 1970 and 'Copped Hall, Essex – I', *Country Life*, 29 October 1910, pp. 610-17. A second pair of plans, of a similar date, are in the BL (King's

useful for 13 of the 29 houses – of particular note are Simon Thurley's study of Hampton Court, Kirsty Rodwell and Robert Bell's monograph on Acton Court, Jill Husselby's thesis on Burghley, and John Summerson's article on Theobalds.[9]

In almost every case, the houses that have been studied were owned by high-ranking officials and courtiers.[10] The exceptions are buildings such as Acton Court (Sir Nicholas Poyntz), Wollaton Hall (Sir Francis Willoughby), Loseley Park (Sir William and Sir George More) and Hardwick New and Old Halls (Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury), which were owned by ambitious members of the nobility and upper gentry, often with royal connections or favour. All bar three of the buildings – Chatsworth and Hardwick Old and New Halls – are known to have been visited by at least one Tudor or early Stuart king or queen.[11] Thus, they contain state rooms in the truest meaning of that term, for

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Maps, vol. 124, nos 28 and 29). Eighteenth-century plans of Wilton include those published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717); see: John Heward, 'The restoration of the south front of Wilton House: the development of the house reconsidered', *Architectural History*, vol. 35 (1992), p. 79

[9] Thurley 2003; Rodwell and Bell 2004; Husselby 1996 (unpubl.); Summerson 1959. Other studies concern: The Vyne, Cowdray, Ingatestone, Broughton Castle, Chatsworth, Apethorpe Hall, Kirby Hall, Wollaton Hall and Cobham Hall.

[10] These included Sir William Compton (Compton Wynyates), Sir Richard Weston (Sutton Place), William, Lord Sandys (The Vyne), Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley (Theobalds; Burghley House), Sir Thomas Heneage (Copthall), Sir Nicholas Bacon (Gorhambury), Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex (New Hall), Sir Christopher Hatton (Kirby Hall; Holdenby), Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester (Kenilworth Castle), and William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham (Cobham Hall).

[11] Thornbury Castle was visited by the King in 1535 and on other occasions during its time as a royal palace in 1521-54; Henry VIII is said to have stayed several times at Compton Wynyates, Elizabeth visited in 1572 and James I in 1617; Henry VIII stayed regularly at Wolsey's Hampton Court; Henry VIII visited Sutton Place in 1533, and Elizabeth in 1560 and 1591; The Vyne was visited by Henry VIII in 1510, 1526, possibly 1527, 1531 and 1535, and Elizabeth stayed in 1569, 1601 and possibly 1591; Elizabeth visited Hengrave Hall in 1578; there were royal visits to Acton Court in 1535 and 1574; Cowdray was visited by monarchs in 1538, 1539, 1552 and 1591; Elizabeth stayed at Ingatestone in 1561 and 1569; Broughton Castle was visited by Elizabeth in 1566 and by James in 1604, 1608, 1610 and 1619; Wilton was visited by Elizabeth in 1574 and by James and Charles on numerous occasions; Longleat was host to Elizabeth in 1574 and Anne of Denmark in 1613; James came to Burghley in 1603, 1612 and 1616; Bisham was host to Henry VIII in 1543, Elizabeth in 1569 and 1592, and James and Charles on numerous occasions; Elizabeth visited Loseley in 1576, 1583, 1591, 1601 and possibly in 1567, and James was a visitor in 1603 and 1606; Apethorpe hosted Elizabeth in 1566 and James and Charles on numerous occasions; Gorhambury welcomed Elizabeth in 1572, 1573, 1576 and 1577, and possibly James in 1608 and 1618; Theobalds was regularly visited both by Elizabeth and James before becoming a royal palace in 1607; Elizabeth visited Copthall in 1568, 1578 and possibly 1595; the Queen was at Kenilworth in 1566, 1572, 1575 and possibly 1568; Elizabeth never visited Holdenby, but James did so, and it became a royal palace; New Hall hosted Elizabeth in 1579 and 1583, and James came in 1622; James was a regular visitor to Castle Ashby, and Charles I stayed in 1634; Kirby Hall was visited by James on numerous occasions; Anne of Denmark visited Wollaton Hall in 1603; and Cobham Hall was visited by Elizabeth in 1559 and 1573, by James in 1604 and 1622, and by Charles in 1625 and 1634.

the keeping of state at the highest level would have been fundamental to the households concerned.

In terms of architectural development, it is worth noticing that a minority – just under a third – of this group of houses were newly built in the sixteenth century.[12] Most included earlier fabric, and thus their state apartments were not planned to an ideal pattern, being affected by existing arrangements. In a number of cases, houses were rebuilt in phases of quick succession. For instance, Burghley House was built in 1553-66 and then greatly remodelled in 1573-88, while Gorhambury was completed in 1568 and extended in c. 1573. Such alterations are helpful in piecing together the development of state suites in the later sixteenth century. They certainly imply, by their very nature, that fashions – and even the requirements of a state apartment – were changing rapidly.

Finally, it is noteworthy that six of the houses under study fluctuated between private and royal ownership. Thornbury Castle, New Hall and Kenilworth Castle all formed part of the royal property portfolio at some point in their history. Hampton Court, perhaps the most ambitious country house of Henry VIII's reign, was adopted as a royal palace in 1529, on Cardinal Wolsey's downfall. It is telling that the two greatest and most influential houses of the Elizabethan period – Theobalds and Holdenby – shared the same fate, being taken on as royal palaces in 1607 and 1608 respectively. The fact that comparatively few alterations were made by the Jacobean Royal Works underlines the scale and status of these two houses, which are – as far as this thesis is concerned – perhaps the saddest and most frustrating of all architectural losses.[13]

Furthermore, it should be noted that Mary, Queen of Scots stayed at Chatsworth while a prisoner, and Prince Charles dined in the great chamber at Hardwick New Hall in 1619.

[12] Those houses which were completely new in the sixteenth century are as follows: Sutton Place, Hengrave Hall, Cowdray, Ingatestone Hall, Chatsworth, Gorhambury, Copthall, Holdenby, Castle Ashby, Wollaton Hall and Hardwick (New) Hall. Kirby Hall was also newly built – in c. 1570 – but the house of this date is not thought to have included a state apartment.

[13] The alterations made to Theobalds and Holdenby are detailed in the Royal Works accounts, including: TNA E351/3239-3258. Both were ruthlessly swept away in the years following the Civil War – with barely a trace left behind – largely, one suspects, on account of their vivid embodiment of the power of monarchy and the royal court.

The Emergence of the State Apartment

Given the evolution of the country house as a whole (see pp. 122-124), and the increasing importance of hospitality to house owners following the Reformation, it is unsurprising to find that state rooms were not universal among houses of the nobility and upper gentry in the early sixteenth century. The state suites at Thornbury Castle and Hampton Court – built respectively in 1507/8-21 and 1514-29 – must be considered exceptional, and reflect the royal pretensions of their builders, Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham (a cousin, by marriage, of Henry VII), and Cardinal Wolsey. Notably, these two owners were seen to have surpassed the grandeur acceptable for any but a reigning monarch, a factor which must have played a part in their downfall.[14] The lesson seems to have been quickly learnt by the politically powerful of Tudor England, who – for this and other reasons – did not build country houses of a comparable scale until Queen Elizabeth was on the throne.

In the majority of houses of the early sixteenth century, it is rare to find state apartments of the sort that became standard during the reign of Elizabeth – that is, sequences of rooms that were designed to work together, both functionally and aesthetically – and where they do exist, there is sometimes evidence that they were hastily arranged (as at Acton Court). The state rooms at Compton Wynyates seem to flow around the upper half of the chapel and into the great tower, with no particular attention to the grandeur or even ease of the internal effect. At Hengrave Hall – according to evidence of c. 1562 and later – the state rooms were limited in extent, even though they were richly furnished. The great chamber was immediately followed by a bedchamber – named the 'chief chamber' in the majority of inventories – which had an inner chamber and small closet or privy.[15] A simple three-room suite of this kind seems to have been standard in great houses before the 1560s, and appears to have suited the

[14] For the dangers of building magnificently in the early Tudor period, see: Howard 1987, pp. 28-9

[15] Inventories of Hengrave Hall include those of c. 1562 (Cambridge University Library Hengrave 87), 1603 (CUL Hengrave 81) and 1617 (CUL Hengrave 85). The arrangements described by these inventories either reflect the house as built in 1525-38 or as altered before c. 1562.

needs of high-ranking visitors, including monarchs; according to a document of the 1530s (see Appendix 1), the King was to be provided, while ‘removinge’, with three key rooms: a great chamber, bedchamber and a room ‘to make the kinge ready in’ (probably a closet).

As the sixteenth century wore on, the concept of a deliberately planned state apartment began to be more generally realised, and the suites themselves developed apace. Such a change reflected a number of factors, including the gaining of experience as to the preferences and expectations of visitors of status, a specialisation of room use, and the influence of continental architecture. Hosts themselves became more concerned for the comfort of their guests, and used state rooms as a means of representing – even furthering – their own status. The creation of impressive and extensive state rooms, from being – in the first half of the sixteenth century – the province of certain key courtiers and ambitious members of the nobility, gradually reached a wider audience, so that by c. 1600 a state apartment was generally considered *de rigueur* in all large country houses.

The sixteenth-century development of state apartments manifested itself in three main ways. Firstly, they grew in extent; withdrawing chambers – placed between great chamber and bedchamber – became increasingly common from the 1560s, as did larger closets and inner chambers. Second bedchambers began to be incorporated within some apartments – for example, at New Hall in Essex and Hardwick (New) Hall – while other houses such as Chatsworth, Theobalds and Wollaton Hall boasted two separate suites of state rooms. The most significant addition to the state apartment was the long gallery, which – from being an optional extra for much of the sixteenth century – became an essential element of the suite from the 1570s on.

Secondly, the arrangement of state rooms was handled with increasing finesse and sophistication. Rather than simply being placed in sequence in a single range, with doorways opening from one to another, they became part of complex spatial arrangements, providing flexibility of access and use, as well as splendour. This is especially evident at houses built by the greatest of

noblemen, such as Burghley House, and in the houses designed by Robert Smythson, notably Hardwick (New) Hall.

Lastly, as the state apartment grew in extent, it also became increasingly elaborate. Instead of decoration being moveable and comparatively temporary – such as the painted murals of Acton Court [16] – it became a fixed element of state rooms, with features such as plaster ceilings and carved overmantels proclaiming an owner's status and taste. Also, as is clear from inventories, state rooms became associated with particular names and furnishings.

The Siting of the State Apartment in the Country House

As has been shown in Chapter 2, state apartments in royal palaces were typically situated at upper floor level, and this arrangement was duplicated in English country houses. All of the principal state rooms in the 29 houses studied in this chapter were located on the first floor or above, and were accessed via the great stairs. Although the orientation of the suites varied – with south being most popular, closely followed by west and east [17] – the vast majority were placed at the high end of the hall.[18] The courtyard plan lent itself perfectly to this arrangement, as did U-, H- and E-plans.

In terms of floor level, there is a variance which shows an interesting course of development. At Thornbury Castle, the earliest of the houses considered here, there are two major apartments, both in the imposing south range (Fig. 45). Nominally, these were assigned to the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham, but they are clearly two state apartments (that is, they were intended for high-status

[16] Rodwell and Bell 2004, p. 183, pp. 187-8 and reconstructed elevation on p. 198
[17] The orientation given here is that of great chamber, withdrawing chamber and bedchamber, and does not take account of the positioning of long galleries.
[18] Of the houses studied, there were two key exceptions to the high end arrangement. At Acton Court and Bisham Abbey, the state rooms were adjacent to the low end of the hall, although in the latter instance they seem to have been accessed by the conventional route of high end and great stairs. It is notable that both of these state ranges are quite early – of c. 1535 at Acton Court and c. 1557-c. 1562 at Bisham – and that they reflect the lack of prescription that was applied to such planning during the first half of the sixteenth century. At all the houses studied that date from the Elizabethan period, the status of the high end is rigidly followed, even in those of a compact plan.

visitors), and – following royal example of the period – are horizontally stacked: the principal (male) suite at first-floor level, and the secondary (female) suite below.[19] At Hampton Court, as rebuilt in 1514-29, Cardinal Wolsey also chose to stack his state rooms. In the east range of the main (inner) court, the apartment used by Henry VIII was at first-floor level, with the Queen's smaller suite above and Princess Mary's rooms below (Fig. 46).[20]

On the whole, however, such stacked arrangements seem to be unusual in country houses of the period, and were soon outmoded, at least in England.[21] Under Elizabeth I, the few builders who could afford to create more than one state suite preferred to do so on a single level. At Wollaton Hall, for example, the symmetrical plan allowed the creation of a single floor of state on the first storey (Fig. 47): two great chambers were placed to north and south, with the withdrawing chambers and bedchambers of the two suites all occupying the west range, and the long gallery on the east.

While first-floor suites may be considered the norm, there are a small number of Elizabethan houses which broke this tradition. The earliest seems to be Theobalds, which may be considered revolutionary in its planning. In rebuilding the house in the 1560s and early 1570s – with the accommodation of Queen Elizabeth in mind – Sir William Cecil (created Lord Burghley in 1571) chose to position the state apartment at second-floor level, in the south range of the main courtyard (Figs 48 and 49). Opening southwards from the inner end of the suite was the 'Queen's Gallery', also placed on the second floor, while on the opposite side of the courtyard – on the second floor of the north range – were the rooms of Burghley and his wife. Such planning does not appear to have been dictated by previous arrangements on the site, but perhaps rather reflects

[19] The state rooms were ascribed to the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham in the survey of March 1583: GRO D108/M122; Ellis 1839, pp. 24-32; Caffall 1942, pp. 66-75
[20] See the reconstructed plans in Thurley 2003, pp. 28, 31 and 39
[21] The stacked arrangement appears to have continued in the châteaux of France. For instance, in the Château de Cadillac – begun in 1598 by the Duc d'Épernon, on the express orders of Henri IV – the king's apartment was on the first floor, with the queen's beneath; see: Chatenet 2002, p. 290. In terms of England, it is worth noting that there may have been a stacked arrangement at Kirby Hall, as rebuilt in the 1570s and 1580s. According to the inventory of c. 1619 (NRO FH 2977; copy in NMR Building File 059962), the area beneath the state apartment included a secondary suite which was probably intended for guests, 'my lord's chamber' being listed in a separate location (possibly the gallery wing or hall range).

the traditional associations of female monarchs with second-floor suites; it recalls the presence of the principal (male) suite on the first storey, without actually including it.[22] Furthermore, the arrangement allowed an unusually grand ascent from hall to great chamber, a feature which Burghley is known to have considered important.[23]

Theobalds was the first house of considerable extent and pretension to have been begun during Elizabeth's reign – earlier houses, such as Loseley Park and Copthall, were on a completely different scale – and so Lord Burghley's chosen layout is extremely interesting. It was also to prove influential, at least on Sir Christopher Hatton, who described Holdenby, built by him in 1571-83, as a 'young Theobalds'.[24] Like Burghley's house, Holdenby was built specifically for the reception and accommodation of the Queen,[25] and seems to have been faithful to its model in the orientation of its main courtyard – the principal state rooms were on the south, the hall was on the west, and there was a secondary apartment on the north (Fig. 50).[26] Furthermore, like Theobalds, Hatton's creation had a long gallery above the gatehouse on the east, and a (second-floor) long gallery above the great hall.[27] Given these similarities, it seems highly likely that the main state apartment was (like that at Theobalds) on the

[22] Whilst one might have expected a sole monarch to take ownership of the principal suite, such distinctions between the sexes appear to have been important. When Queen Anne and Prince Henry visited Wollaton Hall in 1603, it was Henry who – despite not being a reigning monarch – occupied the 'king's side', the Queen taking the secondary suite to the north. This is known from the evidence of the 1609 inventory; see: Marshall 1996, p. 108

[23] In a letter of 10 August 1579 written to his absent host, Sir Christopher Hatton, from Holdenby, Lord Burghley stated, 'I found no one thing of greater grace than your stately ascent from your hall to your great chamber; quoted in: Hartshorne 1868, p. 15

[24] This quotation derives from the letter cited above, in which Lord Burghley states to Hatton that 'where you were wont to say it [Holdenby] was a young Theobalds, truly Theobalds I like as my own; but I confess it is not so good as a model to a work, less than a pattern, and no otherwise worthy in any comparison than a foil': Hartshorne 1868, p. 15

[25] Hatton, writing in 1580, noted that he left his 'shrine, I mean Holdenby, still unseen until that holy saint may sit in it to whom it is dedicated' (it remained 'unseen', since Elizabeth never did visit), while Burghley described the house as 'a monument of her Majesty's bountifulness'; quoted in: Hartshorne 1868, p. 16

[26] This information is known from the parliamentary survey of the house, taken in 1650: TNA E317/Nothants/35, and see transcription in: Hartshorne 1868, pp. viii-xviii

[27] The parliamentary survey (see above) refers to a gallery in the east (gatehouse) range, as does a document of 1647 (see Barrett 1910, p. 14), while the Royal Works accounts for 1607-9 make reference to 'the gallery over the halle' (TNA E351/3243, f. 37).

second floor of the south range, allowing for marked splendour, both internally and externally, and making the most of a sloping site.[28]

Elizabeth was clearly content to be accommodated at second-floor level. At Theobalds, the schedules of accommodation for royal visits show that the Queen continued to occupy her second-floor rooms even after the completion in 1585 of a more lavish state apartment on the first storey of the Fountain or Conduit Court (see Figs 48 and 49).[29] The second floor's traditional association with the female monarch may have been a factor – together with preference and familiarity – though state rooms at this level offered a number of real advantages. Security, privacy and distance would have been intensified, while views over gardens and the landscape would have been maximised. Making appearances at the apartment's windows – which Elizabeth often did [30] – would have given the Queen an excellent vantage point and would have emphasised her elevated position, physical and social.

The splendour of such an arrangement is perhaps best exemplified today by Hardwick (New) Hall, where vast expanses of glass mark the second-floor state rooms, accessed by a dignified staircase rising in stages to the door of the High Great Chamber (Fig. 51). At two other of the Countess of Shrewsbury's homes – Chatsworth (as rebuilt in the 1570s) and Hardwick Old Hall (1587-96) – the state rooms occupied the top storey (second-floor in the first case, third in the

[28] Mark Girouard was the first to suggest that Holdenby's state rooms were at second-floor level, basing his theory on the assumption that the chapel – named on John Thorpe's plan of the house – was double height (as was the case at Theobalds), and the knowledge (from eighteenth-century drawings of the house's remains) that the south range rose through three main storeys in height. For a discussion of such issues, see: Mark Girouard, 'Elizabethan Holdenby', *Country Life*, 18 October 1979, pp. 1287-8, and Girouard 1992, p. 200; for a reconstruction of the exterior of the south front, see: Girouard 1992, p. 204. However, Annabel Ricketts has interpreted the house differently, describing its chapel as single-storey (Ricketts 2007, p. 264), and Girouard has recently revised his earlier view, stating that the state rooms could have been on the first floor, with the chapel occupying the ground and basement storeys (Girouard 2009, p. 477 note). Evidence is sparse, but, on balance, I tend to take the view that the state apartment was on the second floor, Hatton drawing upon the plan of Theobalds in this as in other important regards. Burghley's comment on the dramatic ascent to the great chamber (see note 23) seems to bear this out.

[29] This fact is proven by the schedule of accommodation for 1591; see: CP 140, ff. 33-35, and CP 143, pp. 66-68

[30] For instance, Elizabeth I addressed the people of Coventry in August 1566 from the first-floor oriel window of Whitefriars, a former monastery. Much later, in 1591, the Queen opened 'her Gallerie window' at Elvetham to be greeted by a song played by musicians: Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 3, p. 116. See also: Wilson 1980, p. 113

other). However, though the layout of Theobalds and Holdenby may have had an influence, Bess's houses owed their arrangements primarily to architectural form and style. The two Hardwick properties were both compact (rather than courtyard) houses, and displaying hierarchies by height was really the only option. Maurice Howard, offering another point of view, has seen Hardwick's top floor as 'perhaps more than a distant echo of the medieval practice of putting the major rooms for housing important visitors in defensible towers attached to one corner of the castle (or moated site)'.[31]

Another feature which more directly recalls the defensible towers of the medieval period is the positioning of the state or 'best' bedchamber. It had long been common for such rooms to be contained within a tower. At Holyrood, for example, the great tower built at the north-west corner of the palace in 1528-32 included the king's bedchamber at first-floor level and that of the queen above, the two linked by a privy staircase. The courtyard plan provided the perfect template, allowing the state rooms to be positioned within a wing which terminated in a tower. Such an arrangement can be found at Thornbury Castle, where the bedchambers assigned to the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham occupied the first and ground floors of a tower at the west end of the south (state) range (see Fig. 45). Such a tower can also be found at Cowdray, as reworked by Sir William Fitzwilliam in c. 1535-42; hexagonal in shape, it stands at the north-east corner of the courtyard and, at first-floor level, contained the state ('velvet') bedchamber (Fig. 52).[32]

From the 1540s and 1550s, country houses had less (or no) need to be defensible, but the motif of the tower was carried through, often as a turret or corner pavilion. At Ingatestone Hall (built c. 1540-45), the state bedchamber can seemingly be identified with the 'Garden Chamber' mentioned in inventories; the room contained a very rich bed clothed with crimson silk and gold.[33]

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[31] Howard 1994, p. 263

[32] For a phased reconstruction of the plan of Cowdray, see: St John Hope 1919, plate XLIII. Compton Wynyates, as built in c. 1514-23, also featured a great tower; although it does not stand at the end of a wing – it is situated close to the far (west) end of the south range – it still contains 'Henry VIII's Chamber' and dressing room (with council chamber above).

[33] See, for example, the inventory of 1600: Essex Record Office D/DP/F215 and Ingatestone Inventory

Reconstructions show this chamber as occupying a pavilion at the north-west corner of the house, at the high end of the hall (Fig. 53).[34] At Gorhambury, built mainly in the 1560s, the state bedchamber seems – from my reconstruction – to have been contained within, or immediately adjacent to, the octagonal tower at the west of the entrance front (Fig. 54), while at Cobham Hall its location seems to be represented by the present 'Queen Elizabeth's Bedchamber', at the far (west) end of what was the original state wing.[35] In some instances, the bedchamber's position could be marked even where it did not fall at the end of a range. This is most evident in the main (middle) court at Theobalds, where the Queen's bedchamber in the second-floor state apartment was topped by a turret, despite being only half way along the south range.[36] Later, in creating a second state apartment in the Conduit Court at Theobalds, Lord Burghley positioned the bedchamber in a more conventional position: a corner pavilion, topped by a large tower (see Figs 48 and 49).

As with the association between the queen and the second floor, the practice of placing the state bedchamber within a tower or pavilion seems largely to be based in tradition, although it had a number of practical advantages. Such a location maximised security and often allowed space for a back staircase, which usually had access both to the leads and the gardens.[37] No visitor staying at a country house – and especially a monarch, placed beyond the confines of royal property – can ever have considered themselves wholly safe, and such features must have been welcomed, if not insisted upon. On a lighter (though no less practical) note, the positioning of bedchambers within corner towers and

[34] For reconstructions of the plan, see: Ingatestone Guide, pp. 4-5

[35] My reconstruction of Gorhambury is aided by the plan published by Charlotte Grimston (Grimston 1821, p. 14) and by the inventory of 1707 (see: Rogers 1933-5, p. 81 and NMR Buildings File 14530). For Cobham Hall, the best source of information is the English Heritage historians' file Out 840, which includes Roger Bowdler's unpublished report on the history of the house (2001).

[36] The schedule of accommodation for the royal visit of 1577 describes the room assigned to Elizabeth as 'a bedchamber in a turrett': CP 140/22-23. In 1583, Elizabeth occupied the same room, while mention is also made of 'a chamber in the turrett, over the Queen's bed-chamber': CP 140/29, and see Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 2, p. 403, and Wilson 1980, p. 55

[37] The bedchamber in the south-west tower at Thornbury Castle has been viewed as 'a private and secure post, and in case of need a refuge, for the owner'; it has been further commented that, 'In case of necessity, the posterns at its base and on the first floor would afford the owners means of escape, via the cloister-gallery and the churchyard': Douglas Simpson 1946, p. 169

pavilions provided an opportunity for a maximum of light and a variety of vistas.[38]

In terms of the relationship between the state apartment and the house as a whole, there are a few further points worth making. In earlier houses of the sixteenth century, the divisions between state rooms and family lodgings are not always clearly defined. For instance, inventories imply that at Hengrave Hall (as built in 1525-38 or as altered before c. 1562), the state rooms in the north half of the west range were followed by a series of other bedchambers for family members and guests, including 'Mr Kytsones Chamber', 'Mr Paynes Chamber' and the richly appointed 'chappell chamber'.[39] At Ingatestone, too, built in c. 1540-45, there were a group of rooms between the great chamber and long gallery, not all of which seem to have been devoted to state (see Fig. 53).[40]

However, the state range at Acton Court (built c. 1535) – located at the low end of the hall – was clearly intended to be self-contained, and could be accessed without any need to pass through, or even close to, the family lodgings and chapel (Fig. 55). Likewise, in the vast majority of the houses studied, the state suites were effectively self-contained (although the primary route of access was always via the great hall); when the state rooms were occupied, neither family nor servants would have had any need to pass through them. Back staircases were crucial in ensuring privacy and independence of this sort, and – as is discussed below (see pp. 197-198) – existed in most, if not all, of the houses studied.

From this, it is clear that family lodgings were ideally placed in a separate area to that of the state apartment. Evidence of their location is not always forthcoming, but it would seem that principal suites of family rooms (here termed great apartments) generally occupied their own wing, either on a lower

[38] In the houses studied – where evidence survives – the orientation of the principal state rooms is almost invariably reflected by that of the principal (or privy) gardens; for example, at Thornbury Castle, Longleat, Burghley House, Theobalds, Chatsworth, Kirby and Castle Ashby.
[39] This is best exemplified by the inventory of c. 1562, which lists the rooms in a clear order: CUL Hengrave 87
[40] The inventory of 1600 shows that the 'cellar chamber', beyond what seems to have been the state bedchamber (the 'Garden Chamber'), functioned as 'Mr Petre's lodging': ERO D/DP/F215

or an upper level. It is especially common to find great apartments placed in parallel with rooms of state. For instance, at Cowdray – at least as reworked in the later sixteenth century by Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu – the family rooms seem to have been on the south side of the great chamber, above the service rooms; to the west was the south gallery, placed in a parallel position to the north (state) gallery across the courtyard (see Fig. 52).[41]

This arrangement seems to have taken on a new formality from the 1570s onwards. John Thorpe's plan of Burghley House, if taken as a survey rather than a design, shows that there was a suite of grand, well-planned rooms – surely the owner's – on the north side of the courtyard, opposite the state apartment (Fig. 56). These would have been accessed via the 'Roman Stair', which is decorated with crests of the Cecil family and its connections.[42] At Theobalds, we know that Lord Burghley occupied rooms on the second floor of the middle court, immediately opposite the Queen's.[43] Likewise, Hatton seems to have placed his own lodgings on the north side of the courtyard at Holdenby, parallel to the state apartment.[44] In an arrangement surely derived from royal palaces and continental architecture, the two apartments – state and great (family) – were sometimes joined by a long gallery, as at Burghley House and possibly Cobham Hall.[45] During royal visits, or whenever needed, the two suites could usefully have functioned as 'king's side' and 'queen's side', though the provision of dual apartments does not seem to have been at all widespread among English country houses in the sixteenth century.

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[41] For more on the plan of Cowdray, see: St John Hope 1919, and Roundell 1884, p. 111 and pp. 120-1. The owner of the house probably made use of the great chamber, sharing it with the occupant of the state apartment.

[42] Mark Girouard, 'Burghley House, Lincolnshire – II', *Country Life*, 30 April 1992, p. 60

[43] Schedules of accommodation list a chamber at the west end of the Suitor's Gallery as 'The Lord Treasurer's Bed-chamber', while Lady Burghley had 'two lodgings' at the west end, 'terninge Southward towards the hall': CP 143, pp. 63-64, and CP 140, ff. 26-30. See also: Nichols Elizabeth, vol. 2, pp. 403-4, and Wilson 1980, pp. 56-7. By the time of the parliamentary survey of 1650, 'the Princes lodgeinges' were in this range, though seemingly at first-floor level: TNA E351/Herts/26, pp. 18-19

[44] During the house's years as a royal palace, this suite was used by the queen; see the parliamentary survey of 1650: TNA E317/Nothants/35, and Hartshorne 1868, pp. viii-xviii. The rooms on the south side of the second (inner) court of Holdenby may, alternatively, have been occupied by Hatton, though it is likely that these were reserved for important guests, incorporating various suites of lodgings.

[45] The uncertainty with regard to Cobham Hall reflects the demolition of the range that is thought to have closed the courtyard on the west; it is very probable that this contained a long gallery.

As the state suite was almost invariably at the high end of the hall, it was also associated, in terms of position, with comparable high-end rooms placed at ground-floor level. Most important and long-standing was the practice of placing great chambers above great parlours. Such stacking was, as Mark Girouard has pointed out, part of a 'two suite system', where rooms for daily use ran below those of state.[46]

Finally, the relationship between the country house state apartment and the chapel deserves brief consideration, since they are sometimes closely associated.[47] This was especially the case in houses built in the first half of the sixteenth century, reflecting the importance of religion to the great household, particularly before the Reformation.[48] For instance, the state apartment at Wolsey's Hampton Court was joined to the chapel by a U-shaped gallery, which provided access to the first-floor chapel closet (Fig. 57).[49] At Compton Wynyates, another pre-Reformation house, the first-floor state rooms are ranged around the chapel, which occupies the centre of the south wing. The great chamber had direct access to the chapel gallery, while the adjacent chamber (now the Chapel Drawing Room) opened on to the upper part of the chapel sanctuary, making it possible to hear services. At Sutton Place, the inventory of 1542 implies that the chapel was part of the state (east) range; following the great chamber was a room known as 'the gret closet', which

[46] Girouard 1983, p. 60. The positioning of the great chamber above one or more parlours can be found in a number of the houses studied as part of this chapter, including Compton Wynyates, The Vyne, Cowdray, Gorhambury, Longleat, Broughton Castle, Chatsworth, Kirby Hall and Castle Ashby.

[47] Unlike spaces such as the long gallery and back staircase, the chapel cannot be seen as an integral component of the country house state apartment in the sixteenth century. It was often positioned in a different part of the building – albeit close to the ceremonial route – and in many cases was not present at all. Among the houses studied, the following seem not to have included functional chapels in the sixteenth century: Longleat, Bisham Abbey, Loseley Park, Apethorpe Hall, Kenilworth Castle, Kirby Hall, Wollaton Hall and Hardwick Old Hall.

[48] Out of the total of 29 houses, 14 have chapels placed in close proximity to their state apartments (this includes Thornbury Castle, with its link to the church). 8 out of the 14 are pre-Elizabethan (Thornbury, Compton Wynyates, Hampton Court, Sutton Place, Hengrave Hall, Cowdray, Ingatestone Hall and Wilton); 3 date from the 1550s and 1560s (Burghley House, Chatsworth, Gorhambury); and 3 date from the 1570s and later (Copthall, New Hall, Loseley Park). The present chapel at Castle Ashby was built in the 1620s and 1630s; though it may have replaced an earlier chapel in the same position (i.e. at the inner end of the state apartment), it is not included here.

[49] Thurley 2003, pp. 38-9

probably looked down into the body of the chapel.[50] At Cowdray, built in c. 1520-30 and reworked in c. 1535-42, the chapel gallery was accessible from a door by the entrance to the great chamber, at the head of the great stairs (see Fig. 52).

After the Reformation, the close relationship between state rooms and chapel was less consistent.[51] Nevertheless, the relationship continued in certain instances, and seems to have developed from the earlier arrangements set out above. At Ingatestone Hall, the chapel formed part of the east range; its upper closet opened off the centre of the long gallery (see Fig. 53).[52] The most notable layout of this type from the Elizabethan period is perhaps that at Copthall, seemingly reworked around the late 1570s (Fig. 58).[53] As at Ingatestone, the upper closet of the chapel opened off the long gallery in the east range, and was accessed, in this case, by two doorways, placed either side of a fireplace.[54] Thus, easy access was provided from state rooms to chapel, enabling the owner, resident family and visitors of rank to worship in privacy and in a position of honour.

[50] Harrison 1893, Appendix 4, p. 207. According to the inventory, 'the gret closet' contained an altar cloth. The chapel (seemingly double-height) was probably positioned at the north end of the east wing. It is said that a substantial block – with independent access from the courtyard – projected to the east at this point in the range, in just the orientation one would expect of a chapel: Cooper 1994, p. 36. A similar (and roughly contemporary) arrangement seems to have existed at Wilton House, if it is assumed that the plans published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1717 reveal the west range in its sixteenth-century form, at least in terms of the major components. These show the chapel projecting from the west of the state (west) range. From the description of Wilton set down by Lieutenant Hammond (Hammond 1635, p. 66), who visited the house in 1635, it would seem that there was a chapel gallery in the south part of the state apartment, probably opening off the withdrawing chamber.

[51] Annabel Ricketts has written that 'even for the most upwardly mobile, in the new Protestant world the chapel was no longer an essential part of the trappings of status and power, and took second place to the provision of a magnificent processional route': Ricketts 2007, p. 64

[52] In carrying out a survey in 1566, Thomas Larke commented that in the middle of the gallery there was a door, 'whiche dore ledeth into the chapple chamber over the chapple, where the prist in his mynistration from beneth may very well be harde': Ingatestone Introduction, p. 7

[53] For the suggested dating of this work, see p. 188.

[54] Sketches made by Sir Roger Newdigate in the 1740s – shortly before Copthall's demolition – show that the doorways were topped by figures of Ecclesia; see: Newman 1970, p. 23

The Formalisation and Expansion of the State Apartment

The rooms which made up the fully formed country house state apartment have already been introduced (see pp. 149-167). Here, their development and expansion throughout the sixteenth century will be charted. It should be noted that this course of development was not always even; there were a number of exceptions to the rule, the most notable examples from the early 1500s being Thornbury Castle and Wolsey's Hampton Court; both of these houses, built by figures with royal pretensions (see p. 172), featured suites which were unusually extensive for their time.[55] At Thornbury Castle, the principal (first-floor) state suite included four main rooms – great chamber, dining chamber, privy chamber and bedchamber – together with a closet (known as the 'duke's jewel chamber') and back stairs (see Fig. 45).[56] At Hampton Court, the suite used by Henry VIII consisted of guard/great chamber, presence chamber, privy chamber and bedchamber, together with closet and back stairs (see Figs 46 and 57).[57]

In general, it is rare to find suites of more than three main rooms (including bedchamber) before the reign of Elizabeth, even among country houses of the highest social status. The apartment at Acton Court – consisting of great/presence chamber, privy/withdrawing chamber and bedchamber, inter-connecting and each with garderobe (see Fig. 55) – can be seen as typifying the ideal layout in country houses of the early Tudor period; this was enabled by the hasty construction of the range, which was ready for the visit of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in 1535.

[55] It has been said that Elsyng Palace, Enfield – the home of Sir Thomas Lovell, a major court official under Henry VII – included a royal suite of six rooms reserved for the king and queen (see Girouard 1980, p. 54). However, this statement appears to be incorrect. The inventory taken on Lovell's death in 1524 (TNA PROB 2/199) includes reference to both 'the Place at Endfelde' (including king's pallet chamber, king's lodging and adjoining closet) and – under a heading which is almost illegible – his house at 'Esthardyng in Norfolke' (i.e. East Harling; including a queen's chamber, queen's privy chamber and king's dining chamber). The two properties seem to have been elided, when they are in fact separate.
[56] Details of these rooms are known from a survey of 6-9 March 1583: GRO D108/M122, published in Caffall 1942, pp. 66-75, and Ellis 1839, pp. 24-32. For a detailed plan of the first floor, see: Pugin and Pugin 1839, plate 30
[57] Thurley 2003, p. 29

In practice, arrangements were not often so clearly planned; at Compton Wynyates and Cowdray, the state rooms formed an irregular cluster, while at Ingatestone Hall the great chamber and 'Garden Chamber' (best bedchamber) seem to have been divided by a motley collection of smaller, if still grand, spaces. At Hengrave Hall, the state rooms seem likewise to have been limited in extent. Inventories of the house show that the great chamber was directly followed by the best bedchamber (or 'chief chamber'), which had an inner chamber and small closet or privy.[58] Even at The Vyne, where – according to the 1541 inventory – Lord Sandys made provisions for both the King and the Queen, the individual suites were seemingly not of great extent; three main rooms were provided for the King (great chamber, 'pertculles chamber' and 'kings chamber within the pertculles', with a pallet chamber) and a further two for the Queen (great chamber and 'Quenys lying Chamber', together with a pallet chamber).[59]

Even from the limited evidence available, it is clear that arrangements gradually formalised. The three-room suite began to be carefully planned, rather than haphazardly thrown together (see pp. 198-204). This development must have reached houses of a significant (but not unusually imposing) scale after the 1540s, when Ingatestone was built. It is difficult to say more about arrangements of the 1550s and 1560s, for many houses with state apartments of this period were subsequently altered (for instance, Broughton Castle and Longleat). However, it might be imagined that the work of 1553-66 at Burghley House, including the state rooms in the south range, was rather splendid, as must have been the first-floor state rooms built at Chatsworth in the 1550s and the apartment built at Apethorpe Hall in c. 1562. The rooms certainly seem to have been organised on a clear plan – in all three cases, the apartments were contained within the south ranges – though their composition still appears to have been limited to three principal chambers.[60]

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[58] My suggestions concerning the plan of Hengrave are based on a study of a series of inventories. For a general idea of names and contents, see those of 1603 (CUL Hengrave 81) and 1617 (CUL Hengrave 85).

[59] Howard and Wilson 2003, pp. 144-6

[60] None of these apartments are known to have boasted long galleries, though there was such a room on the second floor of Burghley's west (entrance) range: Husselby 1996 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 92, p. 95 and Fig. 20. This gallery, built as part of the mid-sixteenth-century work (1553-66),

Practices seem to have changed pretty rapidly, reflecting factors including increased political stability, a greater emphasis on hospitality for country house owners, the growing ambition of Queen Elizabeth's progresses and the influx of architectural ideas from the Continent. A number of houses which had been built or reworked in the 1550s and 1560s were remodelled yet again within a short space of time. Lord Burghley felt the need to alter the state rooms at Burghley House from 1573, having completed them only seven years earlier, while at Theobalds his completion of two state apartments – markedly different in their planning – is divided by just over a decade. The Cavendishes rebuilt Chatsworth in the 1570s, replacing state rooms that were probably less than 20 years old, while Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth in 1575 prompted the Earl of Leicester to alter state rooms which had been specially built for the Queen in c. 1570-71. In addition, there is strong evidence that at Sir Thomas Heneage's house of Copthall – the construction of which is traditionally ascribed to the years 1564-68 – a lavish programme of remodelling was initiated around ten years later, prior to the Queen's visit of 1578.[61]

The wishes or needs of Elizabeth seem to have been a vital element behind at least some of these phases of work. Alterations at Theobalds and Gorhambury are known to have been made following criticisms made by the Queen, while building at houses such as Holdenby and Kenilworth was carried out specifically with her in mind.[62] Unlike the early Tudor kings, who generally regarded ambitious building programmes as a dangerous and competitive political statement, Elizabeth was happy to allow and even encourage such work. For the first time in the sixteenth century, the climate genuinely allowed for a perfection of state accommodation in country houses.

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was retained in the remodelling of 1573-88, when a new long gallery was added beneath it, at the inner end of the state suite: Husselby 1996, vol. 2, p. 324

[61] This statement is based on my belief that the arrangement of Copthall, as documented in a series of plans, would have been extraordinarily ambitious for a house of the mid-1560s. Copthall's long gallery reached 174 ft in length, longer than those later built at houses including Kirby Hall and Hardwick (New) Hall. Rosalys Coope sees Philibert de l'Orme's Château of Anet, drawings of which were brought to England in the late 1570s via the publication of du Cerceau's *Plus Excellents Bastiments*, as 'obviously relevant to the plan of Copthall': Coope 1994, p. 248

[62] Summerson 1959, p. 123; Grimston 1821, p. 17; Hartshorne 1868, p. 16; Morris 2006, p. 27

Aside from a desire to receive and satisfy royal and other visitors, there were, it seems, four major architectural motivations behind these Elizabethan phases of remodelling: the new-found popularity of the long gallery; the growing need for private (inner) chambers; a desire to refine planning arrangements (including routes of access); and a new emphasis on elaborate decoration. The first of these motivations will be covered in the section below, and the other three, which closely interrelate, in the section following that.

The Long Gallery

Galleries were associated with state apartments from an earlier date than might be imagined. Even if one discounts Thornbury Castle's gallery-cum-passage, which led from the outer to the inner end of the main state suite via the private pew at the parish church (see Fig. 45), there is the T-shaped gallery at Hampton Court, which – built in c. 1514-16 – projected eastwards and was accessible from the bedchamber of the principal (king's) suite (see Fig. 57).[63] Other Tudor houses to have included such rooms include The Vyne, where the long gallery survives as the Oak Gallery and dates from the 1520s, while at Ingatestone Hall, built in c. 1540-45, the east range contained a long gallery of 94 ft (see Fig. 53). This room was directly accessible both from the state rooms (on the north) and the family's lodgings (on the south). A gallery existed in a comparable position at Acton Court; occupying the north wing, it was built in the late 1540s (over a decade after the state range) (see Fig. 55).[64]

The first Elizabethan long gallery built in relation to a country house state apartment appears to have been that at Theobalds. The vast, 209-ft long 'Queen's Gallery', at second-floor level, formed part of a range built in 1572-3 that projected south from the inner end of the suite (see Figs 48 and 49). It is notable that Lord Burghley did not initially create this gallery as an integral part

[63] In the words of the survey of 1583, the gallery at Thornbury led to 'a fair room with a Chimney, and a window into the said Church, where the Duke sometimes used to hear service': Caffall 1942, p. 71. From its junction with the area of the great stairs, the passage or gallery led on towards Thornbury's own chapel, to the east of the great hall.
[64] Rodwell and Bell 2004, p. 201, p. 177 and pp. 266-70

of the state apartment, completed shortly before.[65] Similarly, a long gallery (of 120 ft) was created as an afterthought at Gorhambury, a house built in 1563-8 by Burghley's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon (see Fig. 54). This room is said to have been added at Elizabeth's express wish, the Queen finding the house to be too small – and gallery-less – on her visit of July 1572.[66] The T-shaped gallery wing appears to have been hastily raised; if it was not in place for Elizabeth's visit of February 1573, it was certainly completed before she arrived on progress in 1576 and 1577.[67] Nonetheless, the addition is said to have pleased the Queen, who apparently rewarded Sir Nicholas by presenting him with her portrait, painted by Hilliard.[68] As further evidence that the long gallery was seen as a desirable rather than essential feature at this date, it is notable that the Earl of Leicester entertained Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575 without the attraction of a gallery – one was intended, but never built – and it is unclear whether there were long galleries at Castle Ashby or New Hall, both rebuilt in the early 1570s.[69]

The middle of this decade – coinciding with the time when Elizabeth made her first really ambitious progress – can be understood as the turning point. In rebuilding Chatsworth at about this time, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury included a 124-ft gallery on the new second floor (Fig. 59), while soon afterwards a lavish 174-ft long gallery was created by Sir Thomas Heneage at Copthall, clearly forming an integral part of the state suite (see Fig. 58). The first floor of Burghley House, as completed in c. 1578, featured a 132-ft long gallery in the west range (see Fig. 56); it formed a major part of the plan, linking south and north suites. At Theobalds, the state apartment completed in the Conduit

[65] For more on this gallery see: Summerson 1959, especially p. 112
[66] Grimston 1821, p. 17
[67] This speed of execution was reflected in the range's design and material. The gallery's south front was framed in timber, lathed and plastered; a fireplace in its north wall was supported by the brickwork which surrounded the niche in the loggia below: Rogers 1933-5, p. 48
[68] Rogers 1933-5, p. 50
[69] Goldring 2007b, note 13 (p. 170). Leicester's will of 1587 refers to 'the Gallery which [he] once intended' at Kenilworth. With regard to Castle Ashby, it is not known whether the existing long gallery range – built in the 1630s – replicated an earlier arrangement, and arrangements at New Hall are also insufficiently understood; a gallery is mentioned in the inventory of 1583 (ERO D/DP/F240/1), but its status and position are unclear. It should be noted that there is no evidence that long galleries existed at the following houses as built/rebuilt in the sixteenth century, even though it is known that in a few cases such rooms were intended: Compton Wynyates, Sutton Place, Longleat, Bisham Abbey, Apethorpe Hall, Castle Ashby and Hardwick Old Hall.

Court in 1585 featured one of the most famous galleries of the age: the 123-ft long Great Gallery (see Fig. 49). As at Burghley House, the room was positioned in the west wing, at right-angles to the state rooms in the south wing, and was just beyond the state bedchamber and closet. Almost all of the great country houses built or remodelled after the 1570s featured long galleries; for instance, Holdenby, Kirby Hall, Wollaton Hall, Broughton Castle and Hardwick (New) Hall, while a gallery was added at Loseley Park shortly after 1600, either for Elizabeth's visit of 1601 or James's of 1603.[70]

In terms of the positioning of long galleries, it is not always possible to trace conventions, as original layouts are not sufficiently understood. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that, wherever possible, long galleries were positioned at the inner end of the state apartment, following the royal practice of both England and France. In courtyard houses, the placing of the gallery in a wing adjoining the other state rooms created a roughly L-shaped arrangement; this existed at houses including Wolsey's Hampton Court, Acton Court, Ingatestone Hall, Theobalds, Burghley House, Cowdray, Chatsworth (as rebuilt in the 1570s), and Copthall. Where there was a second apartment – whether used by visitors or the family – the gallery could be used to join the inner ends of the respective suites, producing a U-shaped arrangement; such a plan appears to have existed at Burghley House, as rebuilt in 1573-88 (see Fig. 56).

The piecemeal development of some houses meant, however, that ideal arrangements were out of the question. At Gorhambury, the gallery – added around five years after the completion of the main house – was positioned to the west of the state range; it projected at right-angles from around the position of the great chamber, rather than the bedchamber (see Fig. 54). At Kirby Hall, too, work of a different phase – the state rooms are thought to have been added to an existing house by Sir Christopher Hatton in c. 1575-84 – meant that the relationship with the gallery was not ideal. It was the great chamber of the new

[70] The gallery at Loseley was certainly used for the reception of royalty. In August 1620, Ralph Hendry of Farnham – possibly an officer of the Bishop of Winchester – wrote to ask Sir George More to send him 'your man that trimmed up your gallery with ivy when the King was at your house': letter of 26 August 1620 (LM/COR/4/43); it appears on the 'Loseley Letters' database at the Surrey History Centre.

suite, located at the house's south-west, which lay adjacent to the 150-ft long gallery, occupying the west range. In these cases, the gallery had of necessity to function as an adjunct to the outer rooms of the state apartment, rather than the more traditional inner end.

Although the courtyard plan remained the most popular option for high-status houses in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, compact houses became increasingly common and were pioneered in England by Robert Smythson.[71] Such buildings required a new approach to state rooms, particularly the long gallery. In U-, H- or E-shaped houses, with wings at right-angles, it was still possible to align the long gallery with the inner rooms in the 'correct' sequence. However, in other new houses, traditional conventions of planning were affected by the importance of external design and symmetry, and rooms were packed into confined spaces. At Wollaton Hall, despite being a newly built house, the long gallery was not in its traditional position, being located at the outer (east) end of the two parallel state suites, beyond the staircases (see Fig. 47). As at Kirby and Gorhambury, it must have functioned as one of the outer rooms of the state apartment.

Houses of a double-pile plan enabled a more effective link between inner state rooms and long gallery. Sir Christopher Hatton is likely to have been the first to apply such a plan to a state apartment. At Holdenby, there seems, from the evidence of Thorpe's plan, to have been a T-shaped gallery on the north (inner) side of the state (south) range.[72] If the rest of the state apartment followed the usual sequence, it would seem that – according to my reconstruction – the bar of the gallery's T would have met the suite just beyond the position of the bedchamber and closet (Fig. 60). It was therefore placed 'correctly', at the inner

[71] Compact houses seem to have been inspired largely by continental planning. For instance, compact plans to appear in J. A. du Cerceau's two volumes of *Plus Excellents Bastiments de France* (1576 and 1579) include those of the châteaux of La Muette and Challuau. However, it should be noted that there were also native influences. Nicholas Cooper has suggested that the compact plan adopted at Hardwick (New) Hall was inspired by English hunting lodges: Nicholas Cooper, 'New Hall at Hardwick', *Country Life*, 3 April 2008, vol. 202, p. 89. Similarly, Mark Girouard traces the inspiration of Wollaton's plan to the early Tudor lodge at Mount Edgcumbe, Cornwall: Girouard 2009, p. 87

[72] The existence of this gallery is noted on Thorpe's ground-floor plan of the house; see: Summerson 1966, plate 85

end, though its location overlooking the courtyard somewhat reduced its fine views. At Broughton Castle, a compact house, the double-pile plan at second-floor level was used in a similar way, but seemingly with even greater flexibility (Fig. 61). The gallery was directly accessible from the great chamber, on the west, and probably from some (if not all) of the state rooms, which ran along the south side of the storey. The clearest and most refined Elizabethan example of such an arrangement is that at Hardwick (New) Hall (Fig. 62); the gallery, on the east side of the second floor, is accessible from the two outer state rooms – great and withdrawing chambers – and also from the inner area of the state apartment, via a doorway at the north.

There seems to have been nothing new about the relationship between long gallery and withdrawing chamber. As has been stated elsewhere in this thesis (see pp. 166-167), the functions of the two rooms appear to have been comparable, and at houses such as Cowdray and Theobalds – both with L-shaped state apartments – it was possible to move from withdrawing chamber to gallery without traversing the bedchamber or inner rooms.[73] However, the association between great chamber and long gallery appears to be unusual; of the houses which have been studied here, putting aside those cases where different building phases influenced development (such as Chatsworth, Kirby Hall and Loseley Park), it can only be found in buildings of a compact plan: Broughton, Wollaton and Hardwick (New) Hall.

The Further Expansion of the State Apartment: Withdrawing Chambers, Inner Chambers, Secondary Bedchambers and Back Stairs

The popularity of the long gallery, although vital, was not the only motivation behind the remodelling of state apartments from the 1570s on. As in royal palaces, it became increasingly desirable for owners to provide a series of additional chambers. The increasing emphasis on privacy, state and splendour were all factors, but perhaps most important of all was an awareness of the

[73] The reference here is to the later (Conduit Court) state apartment at Theobalds. There is insufficient evidence concerning the earlier (second-floor) apartment to know whether or not there was a relationship between the withdrawing chamber and long gallery.

practical provisions necessary for the visit of a figure of rank (in particular, a monarch).

Withdrawing chambers in country house state apartments did not spring up overnight during the reign of Elizabeth. For example, such a room appears to have existed at the centre of Acton Court's three-room range (built c. 1535) – if Kirsty Rodwell and Robert Bell's interpretation is correct (see Fig. 55) – and one may be represented by the 'pertculles chamber' listed in the 1541 inventory of The Vyne, although the room contained a bed at that time.[74] Moreover, the chamber's broad functions (see pp. 155-158) may be represented by at least one of the outer state rooms at both Thornbury Castle and Wolsey's Hampton Court. However, state withdrawing chambers do not seem to have been general among country houses of the first half of the sixteenth century – and, where they did exist, were certainly not named as such. As has been mentioned (see p. 172), Sir Thomas Kytson of Hengrave Hall (completed in 1538) appears to have done without one, and the 1550s state apartment at Chatsworth seems to have moved, as at Hengrave, directly from great chamber ('Tyms Chambr') to bedchamber ('noble mans bedd chamber').[75]

Using Chatsworth as an example once again, we can track a change with the 1570s. In building the new state apartment at second-floor level, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury replaced the simple first-floor suite with a double set of rooms, opening off a single great chamber (see Fig. 59). On the north, according to the inventory of 1601, were the 'Earl of Leicester's Withdrawing Chamber' and, adjacent to it, the 'withdrawing Chamber to the Scotes Quenes Chamber'.[76] The suites then continued with rooms including the Earl of

[74] Rodwell and Bell 2004, p. 182; Howard and Wilson 2003, pp. 144-5. It should be noted that the bed listed in the 'pertculles chamber' may not have been in the room around the time of the royal visit of 1535. For more on this, see pp. 211-212.
[75] This assertion is based on the evidence of an undated inventory which Gillian White ascribes to the period c. 1565-7: White 2005 (unpubl.), vol. 2, pp. 393-4, and Gillian White, 'Elizabethan Chatsworth', unpublished lecture (British Archaeological Association series, 1 November 2006). White suggests that the 'Tyms Chambr' served as the state great chamber on the basis of its contents (a conclusion with which I agree, although I wonder what was then to east of this chamber, in the position later occupied by the 'low great chamber'). She notes that the 'most likely explanation for the name of the room is that it is named for "Time", perhaps for some decorative reason now lost': White 2005, vol. 1, p. 393 note
[76] Of Houshold Stuff, p. 24

Leicester's chamber, his inner chamber and the 'Worme Chamber'.[77] Likewise, at Burghley House, what seems to have been a simple three-room suite of the mid-sixteenth century was replaced with a grand apartment, completed in c. 1578 (see Fig. 56). The great chamber was followed by a withdrawing chamber and then by bedchamber, closet and long gallery.

At Kirby Hall, the south-west addition made by Hatton in c. 1575-84 is, though modest in size, notable in featuring a 'great withdrawing chamber', so named in an inventory of c. 1619.[78] At Theobalds, the earlier state apartment included the 'vine chamber', which divided great chamber from bedchamber (see Fig. 49); according to Lord Burghley's schedules of accommodation, this was used as the Queen's withdrawing chamber (a term used in all of the documents, which date from 1572-91).[79] However, in the later state apartment at Theobalds, completed in c. 1585, Lord Burghley included not one but two intermediary rooms between great chamber and bedchamber; these were known by 1650 as the (king's) privy chamber and withdrawing chamber.[80] From such evidence, it would seem that withdrawing chambers rapidly moved from being optional to integral components of the state apartment. Certainly, such rooms seem to have featured in all of the houses studied which are of the 1570s or later, including Wollaton and Hardwick (New) Hall.[81]

Meanwhile, the inner area of the state apartment was extending in size and elaboration. Inner chambers and closets had – like withdrawing chambers – featured in country houses throughout the sixteenth century. However, these were generally basic in type and scale before the accession of Elizabeth. The three state rooms at Acton Court were each served by a garderobe, and

[77] The latter room may have taken its name from the Cavendish snake or worm, which was perhaps featured in the decoration or furnishings.
[78] NRO FH 2977
[79] CP 140/18-19 (1572), CP 140/22-24 (1577), CP 140/29, CP 140/26 and CP 143/63 (1583), and CP 140/33 (1591). By the time of the parliamentary survey, the room was known as the queen's privy chamber: TNA E351/Herts/26, p. 14
[80] TNA E351/Herts/26, pp. 6-7
[81] It is worth noting that although the plan of Wollaton includes two withdrawing chambers – in the north and south suites respectively – they are not named as such in the inventories of 1596, 1599, 1601 and 1609. These documents refer to them by their position in relation to the back stairs (e.g. 'the chamber on the left hand the kitchen staires') and, in 1609, to the state bedchambers. See: Marshall 1996, pp. 97, 104, 105 and 108

seemingly had no closets (see Fig. 55), while the king's and queen's rooms at The Vyne were served only by simple 'pallet chambers'.[82] There is no sign of significant inner rooms in the plan of Cowdray as it existed in c. 1542, though this want was corrected by additions made to the east side of the bedchamber in the later sixteenth century (see Fig. 52). In general, it would appear that the functions that were to become characteristic of the closet were spread between various rooms of the state apartment and subsidiary, sometimes scattered, spaces.

From this rather haphazard beginning, inner rooms grew in importance from the 1570s onwards, particularly in houses of the highest status; as we shall see in Chapter 5, this trend was continued in the Jacobean period. The Elizabethan development is well exemplified by the state (north) range of New Hall, built in c. 1573 by Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex. According to an inventory of 1583, the state apartment comprised great chamber, presence chamber, privy chamber, Mrs Frances Howard's chamber, the Queen's bedchamber, the Queen's inner chamber and a closet, the last two rooms both containing bedsteads.[83] Sussex's will of the same year refers to the 'inner chamber lodging', probably meaning inner chamber and closet, as neither are mentioned by name.[84]

New Hall is the perfect illustration of how far removed Elizabethan state apartments could be from their early sixteenth-century predecessors. Even if one compares the house with Thornbury or Wolsey's Hampton Court – New Hall was itself a former royal palace – the provisions must be seen as extensive. And yet they reached even greater levels of grandeur with Theobalds. The earliest of the house's two state apartments – built in the south range of the middle court during the 1560s and 1570s – comprised great chamber, withdrawing chamber ('vine chamber'), bedchamber, two inner

[82] Howard and Wilson 2003, pp. 145-6
[83] ERO D/DP/F240/1, ff. 10-20v. There is a discrepancy between this document and Sussex's will of the same year; the latter also mentions four main state rooms, but these are presence chamber, privy chamber, withdrawing chamber and bedchamber. As a bed is listed in the withdrawing chamber in the will and in the privy chamber in the inventory, it would seem that great chamber equates to presence chamber, presence chamber to privy chamber, and privy chamber to withdrawing chamber.
[84] TNA PROB 11/68 and ERO D/DP/F240/1, ff. 1-7

chambers (given over to the gentlewomen of the Queen's chamber during her stays there), and the Queen's Gallery (see Fig. 49).[85] In the south and west ranges of the Conduit Court, completed in about 1585, there were an additional great or presence chamber, privy chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber, back stairs chamber and long gallery.[86] These suites seem to have been especially elaborate in their decoration and fitting up (see pp. 206-207 and pp. 209-210) and, together, provided a total of about 12 rooms for guest (and ceremonial) use.

Another extensive suite can be found at Kenilworth Castle, the architectural history of which helps to illuminate the general development of Elizabethan state apartments. When the Earl of Leicester was granted the castle in 1563, it already contained a rich series of state rooms, built in the fourteenth century during its time as a royal palace. These, opening off the first-floor great hall, included great, presence and privy chambers.[87] The main motivation for the construction of 'Leicester's Building' in c. 1570-71 was to provide new rooms at the inner end of this state suite. The medieval privy chamber became part of a larger room placed on the north side of the new building, and this was followed by withdrawing chamber and bedchamber. Queen Elizabeth is thought to have stayed in these rooms during her visit of August 1572, though they clearly proved inadequate. Before the Queen came again – for a mammoth 18-day stay in July 1575 – Leicester carried out alterations to the Elizabethan block.[88] For example, the chamber which previously took up the whole of the south side seems to have been divided into two; it is likely to have been a bedchamber in the early 1570s, and now became bedchamber and inner chamber/closet. Meanwhile, a turret was created at the south-west corner, either to serve the

[85] CP 140/20 (1583) and CP 140/33 (1591). Both of the inner chambers had chimneys. At the time of the parliamentary survey (1650), the queen's inner rooms included a back stairs chamber, the 'Queenes Coffer Chamber' and the 'Queenes pages roome': TNA E351/Herts/26, pp. 14-15. There was also an inner chamber, served by two pallet chambers, at the far (south) end of the Queen's Gallery.
[86] Full details of these rooms are given in the parliamentary survey of 1650: TNA E351/Herts/26
[87] The arrangement of the rooms is known from a survey of 1563: National Library of Wales, Chirk MSS F13310. I am grateful to Nicholas Molyneux for kindly providing me with a transcription of this document. The great chamber was followed by a lobby, and the privy chamber was followed by two 'fair' chambers, then some stairs which provided access to the 'kyngs chamber', which was preceded by a smaller room.
[88] Morris 2006, p. 25

new closet or to function as one in its own right. That such additions were thought necessary in c. 1575 – but had not been four years earlier – is another sign of the speed with which state apartments were evolving.

The addition of subsidiary bedchambers to a formal state apartment was a slightly later development, and only really came into its own with the reign of James I (see pp. 261-263). During the Elizabethan period, it seems that such a provision was always seen as optional. For instance, at Burghley House, according to Thorpe's plan, there was only a single bedchamber in the state apartment, and the same is true of Copthall and Kirby Hall. However, at about the same time, the Cavendishes built two suites of rooms opening off the second-floor great chamber at Chatsworth, there were two state suites at Theobalds, and in building Wollaton Hall in 1580-88 Sir Francis Willoughby included two matching state apartments (see Figs 59, 49 and 47). Two sets of apartments were also provided on the top (third) floor of Hardwick Old Hall, completed in 1596, while Hardwick (New) Hall certainly incorporated a second state bedchamber, the 'Pearl Bedchamber' mentioned in the inventory of 1601; now known as the Blue Bedroom, this is at the far north of the second storey (see Fig. 62).[89]

In these instances, the needs of the owners may have outweighed any particular conventions in planning. For example, one could see the double apartments of Chatsworth and Hardwick Old Hall as a practical response to particular requirements. During the 1570s and early 1580s, Mary, Queen of Scots was often at Chatsworth as a captive, and required a suite of rooms for her own use; those on the east (courtyard) side of the state range were named after her. The Cavendishes may have thought the provision of an additional suite a useful expedient, in case other visitors of rank came to stay at Chatsworth.[90] Meanwhile, it is possible that the second apartment at Hardwick Old Hall was built for William Cavendish, later 1st Earl of Devonshire – Bess's

[89] Of Houshold Stuff, pp. 43-4
[90] This clearly proved a wise decision, for it is known that the Earl of Leicester made a visit to Chatsworth in 1577, and the rooms on the west (outer) side of the state range were subsequently named in his honour.

favourite son – enabling him to hold court at the same time as his mother.[91] At Wollaton Hall, the two state apartments are primarily a reflection of the symmetrical planning of the house overall. However, it is just possible that Sir Francis Willoughby was forward-thinking; he may have been considering the needs of Elizabeth's successor (who would have been likely to have a consort) or, as Mark Girouard has pointed out, of Elizabeth herself, were plans for a royal marriage to come to fruition.[92]

Finally, the increasing emphasis placed on privacy necessitated the existence of a back staircase. There is evidence of such stairs throughout the sixteenth century, when they often occupied towers or turrets. At Thornbury Castle, a newel staircase formed part of the south-west tower, containing the bedchambers of the two apartments.[93] There was clearly a stair in the great tower at Compton Wynyates, close to 'Henry VIII's Chamber', while at Hampton Court a projecting block on the east side of the privy chamber contained closet and back staircase (see Fig. 57). At Hengrave Hall, the state suite seems to have ended about half way along the west range, but there still seems to have been a back staircase, and there was also a staircase adjacent to the state rooms at Ingatestone Hall.[94]

Nevertheless, although back staircases clearly existed in country houses throughout the 1500s, they followed the development of great stairs in becoming increasingly large and prominent; on some occasions, instead of being necessary additions, they became features in their own right. Their

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[91] William lived at Hardwick Old Hall for some years, and the inventory of 1601 includes 'Mr William Cavendishes Chamber', probably at first-floor level: Of Houshold Stuff, p. 39

[92] Girouard 2009, p. 115 (and, for a similar argument applied to Theobalds, pp. 112-3). Discussions concerning a marriage between Elizabeth and François, Duke of Anjou, brother of Henri III, were underway between 1579 and 1581, when they collapsed. With regard to Wollaton, Girouard concedes that 'it may be that he [Sir Francis Willoughby] was thinking in terms of an ideally balanced plan, without other connotations': Girouard 2009, p. 115

[93] The 1583 survey describes this as being on the inner side of the Duchess's 'closet' (bedchamber) and 'ascending to the Duke's lodging being over the same, used for a privy way': Caffall 1942, p. 71. From the Duke's suite, the stair rose to the chambers in the upper levels of the tower and the roof.

[94] The presence of the staircase at Hengrave is implied by the listing, in the inventories of 1603 and 1621, of the upper garrett to the inner chamber directly after the first-floor inner chamber itself: CUL Hengrave 81 and Hengrave 84. The presence of a back staircase at Ingatestone is proven by the reference in the inventory of 1600 to 'the dore at the staires head' (ERO D/DP/F215); this was close to the Passage Room and Cellar Chamber, in the north range.

course of development is well illustrated by Acton Court and Cowdray. In the former case, the back staircase built in c. 1535 seems to have resembled that at Thornbury; it was a newel stair, very small in scale, at the north-west corner of the state bedchamber, providing access to the garden. By the 1570s, this stair was considered inadequate, for it was replaced with a larger one, positioned at the opposite corner of the chamber (see Fig. 55). Likewise, at Cowdray, the state apartment – as built in c. 1535-42 – seems to have been served by a small newel stair, attached to the south-east of the hexagonal bedchamber tower. At some point during the second half of the sixteenth century, it was replaced with a larger stair at the north-east corner of the house, beyond a newly added inner room (probably a closet) (see Fig. 52).

Back staircases seem to feature in the vast majority (if not all) of the Elizabethan houses which have been studied as part of this chapter. For instance, John Thorpe's plans of Burghley House and Holdenby show back staircases adjacent to the inner state rooms (see Figs 50 and 56); in the latter case, in particular, the stairs seem to have been substantial. The majority of back staircases were more utilitarian, as is evidenced by those at Kirby Hall (on the north of the bedchamber), Wollaton Hall (at the centre of the west front), and Hardwick (New) Hall (in the north turret). By the end of the sixteenth century, they were fundamental elements of country house design, and could make a major contribution to external form – as, for instance, at Broughton Castle, where the towers of the two staircases (great and back) dominate the south front.

Routes of Communication and Access

The way in which state rooms were planned and accessed developed rapidly during the sixteenth century. As has been shown, state apartments in country houses of the first half of the 1500s were generally limited in extent and often random in layout, a fact reflected by the arrangements at Compton Wynyates and Cowdray. Just as the suites increased in size and importance, especially from the 1570s on, so they became more complex in their planning. The result

was that, alongside the blossoming of the royal progress under Queen Elizabeth, the state apartment emerged in its true form: a suite of spaces planned to function as an integrated whole.

There were early signs of this with Thornbury Castle and Wolsey's Hampton Court. Other Henrician houses displayed flexibility in planning – for instance, Ingatestone Hall, with its parallel access routes to the long gallery – but most suites (even those at Thornbury and Hampton Court) seem to have been a simple succession of rooms, one after another, not necessarily aligned, with a (great) staircase at their outer point and a (back) staircase at their inner end. The state range built in c. 1535 at Acton Court is the perfect illustration of this (see Fig. 55); although the suite's doorways are placed en enfilade, there is little sophistication about its planning. From the evidence – which is extremely sparse – the same appears to be true of houses such as Wilton (begun c. 1543), Bisham Abbey (as rebuilt in c. 1557-62) and Burghley House (of the 1550s and 1560s). At Apethorpe Hall, the state apartment created by Sir Walter Mildmay in c. 1562 seems to have strongly resembled that built at Acton Court nearly 30 years earlier. There were three rooms within a single range, one leading to another, with windows looking both inwards (to the courtyard) and outwards (to the gardens).

In this as in other areas, the development of Theobalds provides a useful means of tracking change. The house's first state apartment, built by Lord Burghley in the 1560s and early 1570s, seems to have been rather haphazard in its planning (see Fig. 49). The second-floor great chamber was adjacent to two small lobbies – one looking down into the great hall and the other leading down to the chapel – and was followed by the 'vine chamber' (withdrawing or privy chamber).[95] Then came the bedchamber, with a rather unruly set of chambers taking up the rest of the range (see pp. 194-195). It is not clear how the Queen's Gallery, to the south, was accessed from the state bedchamber, or even which room (if any) was the formal closet.

[95] The parliamentary survey refers to a lobby adjacent to the presence (great) chamber 'with an open wainscott case wrought and carved to looke downe into ye hall', and another lobby 'leadinge downe into ye chapple': TNA E351/Herts/26, p. 13. The withdrawing ('vine') chamber was directly above the closet of the chapel.

This forms a contrast with the state apartment completed in Theobalds's Conduit Court in 1585.[96] In the south range – which was much wider than that of the middle court – were the outer rooms of the state apartment: great/presence chamber, privy chamber and withdrawing chamber, which almost certainly decreased successively in size. At the south-west corner of the range was the state bedchamber, with an attached stool-house and an inner chamber or closet, described in 1650 as the room 'where the pages of the Backstaires waighted'.[97] After the back staircase was the long gallery, filling the west range, with (at least by 1650) a lodging on its west side and a staircase at its north-west corner, descending to the privy (or Maze) garden.[98]

We know little more about the details of this plan, but we may find clues to its refinement in the layout of Burghley House, as rebuilt in 1573-88 – contemporaneously with the Conduit Court of Theobalds, and possibly also to the designs of Henry Hawthorne.[99] A first-floor plan by John Thorpe (see Fig. 56) reveals that Burghley House advanced considerably from its earlier state (that is, as built in the 1550s and 1560s), and moved away from the arrangements found at houses such as Acton Court. The great and withdrawing chambers occupied the width of the south range, the two rooms being divided by a small lobby, with access to a balcony overlooking the courtyard. The enfilade then continued, but with a passageway leading directly to the long gallery, rather than with the entrance to the state bedchamber. The latter room, and its closet or inner chamber, were entered from the passageway on their north side.

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[96] The layout of this courtyard is known from two surviving plans, the first (of 1572) certainly by Henry Hawthorne, an employee of the Royal Works, and the second annotated in Cecil's hand: Summerson 1959, p. 113 and plate XXV. Although slightly different in their details, and much altered in execution, both show a courtyard with large corner towers or pavilions. Sir John Summerson has suggested Serlio's plan of Poggio Reale, Naples, as a source.

[97] TNA E351/Herts/26, p. 7

[98] Ibid, pp. 7-8. The lodging room and gallery-end staircase seem to be Elizabethan features, as neither are recorded as having been constructed by the Royal Works.

[99] There is evidence that Hawthorne served as Cecil's 'architect', seemingly providing an 'upright' for the west front of Burghley House in 1575; see: Skelton and Summerson 1971, p. 78; Summerson 1957, p. 210; Summerson 1959, p. 113; and Girouard 2009, p. 40 and p. 188. At Burghley, Hawthorne seems to have been replaced by John Symonds, pupil of Lewis Stockett, Surveyor of the Works in 1564-79; Symonds also worked at Theobalds and Cecil's London houses. See: Skelton and Summerson 1971, p. 79, Summerson 1957, pp. 209-216, and Girouard 2009, p. 188

Such an arrangement had a number of advantages; it ensured privacy for the bedchamber and closet, and meant that the gallery could be reached without disturbing the occupant of those rooms. This flexibility was extended to the gallery, which could itself be bypassed, thanks to a route of access running along its east side, between staircases at the courtyard's south-west and north-west corners. It was therefore possible to move from the north suite to the state apartment without traversing the gallery, which could be private or public as need required. Of the house overall, Jill Husselby has observed that, 'The network of discreet routes would … have made it possible for Cecil, and any of his spies who knew the house, to "walk invisible" from one part to another'.[100]

Burghley House may not be representative, for the procession of single rooms appears to have remained popular throughout the sixteenth century; for example, it seems to have existed at Castle Ashby and Cobham Hall. However, owners and their architects certainly became increasingly bold in dealing with state apartments. At Copthall, seemingly rebuilt in the late 1570s, the plan-form provided an opportunity for a flexible arrangement, known from a series of plans (see Fig. 58).[101] As usual, the great chamber occupied the whole width of a range, with large bay windows at its upper end (a characteristic feature, by this date). Beyond it was the withdrawing chamber, also occupying the width of the range, while the long gallery occupied the length of the east wing. Between these two rooms were the bedchamber, closet and (back) staircase lobby; they seem to have been arranged in a similar way to that at Burghley, in that the bedchamber and closet were placed in a 'removed' position, adjacent to the passageway/lobby. A mid-eighteenth-century plan shows the closet as being accessible both from the north and the south – that is, from staircase lobby and bedchamber – meaning that service could be provided from ground-floor level without the need to enter the great chamber or the withdrawing chamber.[102] The

[100] Husselby 1996, p. 324
[101] See: Newman 1970, pp. 20-21, note 1 (p. 27) and pp. 26-7
[102] Interestingly, one of the most notable differences between the mid-eighteenth-century plans of Copthall in the Essex Record Office and in the British Library (see note 8) concerns this area. In those in the BL, the closet has been turned 90˚, so that it has only one doorway – opening from the withdrawing chamber. In addition, the doorway between bedchamber and gallery appears to have been removed. These changes probably relate to the transformation of the

gallery, meanwhile, could be entered from the withdrawing chamber, via the staircase lobby, or directly from the bedchamber; there was also a large staircase at the gallery's far end, providing separate access to the gallery (and chapel closet), where need required.

At Wollaton Hall, completed around a decade later, Robert Smythson incorporated a walkway or gallery, resembling that in the west range of Burghley. Placed over the screens passage, the gallery joined the two great chambers at their high ends (see Fig. 47; room 2/12). A doorway in the west wall of the gallery provided direct access to the back staircase, meaning that it was possible to serve the great chambers without having to traverse the withdrawing chambers or bedchambers. The inner areas of the two state suites were thus neatly divided from the public, outer areas.

As has been stated with regard to the long gallery (see pp. 190-191), the double-pile plan offered novel opportunities for diversification. For the first time, state rooms began to be placed alongside each other, expanding routes of access. It has already been noted that frustratingly little is known about the plan of Holdenby. However, it would seem that the state apartment occupied the south range of the principal court, with (judging by John Thorpe's plan) rooms ranging along both sides of a central spine wall (see Fig. 50). On the basis of contemporary arrangements elsewhere, and using Thorpe's plan and annotations, it would seem safe to assume that the great chamber took up the width of the south range, above the chapel, with bay windows on its outer (south) side (see Fig. 60). To its east, also taking up the whole width of the range, would have been the privy or withdrawing chamber. The suite then seems to have divided: on the south (garden) side, it would have continued with bedchamber and closet, and possibly a withdrawing chamber, while on the north (courtyard) side there was a T-shaped long gallery (see pp. 190-191). If my reconstruction is correct, then the bedchamber and closet would have been placed in a 'removed' position, as at Burghley and Copthall. However, were the

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Elizabethan withdrawing chamber into the principal state bedchamber (which would naturally require a closet) and the original bedchamber into a dressing room (which would need to be private).

traditional route of procession required, then the gallery could have been entered via bedchamber and closet.[103]

Holdenby's double-pile arrangement was followed at Broughton Castle, the great chamber occupying the full width of the top floor, with a bay window looking west (see Fig. 61). The withdrawing chamber seems to have been placed to the east, beyond a staircase lobby, and is very probably represented by the present Star Chamber.[104] The bedchamber, closet and associated rooms must have continued along the south side, while the gallery ran along the north. Further details of the plan are unknown, but, at the very least, there must have been direct access between great chamber and gallery and withdrawing chamber and gallery. Thus – this feature again – the bedchamber and closet would have been 'removed' at the south-east, with their own back stairs, and the rest of the suite could have functioned with or without them. At Hardwick (New) Hall, built in 1591-7, the plan-form seemingly pioneered at Holdenby makes its appearance again, though the compact design of the house meant that no single chamber was able to occupy the full width of the top floor (see Fig. 62). The great and withdrawing chambers both have direct access to the long gallery, on the east, while the inner rooms – composed of state bedchamber, secondary bedchamber and closets – are tucked away at the house's north-west corner.

From this account, it will be seen that the plan of the state apartment was developed, especially from the 1570s on. The introduction of the long gallery necessitated a new, flexible approach to arrangements, while the growth in importance of inner chambers also had an impact, since their privacy and security had to be safeguarded. Furthermore, the spatial relationship of state rooms seems to have been refined. The great chamber was always the largest room of the suite – excepting the long gallery – and, in Elizabethan houses, access to it could be rather dramatic. For instance, the Thorpe plan of Burghley

[103] How the closet would have related to the back staircase – on the other side of the bar of the gallery's T – is unclear; perhaps, as at Jacobean Hatfield, the extension of the gallery could be closed off as a separate room when necessary.
[104] The present Star Chamber is slightly smaller than it would originally have been. Part of the west side of the room was partitioned off in the eighteenth century to create a small chamber.

House shows that the great chamber of 1573-88 was preceded by a canted, pillared screen, which projected into the staircase hall and enclosed a small lobby (see Fig. 56). It must have been an extraordinary experience to move from the grand, open stair into a closely confined space and then into the vast great chamber, flooded with light from both sides. A similar, though smaller-scale, feature marked the transition from Burghley's great chamber to the withdrawing chamber; visitors passed through a small lobby, lit from the north via a balcony. As Simon Thurley has shown with regard to royal palaces, such spaces emphasised the movement from 'one court arena to another' and were also a practical measure, filtering out sound, blocking sight and ensuring privacy.[105]

By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the rooms of the state apartment – rather than being rooms of roughly equal size – tended to be graded. This is well demonstrated by Hardwick (New) Hall (see Fig. 62), where the brightness and expanse of the High Great Chamber (see Fig. 41) and long gallery contrast with the more sheltered and intimate spaces at the north-west. At Copthall, too, the rooms were carefully graded, the withdrawing chamber being smaller than the great chamber, the bedchamber and closet more enclosed again (see Fig. 58). The sense of 'removal' observed in plans of this period, with regard to the bedchamber and closet, would have been immediately obvious to any person within such spaces. Thus, there was a close interplay between the increasingly defined functions of the state rooms and the spatial architecture itself, the various sizes of the chambers markedly decreasing any flexibility of use.[106] Such grading also illustrates the fact that state rooms were being treated as a sequence – an apartment – rather than as individual spaces, which could be altered as need required.[107]

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[105] Thurley 1993, p. 126; Thurley 2003, p. 59. The use of internal porches would have created the same effect. One may have existed at Acton Court – within the entrance to the bedchamber – while that now in the ground-floor parlour ('Oak Room') at Broughton Castle is thought to have been moved down from the great chamber: Rodwell and Bell 2004, p. 188; Slade 1978, pp. 165-6

[106] This is noticeable above all with the great chamber, which – due to its impressive size and grand decoration – could certainly no longer function as a bedchamber, as it had done in the early part of the sixteenth century.

[107] Maurice Howard has contended that state rooms of the earlier period were often 'only semi-permanent in nature', and that the presence of timber partitions – at Chenies and elsewhere – suggests that arrangements were flexible: Howard 1994, p. 259

The Decoration, Furnishing and Presentation of the State Apartment

Not a great deal is known about the fixed decoration of sixteenth-century state apartments. Whilst inventories may survive, giving lists of furnishings, they rarely mention architectural or decorative details such as plasterwork or panelling. However, it is possible to draw conclusions from the evidence provided by some of the houses studied.

The earliest of the country houses considered as part of this chapter is Thornbury Castle. Fortunately, many of the house's architectural details survived long enough to be recorded by A. and A. W. Pugin in *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1839). Their drawings reveal carved doorcases and elaborately decorated chimneypieces, bearing devices including the swan (used by various monarchs) and the Stafford knot.[108] A description of Hampton Court in 1527 illustrates how such state rooms may have appeared during the visits of honoured guests – in this case, Anne de Montmorency and other French noblemen. George Cavendish, gentleman usher to Cardinal Wolsey, recalled how the 'first wayting chamber was hanged wt fynne Arras And so was all the rest oon better than an other'. Tables were set in the great chamber 'bankett wyse all covered wt fynne clothes of dyaper', and silverware and gilt added opulence. The next room – the presence chamber, where the party dined – was hung with 'very riche arras wherein was a gorgious and precyous clothe of estate hanged uppe'. Beneath this canopy stood the 'high table', 'towardes the myddes of the chamber'. There was also a vast cupboard, taking up the full width of the room, which was stacked with 'gilt plate very somptous'.[109]

It is interesting that George Cavendish's account speaks mainly of furnishings rather than architectural detail, such as carved overmantels. It may be seen as confirming Maurice Howard's assertion that guest rooms of this date were 'only

[108] Pugin and Pugin 1839, vol. 2, pp. 28-38
[109] Cavendish Wolsey, pp. 69-72. The textiles mentioned were part of Wolsey's vast and impressive collection of tapestry, which, by 1527, numbered over 600 pieces; see: Thurley 2003, p. 26; Campbell 1996; and Campbell 2007, pp. 132-4 and pp. 157-162

semi-permanent in nature', and could be adapted as necessary.[110] At Acton Court, there is known to have been an elaborate scheme of decorative work, which survives in part; there was, for example, an antique work frieze in the middle (withdrawing) chamber and a painted niche in the bedchamber (possibly containing a coat of arms), while the ceilings in both of these rooms were painted to resemble geometric ribs.[111] However, even this work can be viewed as semi-permanent, in that it could quite easily have been covered over or replaced.[112]

The earliest evidence of programmes of significant fixed decoration in sixteenth-century state rooms dates from the 1560s and early 1570s. During this period, and into the 1580s, Lord Burghley created a series of elaborate chambers at Theobalds, the fixed features of which were described by various contemporary visitors. For instance, the Great Gallery in the house's Conduit Court featured, above the wainscot, wall paintings 'of divers citties'.[113] Baron Waldstein, a visitor of 1600, recalled these, together with coloured portraits of Roman Emperors, sculpted 'busts of the 12 Caesars', pictures of 'some of the Knights-Commanders of the Golden Fleece', and portraits of English kings and foreign noblemen.[114] The room was said to feature 'a frett seelinge, with divers pendants roses and flower deluces, painted and gilded with gold'.[115] A slightly earlier interior, the 'Green Gallery' above the entrance to Theobalds's principal court, must have created a similarly rich effect; the room displayed 'the coats-of-arms of the earls and barons of England: all round the walls are trees painted in green, one tree for every county in England, and from their boughs hang the arms of those earls, barons, and nobles who live in that particular county'.[116] It

[110] Howard 1994, p. 259. Tom Campbell makes note of 'the continual rehanging of rooms with different sets of tapestries for different occasions': Campbell 1996, p. 115
[111] Rodwell and Bell 2004, p. 183, pp. 187-8 and reconstructed elevation on p. 198
[112] Slightly later, in 1539, the preparations for Henry VIII's visit to Wolfhall, Wiltshire – the home of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford – included the commissioning of 'certen fretts and antiques on canves', even more obviously temporary than the paintings at Acton Court: ibid, p. 186
[113] TNA E351/Herts/26, p. 7
[114] Waldstein 1981, p. 85
[115] TNA E351/Herts/26, p. 7
[116] Ibid, p. 87

is clear that Lord Burghley used such rooms to demonstrate his skills and accomplishments, as well as to flatter the Queen and visiting dignitaries.[117]

At Burghley House, as rebuilt in 1573-88, he seems to have accomplished a similar end by imbuing the state apartment with the theme of St George, patron saint of the Order of the Garter; Burghley himself had been created a Knight of the Garter in 1572.[118] As Jill Husselby has noted, 'a Garter theme extending through the state apartments at Burghley and making reference to the heroic national theme of St George would have emphasised Cecil's own distinction in relation to the monarch who was automatically head of the Order'.[119] It was, as at Theobalds, a means of reflecting his own accomplishments and the wider glory of England.

Certainly, in decorating state apartments during the sixteenth century, self-promotion and family honour seem to have been as important as – and probably more important than – overt royal flattery. The display of heraldic devices was extremely common in state rooms (especially great chambers), emphasising their ceremonial importance, and was applied to various features, including panelling (as in the Oak Gallery at The Vyne), stained glass (as in the great chamber at Gilling Castle, Yorkshire), plasterwork and stonework, as well as furnishings. At Apethorpe Hall, Sir Walter Mildmay adorned his new great chamber with an imposing chimneypiece, dated 1562, bearing not the royal arms but his own heraldry, together with a Latin verse illustrating the Mildmay motto. Likewise, in the state rooms at Kenilworth Castle, many of the fixtures seem to have been personalised by the Earl of Leicester; the alabaster chimneypiece now in the gatehouse, but thought originally to have graced the

[117] According to a contemporary biographer, Burghley 'knewe the state of all contries; the nature of all princes, theire frends, foes, alliances, matches, and pedegrees': Compleat Statesman, p. 39

[118] Mark Girouard and Jill Husselby have both observed that Burghley's south suite was known as 'les Chambres de saint George' by at least the late seventeenth century: Mark Girouard, 'Burghley House, Lincolnshire – II', *Country Life*, 30 April 1992, pp. 60-61; Husselby 1996 (unpubl.), p. 322; Husselby 2002, p. 38. Baron Waldstein, who visited the house in 1600, recalled that 'Going up the stairs you see the names and coats-of-arms of some of the Garter knights': Waldstein 1981, p. 112

[119] Husselby 1996 (unpubl.), pp. 322-3

privy chamber, bears the initials ‘R. L.’ and the date 1571, while the panelling of the room is carved with Leicester’s ragged staff device.

Others took a less obvious approach, choosing iconographical themes that could be interpreted in a number of ways. The Star Chamber (probably the state withdrawing chamber) at Broughton Castle includes an elaborate chimneypiece of c. 1554, with a tableau from Ovid based on a scheme at Fontainebleau.[120] As a means of displaying the owner’s taste and knowledge, it must have been very successful. Similarly, Holdenby is said to have contained ‘a number of beautifully made and extremely valuable chimney-pieces’; one depicted Apollo, the Nine Muses, Athena and Mercury, while another – in a room bearing the arms of the Earl of Leicester and the motto ‘Droict et Loyal’ – was of ‘Jupiter seated on an eagle and the Seven Liberal Arts’.[121]

Chatsworth, as rebuilt in the 1570s, seems to have sported more of the same. Mark Girouard has suggested that the overmantel now in the state withdrawing chamber at Hardwick (New) Hall – depicting Apollo and the Nine Muses, with the royal arms and initials – was originally at Chatsworth (it was probably in the Earl of Leicester’s chamber).[122] Hardwick itself featured overmantels with carvings of Charity (in the ‘best bedchamber’) and Justice and Mercy (in the long gallery). At Cobham Hall – one of the latest Elizabethan houses to have been studied as part of this chapter – three chimneypieces of the 1590s seem to survive today. Probably crafted by Giles de Whitt (or Witt), they remain on the first floor of the north (state) range and feature, respectively, the arms of Henry, Lord Cobham, the Three Fates, and the triumph of Peace over War.

Other owners chose to be more overt in their flattery; according to an account of 1635, the ‘King’s Chamber’ at Wilton featured, ‘ouer the Chimney Peece’, ‘the statue of King Henry 8th. richly cut, and gilded ouer’. Meanwhile, the chimneypiece in the house’s great chamber bore the royal arms as well as

[120] Biddle 1970
[121] Waldstein 1981, p. 115
[122] Hardwick Guidebook, p. 20 and p. 26

those of the Earl of Pembroke, 'richly sett out'.[123] The High Great Chamber at Hardwick New Hall, completed in 1597, features a chimneypiece surmounted by the royal arms and a plaster frieze depicting Diana and the hunt, obviously an allusion to Queen Elizabeth (see Fig. 41).[124] The impact could be emphasised by furnishings; in 1601, Hardwick's great chamber included portraits of Henry VIII, Queen Mary, Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth, and a looking glass 'paynted about with the Armes of England'.[125]

Perhaps the most extraordinary interior of the whole Elizabethan period was that of the (second, later) great chamber at Theobalds. The room – created in the south range of the Conduit Court in the 1570s and 1580s – is said to have been altered and enlarged according to the Queen's 'special direction'; she could surely find no fault with the chamber in its rebuilt form.[126] One of a number of visitors recalled that its ceiling was 'very artistically constructed'; it contained 'the twelve signs of the zodiac, so that at night you can see distinctly the stars proper to each; on the same stage the sun performs its course, which is without doubt contrived by some concealed ingenious mechanism'.[127] The inspiration for such a feature is unclear, though Lord Burghley must have been aware of the tales of the Golden House (Domus Aurea) of the Roman Emperor Nero; there, according to Suetonius, the 'main banquet hall was circular and constantly revolved day and night like the heavens'.[128]

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[123] Hammond 1635, p. 66. Similarly, at Gorhambury, Sir Nicholas Bacon adorned the open loggia – built in the early 1570s beneath the new long gallery – with a niche, containing a statue of Henry VIII in 'Gilt Armor': Grimston 1821, p. 18

[124] Gillian White has noted that the most significant part of the frieze was on the north wall, and therefore would have been immediately visible from the room's entrance: White 2005 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 231

[125] Of Houshold Stuff, p. 48

[126] Summerson 1959, p. 123

[127] Rye 1865, p. 44. Around this time, Charles Cavendish described the same feature in a letter to his mother – Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury – though in less fanciful terms; he found 'in the Rouff a sunne goinge wch truly poynteth the hower and goeth the lent [length] of the chamber, by nyght the moune and through the rouff wch be bordes paynted sky holes mad lyghtes sett ther so the[y] appeare stares'. The letter is held at Chatsworth (Hardwick Drawers H/143/16). It is undated, and has been ascribed to 1587 and c. 1595. For a partial transcription, see: *3rd Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1872, 1979 reprint), p. 42

[128] Trans. J. C. Rolfe, *Suetonius*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1997), p. 131, and, for a further discussion of this 'revolving dining hall', see Axel Boëthius, *The Golden House of Nero: Some Aspects of Roman Architecture* (Michigan, 1960), pp. 117-124. I am grateful to Matthew Spriggs for suggesting this potential inspiration. Recently, Mark Girouard has suggested

Visitors to the great chamber at Theobalds were also charmed by what Baron Waldstein described as 'an overhanging rock or crag (here they call it a "grotto") made of different kinds of semi-transparent stone, and roofed over with pieces of coral, crystal, and all kinds of metallic ore'. It was 'thatched with green grass, and inside can be seen a man and a woman dressed like wild men of the woods, and a number of animals creeping through the bushes'.[129] According to another visitor, the 'high rock' was the source of 'a splendid fountain that falls into a large circular bowl or basin, supported by two savages'.[130] Around the walls of the great chamber were columns – six on each side – which supported its 'mighty structure'. These were covered with the bark of trees, which was apparently 'so artfully joined, with birds' nests and leaves as well as fruit upon them, all managed in such a manner that you could not distinguish between the natural and these artificial trees'.[131] The whole effect of the room was deemed to be 'right royal', and it certainly gives a vivid impression of Elizabeth's (and Burghley's) tastes in interior decoration.[132] The great chamber at Theobalds clearly proved influential; for instance, the theme of bringing the outside in – replicating nature in an interior – was taken up both at Hardwick Old Hall (built 1587-96) and Hardwick (New) Hall (1591-97).[133] The use of trees is also a decorative feature of the great chambers at Fawsley Hall, Northamptonshire (created in c. 1575-85) and Gilling Castle, Yorkshire (of c. 1585); in both cases, the trees carry coats of arms.

Nevertheless, remarkable as such decoration must have been, it only formed part of the overall impression. Furnishings were also of immense importance, and these tend to be more widely evidenced, thanks to the survival of inventories and the preservation of items by subsequent generations. The

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another source of influence – a room of the palace of Binche in the Low Countries: Girouard 2009, p. 191

[129] Waldstein 1981, p. 81

[130] Rye 1865, p. 44

[131] Ibid

[132] Ibid

[133] In the former, the Forest Great Chamber – on the east side of the top (third) floor – took its name from its plaster frieze, decorated with trees and forest scenes. A similar decorative approach was taken in the High Great Chamber of the later Hall, the plaster frieze of which bears representations of Diana and the hunt, with coloured trees. Both friezes are believed to be the work of the plasterer Abraham Smith, who had also worked at Chatsworth.

typical furniture found in state apartments has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, in relation to function and use (see pp. 150-167). Here, some specific examples will be given, with the aim of clarifying the development of the fitting out of state rooms during the sixteenth century.

Of the houses studied, the earliest notable inventories are those of Compton Wynyates, Hampton Court and The Vyne, dating from 1522, c. 1522-3 and 1541 respectively; there is also the description of Hampton Court recorded in 1527 (see p. 205). The contents of Compton Wynyates were largely generic, though they were clearly rich. The 'Chamber over the Parlour' (probably the great chamber) included six tapestry hangings, a table and cushions 'covered with verdure and his [Lord Compton's] Arms'. Next comes the 'Chapel Chamber', with a canopied bed clothed in embroidered yellow and white satin, and then the 'Chamber over the Nursery' (possibly the state bedchamber), containing 'verdure hangings' and an oak bedstead, with a sparver of cloth of gold.[134]

More details are known about the contents of The Vyne, as the house existed in 1541. The furnishings were clearly dominated by motifs proclaiming the status and wealth of the house's owner, William (later Lord) Sandys. The 'pertculles chamber' (king's great chamber) contained a bed of crimson, embroidered with W and S, while the king's bedchamber – hung with 'imagery hangings' – had a bed of green velvet, with gold and yellow. Both the 'queen's great chamber' and the 'queen's lying chamber' featured imagery hangings with borders of antique work and 'my lords armes'; their beds were, respectively, of green and crimson, embroidered with 'my lordes armes with his conysance & the garter', and of russet, yellow and cloth of gold.[135] However, in this case, the inventory should be carefully interpreted; it is possible, even likely, that these furnishings had been moved about since the royal visit of 1535, and some may have been removed to Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, Sandys' intended principal country

[134] Compton 1930, p. 309
[135] Howard and Wilson 2003, pp. 145-6

estate at the time of his death in 1540.[136] It does seem that, at this period, the contents of state rooms were by no means fixed. Maurice Howard has noted that 'Most late medieval and early sixteenth-century inventories suggest that the furnishings for rooms of lodging were moved around the house, and between, houses'.[137]

There are few other sixteenth-century inventories for country houses of high status. Among those that survive is part of a document of c. 1562 for Hengrave Hall; this shows that the 'dyning chambre' (probably the great chamber) contained tapestry and chairs, and that the 'cheffe chamber' (the state bedchamber) included seven pieces of 'ould tapestry work', two old carpets for a cupboard, four chairs of cloth of gold and silver, and a bed clothed in black and yellow silk, cloth of gold and velvet.[138] By 1603, the same room contained six pieces of 'Aras hanginges of forest work', a very rich bed (probably that mentioned in the 1560s) and a great chair of black velvet, embroidered with cloth of gold.[139]

The differences between these and other inventories imply that, from a certain point in Elizabeth's reign, the furnishings of state apartments became a great deal grander and more obviously flattering to the monarch. They also began to be more fixed in nature, specifically associated with – even commissioned for – particular state rooms, reflecting the increased importance attached to well-appointed lodgings. At the high end of the scale was New Hall, the contents of which were itemised in 1583, on the death of the Earl of Sussex. The great (or presence) chamber then featured a large series of hangings, including two with the Queen's arms; the presence (or privy) chamber contained a long table and 19 stools, and was decorated with hangings of the Dance of Death and the story of Oedipus; the privy (or withdrawing) chamber had a series of costly hangings and a magnificent bed, its posts 'having to [*sic*] heades with dragones, and porpentynes [porcupines], &c'. Its sparver was of crimson velvet and its

[136] The moving of the house's furniture is implied by the slightly unexpected arrangements for a house of this status and date. For instance, it seems somewhat surprising to find beds within the great chambers.
[137] Howard 1994, p. 259
[138] CUL Hengrave 87
[139] CUL Hengrave 81

bedclothes of crimson with gold, 'all wrought with handes and dragons and porpyntynes embrodered'.[140] The Queen's bedchamber featured five pieces of 'new hanginges of a Romayne historye'. Interestingly, it contained no bed – Elizabeth perhaps preferring to sleep in the third room of the suite – though the Queen's closet featured a 'faire great standinge statlye bedsteede', carved and painted crimson and silver.[141]

The hangings in New Hall's presence (or privy) chamber, as well as those in the privy (or withdrawing) chamber, were said to have been bought from Sir Horatio Palavicino, a powerful business magnate who was commissioned by English courtiers to acquire *objets d'art* on the Continent.[142] He was especially favoured by the Cecils, and is known to have provided tapestry hangings for the three main chambers at Burghley House.[143] Palavicino may also have supplied furnishings for the Earl of Leicester; the inventory of c. 1578 for Kenilworth Castle includes a large number of hangings, including some depicting the history of Hercules and the stories of Jezebel, Saul, David, Abraham and Sampson. Like New Hall, Kenilworth boasted elaborate beds, many personalised with Leicester's heraldry; one was embroidered with 'my Lords armes in the garter, and all the rest set oute with beares ragged staves & lettres of clothe of golde & silver'. The best contender for the state bed is one of walnut, painted red, with crimson bedclothes and lacing of gold and silver; however, even this had 'my Lordes armes richely embrothered within a garlande vpoon the tester'.[144] Meanwhile, in some of the state rooms at Hardwick (New) Hall, the Countess of Shrewsbury's rich display of tapestries included hangings that had been in the collection of Sir Christopher Hatton; for

[140] This iconography was clearly intended to flatter the Queen; a dragon formed part of the Tudor royal arms, and the hands (if taken literally) may reflect Elizabeth's pride in what she considered her best feature, and one which was prominently displayed in her state portraits. The porcupine ('porpentyne') is a symbol of invincibility, but here is probably a reference to the family crest of the Sidneys; Frances, Countess of Sussex, was born into that family, and was the sister of the courtier Sir Henry Sidney. For the difference in the nomenclature of New Hall's rooms, see note 83.
[141] ERO D/DP/F240/1
[142] The hangings were made in 1584-6 and cost, with interest, over £900, an enormous sum of money at that date: ibid and TNA PROB 11/68
[143] Stone 1956, p. 187; HMC Salisbury, vol. 3, pp. 276-7
[144] Goldring 2007a, pp. 40-45

instance, the set in the long gallery, illustrating the story of Gideon, had been made for Holdenby.[145]

From the evidence of New Hall in Essex, it would seem that bedclothes of crimson (a royal colour) were considered especially appropriate in country house state bedchambers by at least the 1580s.[146] Much earlier, in 1542, the 'chamber next to the great chamber' at Sutton Place already had a rich red and gold bed, and there was a similar bed in the 'middle chamber next to the great chamber'.[147] Moving into the reign of Elizabeth, the inventory of Ingatestone Hall in 1600 reveals that the 'Garden Chamber' contained a bed laid with crimson silk and gold lace, fringed with crimson silk and gold, while the inventories of Wollaton Hall in 1599 and 1601 show that the state bedchamber in the south suite contained a bed decked with red clothes.[148] However, judging by contemporary documents, it seems that the practice was not widespread before the Jacobean period. In 1594, the 'best Corner Chambre' at Longleat contained a standing bedstead with clothes 'imbroidered on yellow saten with purple velvat and grene silke and silver'.[149] At Hardwick (New) Hall in 1601, the 'Best Bed-chamber' included a gilt bedstead clothed in velvet embroidered with 'divers armes with portalls and pictures'; the curtains were of 'blewe and red sattin stript with golde and silver'.[150]

From the terminology used in inventories, it seems that the association of monarchs with particular rooms was generally quite a late development. Wolsey's Hampton Court and The Vyne are early instances – at the former, there was a dedicated 'King's Dining Chamber' by 1516, while the inventory of

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[145] Of Houshold Stuff, p. 8. These tapestries may have been commissioned from Palavicino. They were acquired by Bess of Hardwick from Hatton's heir in 1592.
[146] Gerald Legh, in a book of 1562, noted that, in its heraldic form, red (gules) 'longe hath ben used of Emperours and Kyngs, for an Apparell of Maiestie'; quoted in: White 2005 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 255. As Gillian White notes, red also signified strength, while black and white were other colours associated with Elizabeth (black was symbolic of constancy and white of purity): ibid, p. 256
[147] Harrison 1893, Appendix 4, pp. 206-7
[148] ERO D/DP/F215 and Ingatestone Inventory (1600). The bed at Ingatestone seems to have been still in place in 1623 (ERO D/DP/F221) and 1639 (ERO D/DP/F224). For Wollaton, see: Marshall 1996, p. 96 and p. 105. In 1601, there is mention of the 'tester and head peece and valince of crymsin damaske imbrodered with armes'.
[149] Thynne Papers, vol. 53, f. 94
[150] Of Houshold Stuff, p. 45

the latter in 1541 details the rooms devoted to the King and Queen on their visit of 1535.[151] However, other such documents are more generic. For instance, no 'king's chamber' is mentioned in the 1542 inventory of Sutton Place, which had been visited by Henry VIII in 1533.[152] Although Queen Elizabeth visited Hengrave Hall in 1578, the inventories of 1603, 1617 and 1621 do not mention her bedchamber by name, referring instead to the 'chief chamber' or the 'Bedd Chamber within ye greate chamber'; it is only by 1661 that it becomes the 'Queenes Chamber'.[153] Likewise, the series of inventories for Ingatestone Hall – dating from 1600, 1623 and 1639 – make no reference to any queen's room, despite the fact that Elizabeth stayed at the house twice in the 1560s.[154] Longleat is a further example; the Queen's visit of 1574 is not recorded by any room name mentioned in the inventories of 1594, 1639, 1682 and 1719.[155]

There are signs of a change from the middle of Elizabeth's reign. The inventory of New Hall, taken in 1583, includes 'the Queen's Bedchamber' and 'the Queen's inner Chamber', and also mentions 'Lord Leicester's Bedchamber' and outer chamber and 'Mrs Frances Howard's Chamber'. According to the Earl of Sussex's will of the same year, these rooms were to be remembered in more than name. His instructions are highly significant and worth quoting at length. Sussex begins by stating, 'my meaninge hath alwayes been to have that house of Newhall to remayne honorably furnished aswell for receyvinge of the Queenes Maiestie when yt shall please her to come thither As alsoe for the honorable furniture of my heires that shall succede'. He therefore left to his brother all of the hangings in the Queen's bedchamber 'at her Mats last being there', together with the hangings from her 'ynnr chamber Lodging' and those he acquired from Horatio Palavicino 'to hange the wthdrawinge chamber and the pryvye chamber for her maiestie'. To these were added the hangings of gilt leather 'which didd then hange the Chambers where mistris ffrances howard

[151] Thurley 2003, p. 22 and p. 30; Howard and Wilson 2003, pp. 144-6
[152] Harrison 1893, Appendix 4, pp. 206-212
[153] CUL Hengrave 81 (1603), Hengrave 85 (1617), Hengrave 84 (1621) and Hengrave 86 (1661)
[154] ERO D/DP/F215 and Ingatestone Inventory (1600), ERO D/DP/F221 (1623) and ERO D/DP/F224 (1639)
[155] Thynne Papers vol. 53, ff. 94-101v (1594), TP vol. 79, f. 40-42 (1639), TP vol. 11, f. 126 (1682), and TP vol. 79, ff. 133-159 (1719)

didd lye', the hangings of the presence chamber, and those from the rooms of the Earl of Leicester. Also bequeathed were:

> the bed of losinges of cloth of silvr and cloth of gold embroidered upon crimsen sattenn which my L of Leicester then laye in with … all other furniture whatsoever wch at that tyme was used for the full furniture of the bedd and chambers of the Earle of Leicester there, and alsoe all ye chaires of crimsen velvett embrodered with cloth of golde and silvr … and all other thinges thereto belonginge then used in her Maiesties presence Chamber there and the table clothes Cupbord clothes carpetts chaires, tables quisshions, stooles, andyrons and windowe clothes of crimsen velvett embrodered wth workes of needle worke or otherwise then used in her maiesties pryvie chamber there and all the furniture to them belonginge and the sparver of crimsen velvett embrodered with handes and Dragons and purpentynes with the quilte chaires stooles, cusshens, carpettes, cupbord clothes, board clothes windowe clothes and all other furniture to them belonging which then was in her maiesties wthdrawinge chamber there.[156]

Clearly, the whole state apartment at New Hall had been kept in stasis for some time – the Queen had last visited in 1579 – and Sussex's wish was obviously that it should remain intact. It is fascinating that this approach extended not just to Elizabeth's rooms, but also to those of the Earl of Leicester and those used by Frances Howard – widow of the notable courtier Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and a relative, by marriage, of the Queen.[157] As Sussex states, this was both a practical measure – ensuring the house was appropriately fitted up in case Elizabeth (or other visitors of rank) came again – and a means of perpetuating the honour of such visits, for the glory of his family.

For his own part, the Earl of Leicester was adopting a similar approach at Kenilworth Castle. He specified in his will (of 1587) that the contents were 'all to remain to the said Castle and House, and not to be altered or removed'.[158] Inventories show that from c. 1578 onwards his collection of paintings was virtually unchanged. Elizabeth Goldring has written that this 'deliberate fossilization of the castle and its picture collection suggests a desire to create a

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[156] TNA PROB 11/68

[157] It is especially common to find rooms named after the Earl of Leicester; in the sixteenth century, at least, this association seems to have been highly prized. As has been shown, there were Leicester rooms at Holdenby, New Hall and Chatsworth.

[158] Quoted in: Goldring 2007b, p. 183

lasting memorial to the revels of 1575, which, for all their mishaps, nonetheless constituted Kenilworth's (and, to a certain extent, Leicester's) apotheosis'.[159] As the example of New Hall shows, and as is further emphasised by Elizabethan Chatsworth (where rooms were named after the Earl of Leicester and Mary, Queen of Scots), this attempt at memorialisation was not focused solely on members of the English royal family. The honour reflected by visits made by figures of rank clearly became highly desirable, and was used by noblemen to their advantage.[160]

As has been seen, such fancy is surprisingly absent for much of the sixteenth century, and only begins to develop in the middle Elizabethan period. For the first time, from the 1570s or 1580s, state apartments seem to have become associated with particular decoration and furnishings – especially a regally clothed state bed – and with honoured occupants. They were increasingly used as a platform for display by the owners of the houses concerned – as rooms which would have been seen by figures of note, they served as political statements, underlining status, wealth and pedigree. State apartments became, in effect, reflections of the greatness of the men (and women) responsible for their creation, and memorialised their achievements, connections and place in society. Still, such a development was comparatively new by the end of the sixteenth century; this, like other features of the state apartment, only fully matured during the reign of James I.

[159] Ibid. Gillian White has commented that Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, similarly intended 'that the contents of Hardwick should remain entailed forever with the house and that future owners should not be allowed to separate them': White 2005 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 70

[160] Thus, there is a Mary, Queen of Scots room in the state apartment at Hardwick (New) Hall, despite the fact that she had no connection with the Shrewsburys after 1584 and was dead by the time the house was begun.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Planning, Decoration and Development of the State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House

We have seen how the English state apartment developed and adopted a formal arrangement over the course of the sixteenth century, reaching a height of sophistication in the residences of Queen Elizabeth's closest officials. This chapter will consider the further development of the state apartment in the reign of James I, during which – as will be seen – it reached an even greater level of refinement, embodying the conventions of the Tudor period yet increasingly influenced by continental architecture and developing in line with the scale and practices of the Stuart court.

As has been shown in Chapter 1, the royal visit to the English country house reached a peak during the reign of James I, who made a summer progress for every year of his reign (except the last, 1625) (see Figs 1 to 23). In scale and regularity, these progress visits were more significant than those of Elizabeth; when James travelled, he was often accompanied by Queen Anne or by the Prince of Wales, and sometimes by both, with associated royal households (see p. 22 and pp. 24-26).

Although a love of the hunt was one of the primary motivations behind James's progresses, he was obviously keen to see buildings at first hand. Architecture was known to be a major interest for King James and Queen Anne, and for Prince Henry also. Expenditure on the Royal Works during the Elizabethan period had been almost non-existent, the Queen choosing instead to encourage her courtiers to improve their houses.[1] The accession of James I represented a radical change. Like Elizabeth, the King enjoyed visiting private country seats and encouraged his courtiers to build. However, he did so both by word and example, initiating 'a royal building programme more ambitious than England had seen for over half a century'.[2] In 1605-6, the King commissioned plans for a

[1] It has been noted that 'Elizabeth had always been a reluctant builder and her Office of Works scarcely more than a maintenance department': HKW 1975, p. 108

[2] Ibid, p. 107. The expenditure of the Jacobean Royal Works was huge, reaching unprecedented levels in 1609-10, with a bill of £51,800 for a one and a half year period: ibid, p. 108. Under Elizabeth, the Works had generally spent less than £4,000 per annum.

new palace at Ampthill, Bedfordshire (see pp. 237-240). This did not go ahead, and James was not responsible for building a wholly new royal residence, but he and Anne did carry out significant works at Whitehall (including the building of two successive banqueting houses), Somerset House, Greenwich, St James's and Richmond. The King also added to the royal portfolio by acquiring the houses of Theobalds (in 1607) and Holdenby (1608), together with property at Royston (1604) and Newmarket (c. 1606), where new buildings were erected.

Not only were the new works costly, they were obviously of high quality, and – after the appointment of Inigo Jones as the King's Surveyor, a post he held from 1615 to 1643 – reached entirely new levels of innovation and refinement. There can be no doubt that such remarkable activity stimulated Jacobean courtiers, noblemen and others into building, and that the new work on royal palaces influenced choices regarding plan form, style, decoration and furnishing. Alas, while something is known of the function of royal state rooms at this date (see pp. 105-117), these aspects of English royal palaces cannot be explored in detail. Today, almost nothing remains of the work carried out during James's reign, especially pre-1615, which was a period of such significance.[3]

Given the scale of the Jacobean Royal Works, it naturally follows that James and Anne would have been keen to view the building works of their subjects, especially where the same craftsmen were involved, as at Knole and Hatfield (see pp. 230-232). This seems to be borne out by the overwhelming popularity of private residences as a progress destination, although there are few specific examples of such interest. Among the most notable is the record that, on 24 November 1609, £20 was given to the 'Workemen at Audeley Inne [End]' at the command of Prince Henry,[4] while in July of that year Viscount Haddington

[3] Ibid, p. 120. As has been acknowledged, the nearest we can come to understanding the impression of Jacobean royal palaces is to study houses of figures such as Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury: ibid

[4] Rye 1865, p. 250 (note 97). As his source, Rye cites the Privy Purse expenses of Prince Henry (entry under 24 November 1609). The only comparable surviving document appears to be TNA E101/433/8, which details the Prince's Privy Purse accounts for 1608-9 but which ends with September of the latter year. However, in Privy Purse accounts of 1610-12 (TNA E351/2794, f. 4), a payment of £20 is recorded as having been made to 'masons and carpenters at Awdeley end', seemingly confirming Rye's more detailed citation. £20 was no small amount of money; in February 1609, the Prince gave only £2 'to the woorkemen at the building of the ryding house': TNA E101/433/8, f. 10

reported the King's response to new works at Farnham Castle, a popular destination on royal progresses:

> His Majesty had good liking of the reparation that was made upon the house here, and of the diligence of the workmen for the little time they had, which is not yet finished. He bid me signify that the workmen do not depart till the house be all repaired according as they have begun, with protestation that when he is better stored in money he will bestow more towards the same, for the good liking he and the Queen have taken at this time.[5]

In the cases where work was not initiated by the owners themselves, the King and Queen may have been quick to speak up about changes they thought necessary. In 1622, James went so far as to specially commission Sir Francis Fane 'to new build and enlarge his house at Abthorpe … for the more comodious enterteynment of his Majesty and his company, at his repaire into those partes for his princely recreacon there'.[6] As an incentive, the King gave Fane 100 trees from Rockingham Forest and sold him 100 more 'at reasonable prises'.[7]

Still, a fair number of the houses visited by James and Anne – the majority, in fact – pre-dated the early seventeenth century, and are not known to have been substantially remodelled to accommodate the royal visitors. Some of these buildings have been discussed in Chapter 4; for instance, Wilton House, Bisham Abbey, and Theobalds and Holdenby (both taken on as Jacobean royal palaces with only minor alteration). In most other cases, information is sadly not forthcoming.

A particularly frustrating example is Hinchingbrooke House, Huntingdonshire, the home between c. 1602 and 1627 of Sir Oliver Cromwell. Somewhat

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[5] HMC Salisbury, vol. 21, p. 102 (27 July 1609). Farnham Castle was the property of the Bishops of Winchester, though minor alterations were carried out there at the expense of the Royal Works between 1609-10 and 1614-15: TNA E351/3244-3249. Apparently, in 1608 the King obliged Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, to lease the castle to John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, who was certainly resident there in 1612.

[6] NRO Montague Papers, vol. 9, p. 35 (letter from Lord Cranfield to the Office of Woods, 7 May 1622). See also: Montague Papers, vol. 3, p. 197; HMC, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*, vol. 1 (London, 1899), p. 256; and TNA PSO 5/4

[7] NRO Montague Papers, vol. 9, p. 35

ironically, given the family connection – Sir Oliver was uncle and godfather to the future Protector of England – this former nunnery seems to have been visited by James I on more occasions than any other private house except for Wanstead.[8] However, although the house survives, almost nothing can be said about the detailed nature of its obvious attractions during the Jacobean period. It is known that Cromwell built a semi-circular bay in 1602, at the high end of the hall, forming a loggia to the ground-floor parlour and a window to the great chamber above. Possibly designed by John Thorpe, this bay was removed and rebuilt on the south side of the library in 1832, two years after the house was devastated by fire.[9] This is said to have broken out in the great chamber ('Great Bow Room'), and destroyed the state rooms, which were probably at first-floor level in the east range, perhaps extending into the south range. Almost all records relating to the house were destroyed in the fire; there are no inventories, for example, and no plans showing the first floor before 1830.

Similarly frustrating is Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, which was built in 1595 and owned by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, between about 1619 and his death in 1628. Given his extraordinary position at the courts of James and Charles, one might have expected to find important parallels between Burley and royal palaces, as well as earlier houses built with royalty in mind. Clearly, the house was a favourite; James visited about nine times, being hosted by Sir John Harington, Baron Harington of Exton, his daughter Lucy, Lady Bedford,

[8] During progress, King James visited Hinchingbrooke in 1603, 1604, 1610, 1614 and 1617 (see Appendix 2). He also made regular hunting excursions to the house (which was close to Royston), usually in March and October. He was there in 1604 (twice), 1605 (twice), 1610, 1613, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1622 and 1623, when he was unwell and detained by flooding. He may also have made additional visits in 1605 and 1614. For a while, the King planned to acquire the house from Sir Oliver Cromwell, who was beset with financial problems. However, James died before a deal could be struck, and in 1627 Hinchingbrooke was sold to Sir Sydney Montagu, who hosted at least four visits by Charles I (the King visited in 1633, 1634, 1638, 1639 and possibly in 1647). For Wanstead, see p. 9 (in Chapter 1) and note 12.

[9] Mark Girouard has commented on the similarity between the Hinchingbrooke bay and another such feature at Babraham Hall, Cambridge, certainly designed by Thorpe: Girouard 2009, pp. 410-11. Babraham was built for the business magnate Sir Horatio Palavicino in about the 1590s. Palavicino's widow, Ann, married Oliver Cromwell of Hinchingbrooke in 1601, the year before the bay window was added. The book of John Thorpe contains ground- and upper-floor plans of Hinchingbrooke. These, which include the semi-circular bay window, are thought to be designs for alterations which were never carried out, though the bay was obviously one feature that was built; see: Summerson 1966, plates 94-95

and later by Buckingham.[10] However, it is impossible to be clear about the details of its plan or interior. Burley was garrisoned by parliamentary troops during the Civil War, and was greatly damaged in the process. It was burnt down in 1646, and replaced by another building in 1694-1702. There are no inventories or building accounts, and a ground-floor plan in the book of John Thorpe is thought not to have been executed.[11]

It is worth noting a final house which, like those above, could be of value to this study, but which is insufficiently understood: Charlton Park, Wiltshire, visited by James I in 1613, 1618 and 1620. This was built (or rebuilt) by Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, on the site of the home of her father, Henry Knyvett. It seems to have been begun c. 1607 – at the same time as work was underway at Audley End, the principal Suffolk property – and was possibly left unfinished in the 1620s or 1630s. The house survives, but was greatly altered between the 1770s and the early nineteenth century, and was converted to apartments in 1978-81. The long gallery occupies the first floor of the entrance range – the hall was in the parallel (east) range – but nothing certain is known about the position or arrangement of the other state rooms. There are inventories and other documents, but none pre-date 1680, and the room names given are generic or vague.[12]

The Jacobean Country House: Nine Key Examples

Given the difficulties surrounding a full study, this chapter will focus on nine houses built or rebuilt in the Jacobean period: Audley End, Essex (c. 1604-

[10] James was at Burley-on-the-Hill in 1603 (twice), 1605 (for dinner), 1614, 1616, 1617, 1618 (possibly), 1619, 1621 (twice) and 1624 (see Appendix 2).

[11] This conclusion is based on an undated survey of the site, thought to be of the second half of the seventeenth century, which shows the house to be a rough E in shape. See: Pearl Finch, *History of Burley on the Hill, Rutland* (London, 1901), pp. 6-7, and Anne Blandamer, 'Burley: The Early Houses or House?', in *Burley-on-the-Hill: Conference report* (31 October 1999; Leicestershire and Rutland Gardens Trust), pp. 4-15. I am grateful to Nick Hill for drawing this article to my attention.

[12] The earliest surviving document is an inventory of 1680 (TNA PROB 4/5289), which I believe I am the first to cite. Other documents, including a deed of gift of 1697 and an inventory of 1757, survive in the Wiltshire Record Office. Also of interest is a plan said to show the ground floor of the house before the alterations of the 1770s and later, though it is more likely to be an early design, as some features do not seem to be as built. This is held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 [26.85 (89)]; see also Nunns, Fig. 4). I am grateful to Laura Houliston for bringing this and other documents to my attention.

14);[13] Knole, Kent (c. 1604-8);[14] Bramshill House, Hampshire (1605-c. 1617); Hatfield House, Hertfordshire (1607-12); Cranborne Manor House, Dorset (c. 1608-12); Aston Hall, Warwickshire (1618-35); Blickling Hall, Norfolk (1619-27); Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire (1622-4); and Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire (c. 1624-6 and 1630s). Like the buildings chosen as exemplars in Chapter 4, these houses have been selected in view of their high status. As the homes of officials of the royal household, courtiers or members of the nobility – or, in the case of Aston Hall, upper gentry – they were worthy of the reception of royalty, James I or Charles I visiting all but Knole and Blickling Hall.[15] In one case, Hatfield, the intention to receive royalty was made explicit: Sir Robert Cecil spoke in 1607 of building his new house, 'where I doubt not ere it be long to have the honor to see my great Master'.[16]

Furthermore, in each case the early seventeenth-century arrangements can be understood, to a greater or lesser extent. Audley End is recorded in two seventeenth-century ground-floor plans and Royal Works accounts of the later 1600s, while a detailed study of the fabric and history are represented by an invaluable article by Paul Drury and a subsequent guidebook.[17] Knole survives

[13] I am grateful to Paul Drury for sharing with me his ideas about the commencement date of Audley End. Evidence is lacking, but he suggests that the design was worked up in the second half of 1603 (after Howard was made Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chamberlain) and that building began in spring 1604 or, at the latest, spring 1605. He notes that 'given the chance references to progress, I would be surprised if a start had not been made by the 1605 building season' (pers. comm.).

[14] I am grateful to Edward Town, currently working on a doctoral thesis on early seventeenth-century Knole, for suggesting to me that the 1st Earl of Dorset's refurbishment was probably begun in c. 1604. The date is more conventionally given as c. 1605.

[15] Details of the visits are as follows: James I is said to have visited Audley End in 1610 and 1612 (when it was not yet complete), and was certainly there in 1614; James was at Bramshill in 1620 and 1622, and Charles I visited in 1630; James visited Hatfield in 1611 and 1616 (on neither occasion did he stay the night), Henrietta Maria came in 1627 and Charles I in 1647; Cranborne hosted James in 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1618, 1620 and 1623 (twice), while Charles I visited in 1626 and 1644; Charles spent a night at Aston Hall in 1642; Apethorpe was host to James in 1603, 1604, 1605, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1617, 1619, 1621 and 1624, and to Charles I in 1631, 1634, 1637, 1638 and 1641; and Castle Ashby was visited by James in 1604, 1605, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1616, 1619, 1621 and 1624, and by Charles I in 1634. Although neither James nor Charles is known to have visited Knole or Blickling, it was a possibility that they could have done so. Knole, a former archbishops' and royal palace, was clearly of the first rank, and Blickling – the former home of the Boleyn family – was also of note. That they were not visited by early Stuart monarchs probably reflects their geographical locations, rather than their status; neither James nor Charles is known to have visited Norfolk on progress, and Kent was likewise not a progress destination in the early seventeenth century.

[16] Quoted in: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 68

[17] The plans of Audley End are by John Thorpe (c. 1610) and Henry Winstanley (c. 1676), the Royal Works accounts are in The National Archives (Work 5/12-49, etc), and the published

largely intact, and is associated with a Jacobean account book and two seventeenth-century inventories.[18] For Bramshill, there are a number of documents dating from between 1607 and c. 1637, including two inventories.[19] Hatfield is associated with numerous documents, including building accounts and nine seventeenth-century inventories.[20] The same is true of Cranborne, which is described in five inventories dating from between 1614 and 1685 and which, exceptionally, is recorded in Jacobean plans showing all floors.[21] Aston Hall is recorded in plans by John Thorpe and an inventory of 1654, and survives largely unaltered.[22] For Blickling Hall there are a large number of surviving accounts, including records of building expenditure, and the house is described

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works are: Drury 1980, and Drury and Gow 1984. Drury's article includes both seventeenth-century plans, along with other drawings.

[18] The account book (of 1607-8) and inventories (of 1645 and 1687) are in the Centre for Kentish Studies; their references are Sackville MSS U269/A1/1 and A2/2 (account book), U269/010/1-2 (inventory of 1645) and U269 E2/3 (inventory of 1687). The account book and inventory of 1645 have been published in: Phillips 1930, vol. 1, pp. 216-8 and pp. 353-366. I am grateful to Edward Town for supplying me with a copy of his transcription of the inventory of 1645.

[19] The documents are as follows: inventory of 14 September 1607 (TNA C108/189; transcribed in Hills 1984 [unpubl.], Appendix A); bill of 1619 for painting work by Thomas Selby (BL Add. Eg. 2584, ff. 108-9; Hills 1984, Appendix H; Cope 1883, pp. 121-5); inventory of 19 September 1634 (TNA C108/187; Hills 1984, Appendix C); 'A schedula containing all the goods at Bramsell, wch are to be sould towards the paymt of … debts' (c. 1637; C108/225; Hills 1984, Appendix B); 'The bill of such household stuffe as … Lord Mountnorris had away with him when his Lopp went from Bramshill, 1637' (C108/189; Hills 1984, Appendix D); a 'note of such goodes as weare sent to London', January and February 1637 (C108/189; Hills 1984, Appendix E); an undated 'note of the howse holde stuffe', c. 1637 (C108/225; Hills 1984, Appendix F); and an account of goods 'I have sold' at Bramshill, c. 1637 (C108/225; Hills 1984, Appendix G).

[20] The documents remain among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House. The seventeenth-century inventories are of: 30 September 1611 (Box A/1), 20 August 1621 (Box A/4 and 5), 9 June 1629 (Box A/6), 23 September 1638 (Box A/7), 25 July 1646 (Box A/8 and 9), 24 March 1679/80 (Box A/10) and 1 July 1685 (Box A/11). There is also an inventory of Salisbury's 'stuffe' at Hatfield House, taken on 31 July 1612 (Box B/5), and an inventory of 2 October 1620 (two copies, Box A/2 and 3). Except for these last two documents, they have all been transcribed by R. T. Gunton and collected together in the volume *Hatfield House Inventories 1611-1684*.

[21] Again, the documents survive among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House; transcriptions appear in a series of volumes of 'Cranborne Papers'. The inventories are of: 23 September 1614 (Box C/17), 5 April 1621 (Box C/18), 7 April 1630 (Box C/26) (the latter two documents are based closely on that of 1614), 26 August 1639, amended on 24 May 1651 (Box C/27), and 21 April 1685 (Box C/25). The reference for the plans is CPM Supp. 85/1-5. It is often presumed that these are the 'plotts' produced by William Arnold; see, for instance: Marcus Binney, 'The Manor House, Cranborne, Dorset – I', *Country Life*, 3 May 1973, p. 1220. I am very grateful to Robin Harcourt Williams for pointing out that, from the resemblance of the handwriting on the plans to other documents among the Cecil Papers, they actually date from c. 1613, and are therefore surveys, rather than designs.

[22] The Thorpe plans (of the ground and first floors) were probably drawn shortly before 1618; they are reproduced and discussed in: Fairclough 1989. Two inventories were taken following the death of Sir Thomas Holte in 1654, but only one records the contents by room. This document, of 24 November 1654, is attached to an indenture of lease: Birmingham Reference Library Archives Holte 17

in two late Stuart inventories.[23] Apethorpe Hall – the state apartment of which survives largely intact – is detailed in two seventeenth-century inventories and has been the subject of a thorough programme of research and investigation, carried out by English Heritage.[24] Finally, Castle Ashby is the focus of a surviving account book of 1629-36, which details costs of building, and has been studied by the RCHME.[25]

In date, these nine houses cover the full extent of James I's reign, from his earliest years in England until the time of his decline and death. The building work at each was begun – if not completed – during James's time as King; an exception is the work carried out at Castle Ashby in the 1630s, but as this followed on from (and probably continued) a Jacobean phase of construction, it is considered here.[26] In two cases, Apethorpe Hall and Castle Ashby, the houses were also considered in Chapter 4, as Elizabethan state apartments pre-dated those of the Jacobean period.

In physical form, the buildings vary: six are of a courtyard plan (Audley End, Knole, Bramshill, Blickling, Apethorpe and Castle Ashby); two are U-plan (Hatfield and Aston Hall); and one, Cranborne, is a compact block. Audley End and Knole are undoubtedly the largest, and Aston Hall and Cranborne the smallest. While the former can be – and have been – compared to royal

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[23] The accounts are in the Norfolk Record Office (MC3/43-53; MC3/100, 466; MC3/263); see: Stanley-Millson and Newman 1986, pp. 16-35. The inventories are of 11-13 March 1699 (collections of the National Trust) and 24 June 1700 (TNA PROB 4/19641; damaged and partially illegible); I am very grateful to David Adshead for allowing me to consult the former document.

[24] The inventories are of 20 April 1629 (Northamptonshire Record Office W (A) Box 6, V, nos 1 & 2) and 16 October 1691 (W (A) Box 5, VI). For work carried out or commissioned by English Heritage, see: Cole 2003 (unpubl.), Cole, Edgar and Lea 2003 (unpubl.), Cattell 2006 (unpubl.), Alexander and Morrison 2007, White 2008, Gapper 2008, Morrison 2009 and Wilmott 2009. A monograph on the site is currently in preparation.

[25] Warwickshire County Record Office CR 556/274; Heward and Taylor 1996, pp. 129-139. There is also an inventory of 1681 (MSS FD 1319, at Castle Ashby), but this records the house as rebuilt in the 1660s and 1670s.

[26] In c. 1624-6, the state apartment at Castle Ashby was rebuilt, its width being increased to create a series of rooms arranged double-pile. This work probably followed – or immediately preceded – the visit of James I and Prince Charles in July 1624. Surviving accounts show that work was still underway, or had been reinitiated, by December 1629. This still involved the east range – specifically, the chapel, at its south end. Shortly after this, the existing south range of the courtyard was built. Work must have been complete for another royal visit (in August 1634), but then began again, alterations being made to areas including the state apartment. See: Heward and Taylor 1996, pp. 131-136, and WCRO CR 556/274

palaces, the latter are, in scale, little different from contemporary houses of the gentry. It is clear, however, that each of the nine houses contained at least a single state apartment at the time of their completion.

As with some of the buildings studied in Chapter 4, the links to the royal household are interesting. Knole was owned by the Crown between 1538 and 1603; Audley End was to become a royal palace, a role it served between 1669 and 1701; Hatfield had been royal property before 1607, when it was exchanged for Theobalds; and Cranborne – a royal manor since medieval times – was granted to Sir Robert Cecil in the same year (i.e. 1607). Some of the other houses, never actually owned by the Crown, were located close to royal palaces and lands; for instance, Apethorpe stood within the royal forest of Rockingham and was close to Fotheringhay. In all cases, the hunt was of importance, and opportunities for hunting clearly proved an incentive for royal visits.

As with the houses studied in Chapter 4, the majority (six) of the nine exemplars were not newly built, and therefore do not necessarily represent contemporary ideals of planning. Knole is a former archbishops' palace, first built in 1456-86; Bramshill dates originally from the medieval and early Tudor period; Cranborne dates back to the early thirteenth century; Blickling was first built in the 1390s; Apethorpe dates from the late fifteenth century, and was rebuilt in the 1500s; and Castle Ashby was begun in 1574 and altered in c. 1589. Of the three remaining cases, only Aston Hall was unconnected with earlier work. Audley End occupied the site of Walden Abbey, converted as a residence after 1538, and almost certainly incorporated medieval and Tudor fabric, while Hatfield was built on a new site, but adjoined the late fifteenth-century buildings of the episcopal and royal palace.[27]

The status of all the buildings, as has been noted above, was high, though Aston Hall stands out as something of an oddity. Its builder, Sir Thomas Holte

[27] For more on Jacobean Audley End's relationship with its predecessor, see: P. J. Drury, 'Walden Abbey into Audley End', in S. R. Bassett, *Saffron Walden: Excavations and Research 1972-80*, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust, Report 2, CBA Research Report 45 (Chelmsford, 1982), pp. 94-105. There is a plan of 1600 showing the earlier house.

(1571-1654), had served as High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1599 and was created a baronet in 1611; he was known to be learned and well connected, and was extremely wealthy. However, he was a member of the upper gentry, and held no position in the royal household.[28]

With the other houses under study, the case is more clear-cut. The owners and builders were of the first rank, with close connections to the royal family and court.[29] Audley End was the work of Thomas Howard (1561-1626), of a family which – disgraced in the sixteenth century – rose once more to prominence in the early 1600s. The nephew of the courtier Henry Howard (1540-1614), Earl of Northampton, Thomas was created 1st Earl of Suffolk in 1603, and – until his fall in 1618 – was in high favour with James I. Between 1603 and 1614, he served as Lord Chamberlain, and was Lord Treasurer in 1614-18. The Jacobean work at Knole was carried out by another Lord Treasurer, Thomas Sackville (1536-1608), created 1st Earl of Dorset in 1604. He was a relative of Queen Elizabeth and was greatly favoured by her, succeeding Lord Burghley as Lord Treasurer in 1599 and holding the post until his death. In 1608, Knole was inherited by his son, Robert (1561-1609), and then by his grandson, Richard (1589-1624), 3rd Earl of Dorset, who served as Lord Lieutenant of Sussex in 1612-24. The builder of Bramshill was Edward la Zouche (1556-1625), 11th Baron Zouche of Harringworth, who in the Elizabethan period had served as envoy both to Scotland and Denmark. Under James I, he served successively as President of the Council of Wales (1602-15) and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (1615-24), in which role he succeeded the Earl of Northampton; in 1612, there had been rumours Zouche would be appointed to the Lord Treasurership.[30]

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[28] As Arthur Oswald noted in *Country Life*, 'Although Sir Thomas Holte was a man of affluence and influence in his county, one would hardly have expected him to have been the builder of so large and important a mansion as Aston': Arthur Oswald, 'Aston Hall, Warwickshire – I', *Country Life*, 20 August 1953, p. 553

[29] In four cases (relating to five of the nine houses), the builders were active Privy Councillors, namely: Thomas Howard (from 1603), Thomas Sackville (from 1586), Edward Zouche (from 1603) and Robert Cecil (from 1591). Howard's uncle, the Earl of Northampton, was another active Privy Councillor, while Cecil's son and successor, William, was appointed to the Council in 1626.

[30] Hills 1984 (unpubl.), p. 10

Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612), 1st Earl of Salisbury from 1604, was responsible for Hatfield House and Cranborne Manor House; like his father and his friend Thomas Sackville, he served as Lord Treasurer, holding the position from 1608 until his death. Other positions held by Cecil – a figure of immense importance and influence – included Secretary of State, Lord Privy Seal and Lord High Steward to Queen Anne. Following Cecil's death, his property was inherited by his son William (1591-1668), 2nd Earl of Salisbury, who had been a close friend of Henry, Prince of Wales. The Jacobean rebuilding of Blickling Hall was carried out under Sir Henry Hobart (c. 1554-1625), who was appointed Attorney-General in 1606; created a baronet in 1611, he was promoted Lord Chief Justice in 1613, and was Chancellor to the Prince of Wales. Apethorpe Hall was rebuilt by Sir Francis Fane (1580-1629), an active politician who in December 1624 was created 1st Baron Burghersh and 1st Earl of Westmorland; his wife Mary was the granddaughter of Sir Walter Mildmay, Elizabeth's Chancellor of the Exchequer. Castle Ashby was the work of Sir William Compton (c. 1568-1630), 1st Earl of Northampton from 1618, and of his son, Spencer Compton (1601-43), 2nd Earl. William was Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire and (later) Gloucester and was Lord President of the Council of Wales in 1617-30, while Spencer was Master of the Robes to Charles from 1622.[31]

The Interplay of Patrons and Workmen

As might be expected given their status, the owners of the houses under study moved in a close-knit circle, and there were multiple ties between them. Thomas Sackville's eldest son, Robert, was married to Lady Margaret Howard (d. 1591), sister of Thomas Howard, creating a personal link between the builders of Knole and Audley End. Sackville and Howard worked closely together at court, and were also intimate friends and colleagues of Robert Cecil. Howard was one of the three courtiers who accompanied Cecil to Hatfield in April 1607, in order to decide where his new house would best be built, and –

[31] Additionally, both held the position of master of the leash, responsible for keeping the king's hounds and falcons.

five years later – was named one of the executors of Cecil's will.[32] In December 1608, a daughter of Thomas Howard, Catherine, married Robert Cecil's eldest son, William Cecil, later 2nd Earl of Salisbury; in subsequent years, they and their children moved frequently between Hatfield and Audley End.

Meanwhile, Edward Zouche had been brought up as a ward of court by Lord Burghley, and – after the latter's death in 1598 – remained close to Robert Cecil, whom he described as 'my master'.[33] After Cecil's death, Zouche was appointed as a member of the Commission of the Treasury which operated until 1613, under the leadership of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. Thomas Howard, of Audley End, was also a member of the Commission, and was an associate of William Compton,[34] while Henry Hobart – who had served as under-steward to Lord Burghley in the 1590s – was another friend of Robert Cecil, appearing as one of the few mourners at his funeral. Hobart was also acquainted with Sir Francis Fane, whose house in St Bartholomew, Smithfield, he rented.[35] Clearly, all of the figures – with the probable exception of Sir Thomas Holte – would have spent regular time together; for example, on the King's annual summer progresses.[36]

Given such connections, it would be wrong to consider each of the nine houses in isolation. Although actual documentation is lacking, it is clear that ideas passed between these and other builders of great houses, and that they shared common knowledge, experiences, inspirations and ideals. For instance, all – again, with the probable exception of Sir Thomas Holte – are likely to have known Theobalds and Holdenby.[37] These and other notable Tudor houses

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[32] Stone 1955, p. 105; Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 68
[33] Hills 1984 (unpubl.), p. 2
[34] In a letter of 1610, Elizabeth, Lady Compton implored her husband to 'lend no money, as you love God, to the Lord Chamberlain' (i.e. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk): Goodman 1839, vol. 1, p. 131
[35] Blickling Guide, p. 10; Alexander and Morrison 2007, p. 79
[36] It is known, for instance, that James's retinue on his progress to Scotland in 1617 included William Compton, Sir Francis Fane and Edward Zouche: Assheton 1848, pp. 47-49
[37] In some cases, this knowledge would have been intimate. William Compton was keeper of Holdenby in 1610, and Edward Zouche and Thomas Sackville must have spent large amounts of time at Theobalds, built by Lord Burghley and the chief country seat of Robert Cecil between 1598 and 1607. In 1602, Lord Zouche wrote to Sir Robert Cecil begging him either to 'lay more favours upon him, or else make him, in earnest, as in sport he once offered, his housekeeper at Theobalds': HMC Salisbury, vol. 12, p. 311 (21 August 1602)

clearly continued to be influential into the early seventeenth century. In 1603, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland – planning to rebuild Syon House in Middlesex – told Robert Cecil that he was about 'to go, and see Copthall, for now that I am builder I must borrow of my knowledge somewhat out of Tibballs, somewhat out of every place of mark where curiosities are used'.[38] Again, although documentation is minimal, it is obvious that these patrons followed with interest the architectural work underway at houses of their colleagues and associates,[39] and the royal progress must have served to spread knowledge and fashions. The experience thus gleaned would have fed directly into their own building works, in which many owners were closely involved.[40]

Connections existed not just between patrons, but between the craftsmen they employed, and there were also important links to the Crown. Under James I, as under Elizabeth, there was an overlap between figures working on royal palaces – notably, Somerset House, rebuilt from 1609 – and those working on the houses of prominent officials and courtiers. Thanks to the survival of general accounts for Knole of 1607-8, it is known that Thomas Sackville, Lord Treasurer, employed a number of craftsmen from the Royal Works, who possibly worked under the supervision of the Surveyor, Simon Basil.[41] Plasterwork was carried out by Richard Dungan, royal Master Plasterer in 1597-

[38] HMC Salisbury, vol. 15, pp. 382-3. The letter is undated, but contains a reference to 'the King', so was clearly written during the reign of James I.

[39] For instance, Robert Cecil is known to have visited Audley End in July 1612, when work was still underway: HMC Salisbury, vol. 22, p. 3 (letter to Roger Houghton, 26 July 1612, dated from Audley End)

[40] Lord Zouche is said to have been personally responsible for the design of Bramshill and its gardens; see: Louis A. Knafla, 'Zouche, Edward la, eleventh Baron Zouche (1556–1625)', ODNB, online edn, January 2008, accessed 7 December 2009. Also, Robert Cecil was, like his father, passionate about architecture; for his involvement in the design of Cranborne, see: Girouard 2009, p. 389. It is likely that Thomas Howard was likewise involved in the design of Audley End, and his uncle – the Earl of Northampton – seems also to have been influential. As long ago as 1650, Northampton (with his mason, Bernard Janssen) is said to have 'assisted his nephew … by his designing and large contribution to … Audley-End', and it has been suggested that this work 'may have been part of Northampton's political agenda of re-establishing his name and position at court': Girouard 2009, p. 55; Guerci 2010, p. 8. I am grateful to Manolo Guerci for letting me see the relevant pages of this article in advance of its publication in *The Antiquaries Journal*. See also: Braybrooke 1836, p. 81; Drury 1980, p. 18; and Drury and Gow 1984, pp. 46-7

[41] CKS, Sackville MSS U269/A1/1 and A2/2; Phillips 1930, vol. 1, pp. 216-218. For more information on the staff of the Royal Works, see: HKW 1975, especially Appendix F ('Principal Office Holders 1485-1660'). For Basil's possible involvement, see: Girouard 2009, p. 27. As Lord Treasurer, Sackville had responsibility for departments including the Works, so it is entirely natural that he 'borrowed' some of the workforce. Another figure who has been linked with Knole's rebuilding is the surveyor John Thorpe, although there is no proof of this.

1609;[42] carpentry was undertaken by William Portington, royal Master Carpenter for an amazing 50 year period (1579-1629), and glazing by Thomas Mefflin, the King's Chief Glazier between 1603 and c. 1613/14. Cornelius Cure, royal Master Mason from 1596 until his death in 1607, supplied the chimneypiece for the withdrawing chamber (Reynolds Room), and probably those in other state rooms, including the great chamber (now the Ballroom) (see Fig. 95).

Given the example set by his immediate predecessors as Lord Treasurer, it is no surprise that Robert Cecil likewise employed members of the Royal Works in building Hatfield House in 1607-12, a fact known through the survival of detailed documentation. Plasterwork was carried out by Richard Dungan and then by his successor, James Leigh, who was the King's Master Plasterer between 1610 and c. 1624/5. Leigh's work included the ceiling of the long gallery (Fig. 63), which has been said to be 'more expensive than those he provided for the privy gallery at Somerset House and the queen's new gallery at Greenwich'; Leigh was working at these palaces during (and after) the building of Hatfield, in c. 1609-16.[43] Another figure active at Hatfield was Maximilian Colt, who in 1608 was appointed to the newly created office of Master Sculptor or Master Carver to the King.[44] His work for Cecil – undertaken between c. 1609 and c. 1611 – comprised at least three chimneypieces, including that bearing the imposing figure of James I in the king's great chamber (Fig. 64). Colt also carried out work at palaces including Greenwich and Somerset House, and produced funerary monuments such as those to Robert Cecil in Hatfield church (c. 1614-c. 1618) and Sir Anthony and Grace Mildmay in the church at Apethorpe (1621). Others involved at Hatfield were the painter Rowland Buckett (who had carried out work for Queen Elizabeth in 1599-1600), the carver John Bucke (who went

[42] Although the accounts are not specific, Dungan is thought to have worked in all the state rooms at Knole, together with the great hall, great stairs and the loggia on the ground floor of the south range.

[43] Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 82. It can be no coincidence that so many of Cecil's chosen workmen appeared, in particular, at Somerset House. Not only was the building carried out contemporaneously, but Cecil served as keeper of the palace on the Strand. Simon Thurley has stated that 'Until his death in 1612 Robert Cecil … was the most powerful influence on Somerset House': Thurley 2009, p. 35

[44] For more on Colt, see: White 1999, pp. 27-32

on to execute carved work at Somerset House in 1612-13), and Jeremy Talcott, who served as the King's Master Bricklayer between 1609 and 1615.[45]

The designer of Hatfield is known to have been Robert Lyminge, Liming or Lemyinge.[46] He also acted as clerk of the works on site, and was responsible for designing the gardens, in collaboration with Salomon de Caus, another royal workman. Additionally, it is thought that professional advice was provided by Simon Basil, Comptroller of the Royal Works in 1597-1606 and then Surveyor until his death in 1615.[47] A further contributor to the design of Hatfield may have been Inigo Jones, Basil's successor as Surveyor to the King, who was paid £10 in February 1610 for 'drawinge of some Architecture' and who visited the site in autumn of that year.[48]

Cranborne Manor House was another project of Robert Cecil but, presumably because it was so far removed from his bases in London and Hertfordshire, its rebuilding seems to have involved a different set of craftsmen. The surveyor was a local man, albeit one of great significance and skill: William Arnold.[49] Earlier, he is thought to have designed Montacute House, Somerset, built in the 1590s for Sir Edward Phelips, and was certainly responsible for Wadham College, Oxford (1610-13), and the H-plan house at Dunster Castle, Somerset (1617). Contributions from a distance were easier; in 1609/10 the King's

[45] Wells-Cole 1997, pp. 213-6; TNA E351/3247, f. 9v

[46] Stone 1955, p. 103. Very little is known about Lyminge's life, though Lawrence Stone notes that he may have come from Northamptonshire, there being a John Lyming living at Deene in 1612: ibid, p. 104. If this was the case, it is probable that he would have been familiar with the Thorpes of Kingscliffe, not far from Deene.

[47] Stone 1955, p. 103. Basil had also overseen work at what became known as Salisbury House, on the south side of the Strand, built in phases between 1599 and 1612, and supervised Cecil's building of the New Exchange ('Britain's Burse'), Strand, in 1608-9; the workforce on these buildings included Robert Lyminge, Maximilian Colt, Richard Dungan, Rowland Buckett, John Bucke and John de Critz. For Salisbury House, see: Manolo Guerci, 'Salisbury House in London, 1599-1694: The Strand Palace of Sir Robert Cecil', *Architectural History*, vol. 52 (2009), especially pp. 35-6

[48] CP Accounts 160/1, f. 72, and Stone 1955, p. 118. Traditionally, Jones's contribution is thought to have focused on the stone frontispiece of the south front, with its clock tower: Stone 1955, pp. 118-9; Colvin 1995, p. 555 and p. 560. I am grateful to Gordon Higgott for discussing this matter with me.

[49] Arnold was paid £5 in December 1609 for 'drawing of a plott for Cranborne house': CP Accounts 160/1 and Cranborne Papers Supplement, vol. 3, p. 289. For a full discussion of Arnold, see: Girouard 2009, pp. 389-406

Sergeant Painter, John de Critz, was paid for 'makeing up yr lo picture wch went to Cranborne'.[50]

Of the workmen responsible for Audley End nothing is known. However, they are very likely to have included representatives from the Royal Works, especially from the months around Thomas Howard's appointment as Lord Treasurer in 1614. Apparently, Howard told James I that, including the building, decoration and furnishing, Audley End had cost him £200,000.[51] Such a vast sum – Hatfield, with the gardens and park, cost just under £40,000 – implies work of the highest quality.[52] This is borne out by surviving features; Claire Gapper has noted that, 'The wonderful array of surviving Jacobean plasterwork in the state apartments intended for royal occupation, probably provides the best impression of the nature of the contribution made by plasterwork to the lost royal palace interiors of Somerset House and Greenwich'.[53] She has compared the plasterwork at Audley End to that in the long gallery at Charlton Park – also built by the Suffolks – and suggests the same likely workman: James Leigh, Master Plasterer to the King.[54]

Of the workmen employed at Bramshill little can be said,[55] but of the Jacobean rebuilding of Blickling Hall our knowledge is much fuller, thanks to surviving documentation. It is particularly interesting to find that the name of Robert Lyminge reappears: on his death in 1628, he was described as Blickling's

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[50] CP Cranborne Papers Supplement, vol. 3, p. 289

[51] Braybrooke 1836, p. 83. In the account of the Prince of Wirtemberg's visit to England in 1610, it was noted that Audley End, not yet finished, 'has cost 100,000 pounds sterling, and it is supposed that the remainder will not come to less': Rye 1865, p. 64. The very scale of building at Audley End may be linked to the loss of contemporary accounts. The widow of the last (10th) Earl of Suffolk – Sarah, Dowager Countess of Suffolk (d. 1776) – apparently stated that 'she had always understood that when £100,000 had been expended in erecting the house, all the documents relating to the subject were destroyed, and no regular accounts afterwards kept': Braybrooke 1836, p. 83. Howard's supposed embezzlement of public funds may have been a motive, as may the fear of further criticism regarding extravagance.

[52] Stone 1955, p. 128

[53] Gapper 1998 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 450

[54] Ibid and pers. comm. (Claire Gapper). As the first phase of work at Audley End seems to have been complete by c. 1609, and Charlton was well underway by that time (it was begun in c. 1607 and largely complete by 1613), the plasterwork may even pre-date that carried out by Leigh at Hatfield.

[55] The only workmen known to have been active at Bramshill are the mason Richard Goodridge and the painter Thomas Selby. The latter's bill survives: Cope 1883, pp. 121-5; Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix H. Goodridge is mentioned in letters of Sir Edward Zouche: Hills 1984, pp. 37-8. He also carried out work at St John's College, Oxford (in c. 1617).

'architect and builder'; there can be little doubt that his work at Hatfield had made him in demand as a designer. The master mason at Blickling was Thomas Thorpe, son of the mason John Thorpe – thought to have been the builder of Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire – and brother of another John, the well-known surveyor. Thomas had been employed as a mason at the palaces of Eltham and Whitehall, so had first-hand experience of the Royal Works; such experience seems to have been shared by the bricklayer at Blickling, Thomas Styles.[56] Blickling's highly elaborate plasterwork was executed by Edward Stanyon, who was on site by 1620, while other workmen included Rowland Buckett.[57]

Through a study of the masons' marks at Apethorpe Hall, it has been convincingly argued that the workshop of the mason Thomas Thorpe was involved in the rebuilding carried out, at the King's command, between 1622 and 1624.[58] Meanwhile, Claire Gapper has – by comparing the form of the ceilings with those at Blickling – suggested that Apethorpe's Jacobean plasterwork was the work of Edward Stanyon.[59] Thus, some of the most important members of Blickling's workforce moved from Norfolk to Northamptonshire in the early 1620s, serving two different patrons – Sir Henry Hobart and Sir Francis Fane – both well-established at court. The fact that Kingscliffe, the Thorpe family base, was the next village to Apethorpe may mean that other members of the Thorpe family were involved – perhaps even John, in whose book there is a unidentified drawing which resembles the Jacobean east front of Apethorpe Hall.[60]

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[56] Summerson 1966, p. 4; Summerson 1990, p. 22; Blickling Guide, pp. 15-16. A Thomas Styles is named several times in the accounts of the Royal Works, and is presumed to be the same man, although he carried out work as a mason rather than a bricklayer (regularly teaming up with Edmund Kinsman). Styles worked, for instance, at Somerset House in 1613-14 (TNA E351/3248, f. 8v) and at Greenwich in 1615-16 (E351/3250, f. 10v). Apparently, both Thorpe and Styles finished their work at Blickling in 1621: Blickling Guide, p. 16

[57] Gapper 2008, p. 100; Blickling Guide, p. 20

[58] Alexander and Morrison 2007

[59] Gapper 2008, p. 87 and pp. 100-101. Stanyon was born in Nassington, the parish in which Apethorpe Hall stands.

[60] The drawing shows 'The garden syde lodgings below & gallery above' of an unidentified house: Summerson 1966, p. 76 (T108). John Summerson commented on the likeness to Apethorpe. Thorpe was certainly active in the area, overseeing the building of a gallery for the 6th Earl of Rutland at nearby Belvoir in 1625-7: Summerson 1966, p. 11

It is almost certain that John Thorpe designed Aston Hall,[61] while in the accounts relating to the 1630s rebuilding of Castle Ashby prominent workmen appear yet again. Painting and gilding work was carried out by Rowland Buckett – who had worked at Hatfield and Blickling – while a payment was made in 1630 to Thomas Bagley, the King's Chief Glazier from 1613/14 until his death in 1634.[62] Cleophas Hearne – a member of the Royal Works – served as bricklayer at Castle Ashby in 1630, while plasterwork was undertaken in 1630-5 by James Leigh, possibly a relation of the plasterer of the same name who had been so active until the mid-1620s.[63]

From this account, it will be evident that there were strong links between the houses under study, and that these links extended to Jacobean royal palaces. Stylistically, these groups of buildings (private and royal) must have resembled each other – in detail, if not in overall composition – for so many workmen moved between the two. It cannot be said that royal palaces set the trend in all cases, especially as no large-scale royal works were underway in England before the commencement of building at Audley End, Knole, Bramshill and Hatfield. It seems more likely that there was a continual dialogue and interplay, contributing to a Jacobean court style, formed by King James, Queen Anne, their noblemen and courtiers. The vocabulary of this style evolved with each new building venture and was sensitive to changing ideas regarding the appearance of state and private rooms.

The Coming of the Stuarts, Ampthill and the Symmetrical Plan

For Jacobean courtiers and noblemen, the outlook on building and remodelling country houses is likely to have been rather different from that of the second

[61] For more on this, see, in particular: Fairclough 1989
[62] WCRO CR 556/274, ff. 15-16
[63] Ibid, ff. 15-16, f. 28, f. 113 and f. 118v. I am grateful to Claire Gapper for discussing with me the identification of this James Leigh. Others involved at Castle Ashby included Andrew Kern, the German brother-in-law of Nicholas Stone, the King's Master Mason, who supplied a chimneypiece at some point between 1634 and 1638: WCRO CR 556/274, f. 102v. The designer of the new south (entrance) screen – consisting of loggia and first-floor long gallery – is thought to have been Edward Carter, deputy to Inigo Jones at St Paul's between 1633 and 1641 and Surveyor of the King's Works in 1643-53: Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire – I', *Country Life*, 30 January 1986, pp. 249-50; Heward and Taylor 1996, p. 133. The accounts record a payment to 'Cartor Surveyor' in 1631: WCRO CR 556/274, f. 49

half of the 1500s, when Queen Elizabeth was – with the exception of a few favourite stopping points – liable to arrive almost anywhere, with little or no notice. From the 1580s, when her progresses declined in frequency and scale, most owners must have given up on the idea of building state apartments worthy of receiving royalty. Of the 29 houses studied in Chapter 4, the only examples where sixteenth-century building (or rebuilding) was initiated after 1585 are Hardwick Old and New Halls, Cobham Hall and Loseley Park, and only the last mentioned house was visited by Queen Elizabeth between that year and her death.[64]

The accession of James I offered a new incentive for the building of adequate state rooms. Not only was the King known to be a lover of progresses, and a man of regularity in his habits, but there was the prospect – if he himself did not come – of a visit by the Queen and/or the Prince of Wales. The creation of appropriate state apartments was, in this context, an excellent gamble, especially where they were built by figures in favour at court. The arrival of a royal family in England – the first since the death of Henry VIII in 1547 – was, therefore, a vital impetus for building. James and Anne's known interest in architecture would have presented an extra (probably welcome) challenge, as would their knowledge of other lands and cultures. Rooms of poor quality, hastily constructed, would no longer do. Apartments had to be more permanent, accomplished and spacious, allowing for the reception – where possible – of at least two members of the royal family, together with members of their households and courts.

As it was increasingly understood that James would be Elizabeth's successor, English courtiers and members of the nobility would no doubt have been keen to ascertain the Stuart royal family's architectural preferences – what they expected of their palaces, and ideally, of the houses in which they were entertained. The most obvious focus would have been Scotland and, to a lesser extent, Denmark. However, of the former, as has been shown in Chapter 2,

[64] Alterations were carried out at Loseley in c. 1600; Queen Elizabeth visited in 1601, having been before in 1576, 1583 and 1591. Both of the Queen's visits to Cobham Hall – in 1559 and 1573 – pre-dated the great rebuilding of the 1580s and 1590s. She never went to Hardwick.

there seems to have been little that would inspire early seventeenth-century builders in England. On the whole, James VI lived in a series of palaces which pre-dated the death of his grandfather, James V, in 1542. Neither of the major works which the King carried out in Scotland – the building of Stirling's chapel royal in 1594 (see Fig. 33) and the Queen's House at Dunfermline in 1600 – was especially relevant to the English country house. This is also true of Denmark, which (as is discussed in Chapter 2, see pp. 76-78) seems primarily to have influenced the use and accessibility of James VI's state rooms in Scotland, rather than their architectural plan.

Given this situation, courtiers and noblemen must have looked anxiously for signs of the new King and Queen's tastes and reactions following their arrival in England in 1603. The first major expression of James I's architectural ideals – what he expected of a royal palace in England – came with the proposed rebuilding of Ampthill, Bedfordshire; this had been a royal property since 1524, and formal plans for its remodelling were initiated in 1605.[65] The importance of Ampthill can hardly be overstated: it represented James's first (and, as it proved, only) opportunity at putting his theories and ideals into practice by planning a royal building of this scale.

The proposed palace at Ampthill was to have a very specific purpose. In September 1605, the Lord Treasurer, Thomas Sackville, wrote to the officers of the Royal Works about the King's 'express pleasure' for the building of:

> a fitt and convenient house … in which his Maiestie may be lodged, though not in State, yet sufficient to serve for the injoying of his pleasures of *Huntinge* and *Hawkinge* by the attendance of all such necessarie officers and no more as are requisite for his Roiall person to have.[66]

The Queen and Prince were also to be provided with accommodation, 'not lodgings of State but lodgings of necessitie', as were the key members of the royal household, including the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Treasurer.[67]

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[65] For more on Ampthill, see: HKW 1975, pp. 40-47; Girouard 1970; and Girouard 2009, p. 116 and p. 119
[66] HMC Salisbury, vol. 17, p. 349; HKW 1975, p. 45
[67] Ibid

Sackville concluded his letter with a note stating that he had written 'to a very excelent surveyor Mr Thorpe who shall not only survey it [Ampthill] but make verie faier plots thereof'.[68]

A number of plans related to the project survive. There is a sketch plan in the archives at Hatfield, dated 1605, which almost certainly represents a proposal for Ampthill (Fig. 65).[69] The *History of the King's Works* notes that, 'For this date it is a remarkably classical conception, but amateurishly rendered'.[70] However, there seems to be nothing amateur about the work; the plan has been hastily drawn, but the hand is extremely confident, and – based on research carried out for this thesis – I would suggest that it is almost certainly that of Simon Basil, Comptroller of the Office of Works in 1597-1606 and Surveyor in 1606-15.[71] The plan shows a symmetrically arranged building with one large outer courtyard, entered through a gatehouse and containing a great number of lodgings. The inner half of the building is ranged around four small courtyards, with a double-height hall aligned on the entrance axis. The state apartments – queen's on the left and king's on the right – are accessed via matching great staircases and enclose the innermost courtyards. Aside from the hall, they are the only rooms named on the plan, though damage to the document renders some of them illegible. The suites each include presence chamber, privy/withdrawing chamber, (probably) bedchamber and stool room, and coffer chamber, placed adjacent to a back staircase – rather a surprisingly full set, given the palace was intended for 'necessitie' rather than 'state'. There are also twin long galleries – divided from each other by a portico – and adjacent closets in an unusual position, between hall and portico.[72]

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[68] HKW 1975, p. 46
[69] CPM Supp. 37 (CP III/I). See: Skelton and Summerson 1971, p. 144
[70] HKW 1975, p. 46
[71] This attribution appears to be confirmed by comparing the sketch plan with drawings by Basil such as those published in: A. P. Baggs, 'Two Designs by Simon Basil', *Architectural History*, vol. 27 (1984), pp. 104-110. I am very grateful to Robin Harcourt Williams and Gordon Higgott for assisting me in analysing this plan and the handwriting. If the concept of the plan was also Basil's, then his reputation is certainly ripe for reassessment. In general, his importance has been side-lined – Simon Thurley, for example, states that his 'talents were largely managerial and administrative rather than artistic' (Thurley 2009, p. 34), while the *History of the King's Works* states that 'Basil was a creature of the Cecils, a man probably of much competence but no great talent' (HKW 1975, p. 107).
[72] It is unclear whether the suites are at ground- or first-floor level. The latter seems most likely – especially given the presence of large staircases at the upper end of the hall – but assumes that

This sketch plan is thought to be the basis for two plans of Ampthill, of ground and first floors, which survive in the book of John Thorpe (Fig. 66).[73] These differ in detail from the plan discussed above, but are broadly similar, showing a courtyard house with symmetrical apartments for king and queen. There is a main courtyard, plus two inner courtyards and a smaller court or lightwell behind the hall. The two inner courts are divided by a double-height hall – again, aligned on the entrance axis – and by matching great staircases, adjacent to the small lightwell. These rise to the first-floor apartments – queen's on the left, king's on the right – while back staircases are contained within projecting turrets on the outer sides. The rooms of the apartments are unnamed and cannot be identified with certainty, though they clearly began with presence chambers, on either side of the upper hall. On the far (inner) side of the suites, two long galleries are placed end-to-end in a single range.

There are, in addition, plans among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield which show the ground and first floors of a house of an even more obviously classical conception (Fig. 67).[74] These are untitled but are dated September 1605; as Mark Girouard has stated, 'there can be little doubt of their connection with the Ampthill project'.[75] Girouard has described the work as 'the most inventive and enjoyable palace plan ever produced in England … a witty and ingenious conflation of English, French and Italian plan forms, carried out with the greatest

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the two floor levels have been conflated onto a single plan. This was not unusual; for instance, Thorpe seems to have contained information about more than one floor on his plans of the ground and second storeys of Northampton House, Strand; see: Guerci 2010, p. 40

[73] Summerson 1966, p. 108 (plates 120-1: T271-2 and T267-8). In June 1606, a warrant was issued for payment to Thorpe for 'drawing down and writeing fair the plottes' of Holdenby, Ampthill and Burghley: HKW 1975, p. 46

[74] CPM II/8 and II/17. See: Skelton and Summerson 1971, p. 85. The plans are reproduced in: Girouard 1970, p. 13, and Girouard 2009, p. 120

[75] Girouard 1970, p. 13. More recently, Mark Girouard has revised this view, stating that 'The date suggests it was an alternative project for Ampthill, but it could have been a first project for Audley End', and notes that he 'would not now agree with my tentative attribution of the designs to Simon Basil', made in 1970: Girouard 2009, p. 119 and note on pp. 469-70. I would agree that the designs are probably not by Simon Basil, but the association with Audley End seems highly unlikely. As Paul Drury has pointed out (see note 13), work is likely to have been underway at Audley End by spring 1605 at the latest, meaning that design work would have been carried out in 1603-4. Also, the plans in the Hatfield archive are notable in not including a great hall – an omission which, though acceptable in a royal palace, would have been unthinkable in a private country house of this date.

panache'.[76] The plans illustrate a building of single large courtyard, with diagonally aligned corner pavilions. The state apartments, at first-floor level, are again accessed by separate staircases and are symmetrically arranged, filling the parallel outer sides of the courtyard. At their inner end is a wing containing two long galleries, placed back-to-back (though divided by staircases), one facing inward and the other outward. It is difficult to identify the individual rooms of the state suites – which alternate between courtyard and outer sides – but it is probable that the bedchambers were lit by the second (innermost) square bay windows, about two thirds of the way along the parallel ranges. The corner pavilions could then have functioned as additional lodgings, perhaps for members of the royal family and/or royal attendants.[77] The ground floor – like the corner pavilions – probably contained lodgings, while the projecting wings on the entrance front may have included service rooms.

At the very least, these plans would have reached the eyes of King James, Queen Anne and their closest household officials, including the two successive Lord Treasurers of the period – Thomas Sackville (who commissioned the work) and Robert Cecil (in whose collection three of the plans survive). The project as a whole must have excited a great deal of interest and it is almost certain that, through such officials, details of the plans (if not copies of the drawings themselves) would have circulated, especially among those courtiers interested in architecture. In this way, the planned rebuilding at Ampthill would have exerted an influence on architecture of the Jacobean period, especially on houses – like Hatfield – initiated in the years 1605-7, though it should be noted that the various Ampthill plans all seem to post-date the commencement of work at Audley End (at least that of the first phase). Indeed, it is possible that, in this case, the influence spread the other way, the plan of Audley End inspiring those proposed for Ampthill.

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[76] Girouard 2009, p. 120

[77] I am not convinced by Mark Girouard's assertion that these corner pavilions contained 'the royal bedchambers, and other inner royal accommodation, grouped round a circular lobby', and that the large rooms in the side ranges comprised presence, privy and withdrawing chambers, linking 'the bedchamber end' to the staircases (Girouard 2009, p. 120). The sketch plan at Hatfield (almost certainly an alternative plan for Ampthill) clearly shows that one room in each suite was to serve for both withdrawing and privy chamber, which would mean the third large room in the side ranges was probably the bedchamber, an assertion strengthened by the presence of an adjacent back stair; no staircases are contained within the corner pavilions.

In the end, no new palace at Ampthill was built – partly, one suspects, on account of the already huge commitments of the Royal Works and the stringency of Robert Cecil, who took over as Lord Treasurer in April 1608. Instead, the King's attention shifted to another building: Theobalds, completed in 1585 by Lord Burghley and, following his death in 1598, the home of Robert Cecil. The house was clearly a favourite with James I, and in 1607 the King and Cecil reached a deal: Theobalds would be exchanged for the royal manor of Hatfield. The document formalising this transfer noted that Theobalds was 'a place so convenient for his Mats princelie sportes and recreacon, and so comodious for the residence of his highnes Court, & entertainement of forraine princes, or there Ambassadors upon all occasions, as his Matie hath taken great liking thereunto'.[78]

This transfer gave new relevance to Theobalds; despite the fact that it had been completed a generation earlier, with Queen Elizabeth in mind, it clearly pleased the Stuart royal family just as well.[79] Certainly, Theobalds remained an inspiration. For instance, the panelling of the king's presence chamber (great chamber) – known through a drawing of 1618 by John Smythson – was the source for that in the State Drawing Room (principal great chamber) at Bramshill, the long gallery at Hatfield and the pillar parlour of Bolsover's Little Castle.[80] The planning of Theobalds was also of continuing influence – the general arrangement of the state apartments seems to have been followed at

[78] TNA C89/10/55. Cecil may have been moved, in part, by the knowledge that the transfer would deflect the King's attention from Ampthill, and this proved to be the case. The project was given up, its potential cost perhaps referred to, indirectly, in the document of exchange, which notes 'how great a charge the building of such a howse [Theobalds] would amount unto, besides the expence of tyme before his highnes could have use thereof': ibid

[79] Assertions that Theobalds was out-moded by the early seventeenth century must, therefore, be treated with caution; for instance, Malcolm Airs's statement that 'the vogue for prodigy houses was over and the inescapable conclusion must be that the example given by Theobalds was not followed by the next generation of builders. Indeed, the whole purpose of Theobalds died with William Cecil, Lord Burghley and his intimate relationship with his queen': Airs 2002, pp. 16-17. This thesis as a whole sets out to argue that this is far from being the case, in the context of James's regular progresses.

[80] For a discussion of this panelling, see: Summerson 1959, p. 123. It does not seem to have been in place at Theobalds in 1592, and was repainted and regilded in 1610-11. Summerson suggests it was put in by Robert Cecil after the death of his father in 1598 and before the house became royal property in 1607.

Bramshill, for example (see p. 280) – as was that of Holdenby, another house which found favour with the Stuart court.

These native influences met with another increasingly significant source of inspiration: the buildings of France and Italy, known through plans and drawings published in books such as Sebastiano Serlio's *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura et Prospettiva* (five of the seven planned books were published before his death, between 1537 and 1550), Andrea Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (1570) and J. A. du Cerceau's two volumes, *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France* (1576 and 1579). Such publications had already exerted an influence on houses of the Elizabethan period.[81] Nevertheless, as symmetry was one of the key principles in continental plans, their effect on the state apartment during the reign of an unmarried monarch was limited, and only really caught hold from 1603 onwards.[82] By this point, as there were a king and a queen to accommodate, 'complete balance was appropriate'.[83]

The speed with which this concept was applied to country houses – and, perhaps, the wider influence of the Ampthill plans – is exemplified by a letter of May 1607, written from Sir Charles Cavendish to his mother, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury. With it, he enclosed a 'plat', which represented a house he felt to be convenient, 'fair' and 'easy', 'the great chamber at the first height and all the principal lodgings at the same height. The one side may be a fit lodging for the King, the other for the Queen, and both to use the gallery'.[84] Earlier, between about 1600 and 1603, John Thorpe had produced a ground plan showing a proposed rebuilding of Buckhurst, Thomas Sackville's house in Sussex. According to the plan – which was unexecuted – the house was to

[81] For instance, John Summerson has suggested that Henry Hawthorne's plan of the Conduit Court at Theobalds derived from Serlio's plan of the Poggio Reale, Naples – making it 'the first English house plan we know to be based directly on an Italian prototype' – and Mark Girouard has noted that Wollaton's symmetrical plan 'was clearly inspired by plans in du Cerceau, and possibly also in Palladio, but adapted to English usage': Summerson 1959, p. 113; Girouard 1983, p. 104. For more on the influence of Serlio, see: Girouard 2009, pp. 139-141

[82] Of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, Anthony Wells-Cole has noted that the 'Elizabethans clearly were not ready for it, and there is little evidence that it exerted much influence' until the Jacobean period: Wells-Cole 1997, p. 18. On the other hand, John Thorpe 'was clearly aware of Serlio and Palladio, Hans Blum and Vignola', as well as works by de Vries, while William Arnold repeatedly drew upon continental sources: ibid, p. 134 and p. 153

[83] Girouard 1983, p. 104

[84] HMC Salisbury, vol. 19, p. 120

have a ‘lord’s side’ (on the right, at the high end of the hall) and a ‘lady’s side’ (on the left). Above the lodgings in the entrance range, there was one or perhaps two long galleries; it is possible that these were arranged end-to-end, as in the sketch plan thought to depict Ampthill (see Fig. 65).[85]

For readers of continental treatises, the concept of internal symmetry would have come through strongly, as would the practice of diversifying the shapes and sizes of rooms and staircases. In particular, Ampthill and Audley End – one envisaged, the other built – clearly show the influence of such books.[86] For instance, both make bold use of loggias and galleries; the form of the porticoes in the Basil and Thorpe drawings relating to Ampthill (see Figs 65 and 66) seems to derive directly from Palladio. However, it could be argued that, on the whole, the books of Palladio, Serlio, du Cerceau and others were less influential on English house planning during the Jacobean period than on the design of façades and external and internal decoration.[87] Certainly, the general plan forms of the state apartments in the houses under study do not appear to derive from such publications. Instead, the planning of such suites seems to be a direct development of a native tradition, though they were increasingly affected by the changing fashions concerning external design. Thus, the houses under study are, in many ways, hybrids, and mark a transitional point in architectural history – they look back to the house plan of the Tudor period and also forward to the classically styled buildings of the later seventeenth century.

[85] For the plan of Buckhurst, and its possible influence on Hatfield, see: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, pp. 71-3. The unexecuted John Thorpe plan of Burley-on-the-Hill seems also to reveal a house with parallel state apartments, although as only the ground floor is shown and there are no annotations to serve as clues, it is impossible to be certain. For this plan, see: Summerson 1966, plate 49 (T105 and T106)

[86] Paul Drury was the first to point out the close resemblance between the gatehouse and internal elevations of the outer court of Audley End and drawings of the Château of Verneuil, published by du Cerceau in 1576: Drury 1980, p. 20

[87] Of Palladio’s four books, only the second is relevant to planning, containing as it does designs of houses. Likewise, of the five books of Serlio, which were first published in England in 1611, only one (the third) relates to house planning.

The New Form of the State Apartment and the Process of Change

Given the advance of architectural knowledge, and the known practices and interests of the Stuart court, it might be assumed that the course of building the great house in the early seventeenth century was straightforward. However, this was not necessarily the case. Of the nine buildings under study, only three were newly built: Audley End (if one assumes that the previous house on the site did not significantly influence the plan), Hatfield House and Aston Hall. It is known that two of these, Audley End and Hatfield, were built in phases, and it is probable that this was the case with Aston Hall also; construction was underway for at least 17 years, and possibly longer.[88]

Such phased work could be taken to reflect a continued development of the country house plan. However, it seems to relate more closely to issues of rank and wealth. Hatfield is a particularly interesting example of this. The house was begun by Sir Robert Cecil in summer 1607, on a new site located adjacent to the late medieval buildings of the former episcopal and royal palace. By 1608, the main and partition walls had been erected up to and above first-floor level. However, in that year, Cecil seems to have experienced a change of heart; in August, two large load-bearing walls were demolished, along with partitions.[89] According to Lawrence Stone, the alterations focused on the two projecting wings which now contain the parallel state apartments.[90] Probably, the southern walls of these were removed, allowing the construction of new, wider southern blocks.[91] The plan of these ranges, as completed in 1612 (see Fig. 76), included rooms placed triple-pile, providing an expanded inner area to both state

[88] Aston Hall was begun in April 1618, and the family took up residence in May 1631. It is said to have been completed in April 1635 but, in his will of 1637, Sir Thomas Holte allocated funds for the finishing of his 'newe erected house', and in 1640 told the Privy Council that he 'hath a house to finish, and to furnish': Fairclough 1984, pp. 65-6, and Aston Hall Conservation Plan (unpubl.), p. 11

[89] Stone 1955, p. 111

[90] Ibid, p. 113. Stone suggests that, as originally conceived, these wings were to resemble those at houses such as Wimbledon – built c. 1588 by Robert's half-brother, Sir Thomas Cecil – in being straight and regular. The rebuilding of 1608 involved the relocation of the chapel; the bricklayer's bill for work up to 1610 refers to 'the new Chappell' and 'the ould Chapel' (ibid, p. 111). Stone proposes that the chapel was initially positioned in the east wing, and that its removal may have reflected a decision 'to leave the whole of the east wing clear for the private apartments': ibid, p. 113

[91] Ibid, p. 113

apartments, plus additional lodgings. At the southern corners of each wing were towers, which Stone also sees as an adaptation of the earlier design.[92]

It could be argued that this important change to Hatfield's plan reflected the continued development of the state apartment in the early seventeenth century – signifying, in particular, that an adequate number of inner state rooms was, from c. 1608, considered essential in country houses of Hatfield's class. It could also be argued – and this line of reasoning was adopted by Lawrence Stone – that the change of plan reflected Robert Cecil's rise in status.[93] Following the death of Thomas Sackville in April 1608, Cecil was appointed Lord Treasurer. The prospect of a royal visit – always a strong possibility – became even more assured from that point, and Cecil must also have been aware of expectations that his new status would be reflected in his house.[94]

Paul Drury has argued convincingly that Audley End was likewise built in phases, although it is unclear how this affected the two state apartments. Work on the house, begun in c. 1604, seems to have focused initially on the inner court, and then, after c. 1609, proceeded to the outer court, being largely complete by 1614 (Fig. 68).[95] This analysis is based on the evidence of the fabric and of John Thorpe's ground plan, of c. 1610 (Fig. 69). There are differences between the latter and the house as it was known to have been completed; for instance, the twin porches of the hall range – certainly Jacobean work – are not shown on the plan. Drury asserts that Thorpe's plan does not

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[92] Ibid. Stone notes that it is 'extremely improbable that the twin towers at the ends of the wings were part of the original design, where they would have been much too close together. There may have been intended only a single tower at each side, towards the inner court, or more probably no tower at all but merely little turrets on the tops of the wings at the corners, as at Audley End'.

[93] Ibid. Stone notes that a similar change of plan took place at Theobalds following Lord Burghley's appointment as Lord Treasurer in 1572.

[94] That the scale of a nobleman's house reflected his place in the world is borne out by the famous dialogue between Elizabeth I and Sir Nicolas Bacon. During a visit to Bacon's house at Gorhambury in 1572, the Queen remarked, 'My Lord Keeper, you have made your House too little for you', eliciting the following response from her host: 'Not so Madam, but your Majesty has made me too big for my House': Grimston 1821, p. 17. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Thomas Fuller saw two of the greatest Elizabethan houses in the same light, stating that 'whoso seriously compareth the state of Holdenby with Burghley will dispute with himself whether the offices of Lord Chancellor or Treasurer of England be of greater revenues; seeing that Holdenby may be said to show the Seal and Burghley the Purse in their respective magnificence'; quoted in: Dunlop 1962, p. 123

[95] Drury 1980, p. 22; Drury and Gow 1984, p. 51

show the house as completed, but is, in fact, a survey of the inner court, and a design for the addition of the outer.[96] This is borne out by an investigation of the house itself: the porches seem to be of a slightly later date than the range they adjoin, while the turrets over the west ends of the state ranges seem also to have been added at this time.[97] According to Drury, these alterations served to soften the contrast between the 'relative austerity' of the existing inner court and the new outer court.[98]

It is possible that the addition of Audley End's outer court, between c. 1609 and 1614, also involved changes to the internal arrangements of the inner court; certainly, internal work was still underway, for in 1613 the Duke of Saxe-Weimar noted that the long gallery 'was not then finished'.[99] There has long been doubt over whether a great stair was ever built at the south end of the hall, as intended, in the space topped by a surviving Jacobean plaster ceiling. My hypothesis is that such a stair was built, and at about this period.[100] It was probably removed at some point in the mid-seventeenth century – perhaps because of damage or, as Paul Drury has suggested, collapse due to a daring method of construction.[101] It could, perhaps, have been the earliest open-well cantilevered staircase in the country, built in timber on a grand scale, and therefore highly experimental for its time.[102]

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[96] Drury 1980, p. 17

[97] Drury 1980, p. 15; Drury and Gow, p. 47

[98] Drury 1980, p. 20. It seems highly likely that the porches were added for aesthetic rather than functional reasons. It has been stated that Audley End 'was entered by way of two porches, the one to the south for the king, the one to the north for the queen': ed. Kate Jeffrey, *Audley End* (English Heritage guidebook, 2002 edition), p. 30. They may have represented the house's two sides – the tympanum of the north doorway included a symbol of Peace, and that on the south a symbol of War – but both apartments are likely to have been accessed in the traditional way: via the screens passage and (for the occupant of the south suite) great hall. During the house's years as a royal palace, the area behind the south porch – the 'void' of the great staircase – was converted into 'a roome for the Queenes waiters to eat in', and access via the porch would therefore seem inappropriate: TNA Work 5/12 (1668/9)

[99] Rye 1865, p. 250 (note 97)

[100] Such a staircase is shown in pencil on Thorpe's plan, though it did not exist in this position in 1669, after the house had been adopted as a royal palace. Seeming to support the premise of its construction is a comment made by John Evelyn; in 1654, he described Audley End as 'being compleately finished', a statement unlikely to have been made in the absence of a suitable ascent to the main state rooms; quoted in: Braybrooke 1836, pp. 85-6

[101] Pers. comm. I am very grateful to Paul Drury for discussing this with me.

[102] For a discussion of such staircases, see: Girouard 2009, pp. 368-371. There are no surviving cantilvered open-well staircases dating from before the Jacobean period; the earliest known to have been built is the staircase at Knole (of c. 1605-7), while the earliest continuous newel staircases are, notably, at Audley End (the two timber stairs at the west ends of the state

Whilst this later phase of work begun at Audley End in c. 1609 may always have been envisaged, it may also represent an expansion of the works as initially planned.[103] That its timing ties in closely with the change of plan at Hatfield is probably coincidental, and the nature of the change is seemingly different. At Audley End, the addition of the outer court – with its numerous lodgings – may have been inspired by the increasingly ambitious progresses of the King, and by the plans of Ampthill, certainly in existence by 1606. It is also probable that, as at Hatfield, the enlargement related to wealth and status.[104] By c. 1608/9, both the Earl of Suffolk and his uncle, the Earl of Northampton, had become more important, ambitious and financially secure.[105]

Bramshill is another house which was built in phases. The first Jacobean campaign seems to date from 1605-12. This may have been begun on a modest scale – an assertion strengthened by the evidence of the inventory of 1607, which lists no obvious state apartment – becoming more advanced in the second decade of the seventeenth century.[106] In October 1608, Lord Zouche apparently did not consider his house fit for habitation, and interior work was still ongoing in 1615-17.[107] It was surely largely complete before the royal visit of late summer 1620 (if not for the French Ambassador's visit of 1617), though the

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ranges, of c. 1605). John Thorpe is known to have been interested in complex staircase design, many examples appearing in his book of drawings. If he designed the great stair at Audley End, it is very likely that it was ambitious and may have proved unsound.

[103] It is interesting that Sarah, Dowager Countess of Suffolk (d. 1776) apparently stated that the building was completed in three years: Braybrooke 1836, p. 83. Lord Braybrooke regarded this as fanciful, but – in the light of Drury's findings – it now seems possible, implying that work was finished in c. 1607 and then reinitiated.

[104] Paul Drury has confirmed this notion, stating that 'At some point, perhaps around 1608 or 1609, when this building [the inner court] was well advanced, his [Suffolk's] conceit or ambition seems to have grown to the point where he did not feel that it was adequate to his station': Drury 1980, p. 22

[105] In 1608, Suffolk became linked to Robert Cecil and Hatfield – by the marriage of his daughter Catherine to Cecil's eldest son, William, Lord Cranborne. The Earl of Northampton, for his part, was convinced that he would be appointed Lord Treasurer after Robert Cecil. Although this proved not to be the case, he took control of the business of government from 1612 and led the six commissioners who were responsible for the Treasury. It is also notable that, from March 1608, Northampton held a hugely lucrative monopoly on imported and English-made starch.

[106] TNA C108/189. For a transcription of the inventory, see: Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix A. For a general discussion of the building's phasing, see: Hills 1984, pp. 35-6, and Pete Smith, 'Bramshill House, Hampshire: A Study Day Report' for SAHGB visit on 14 August 1998 (copy supplied by Pete Smith, to whom I am grateful)

[107] Hills 1984 (unpubl.), p. 34. A 'petition' or bill of Thomas Selby (dated 24 January 1619) survives, detailing painted work carried out at Bramshill between May 1615 and c. 1617. See: Hills 1984, Appendix H, and Cope 1883, pp. 121-5

chapel was only consecrated in 1621 and masonry work was still underway in 1623.[108]

It is interesting that these two building campaigns – one comparatively modest, the other grandiose – are borne out by surviving plasterwork. Claire Gapper has identified two phases, the earliest visible in the comparatively old-fashioned ceilings of the entrance range – including the rooms now known as the Chapel Drawing Room, chapel, Zouche Room and Wrought Room (Fig. 70). The principal state rooms in the south-east and north-east ranges – including great chamber (Great Drawing Room), withdrawing chamber (Library) and long gallery – are of a later phase, denoted by the form of their ceiling design (which features strapwork) (Fig. 71).[109] As we shall see, Bramshill, as completed, incorporated two state apartments; one of these, which included the room which now functions as a chapel, is likely to have been built first, though work on the entrance range continued in subsequent years. Its elaborate stone frontispiece is thought to belong to the second phase, after c. 1612.[110]

In the case of Bramshill, these phases of work may reflect the owner's financial situation, rather than a change of plan or intention. Lord Zouche was heavily in debt until his death, and passed his debts on to Sir Edward Zouche, said to be his cousin, who inherited Bramshill in 1625. Funds, where they could be raised, were clearly put into use at the house; it may be, for instance, that the second phase of work was enabled by Zouche's sale in 1611 of his estates in Northamptonshire. However, his rising status was also an incentive: in 1611, Zouche married – his wife was Sarah, daughter of Sir James Harrington of Exton – and in 1612 there were rumours that he would be appointed Lord Treasurer.[111] Between 1615 and 1624 Zouche served as Lord Warden of the

[108] On 31 August 1620, Lord Zouche wrote of the house as finished, stating 'I am hartely glad that I have built a howse wch may delite him [the King] to take pleasure there in': TNA SP14/116, no. 85. However, the mason Richard Goodridge was still on site in 1623: Hills 1984 (unpubl.), p. 35

[109] Gapper 2003 (unpubl.), n.p. This report was produced for Farrell and Lowe 2005; a copy was kindly supplied to me by Claire Gapper. Different orientations are adopted for the house by different writers; some say the entrance faces south, and others west. Here, it is taken to face south-west.

[110] Smith, 'Bramshill House, Hampshire' (op. cit.), p. 26

[111] Hills 1984 (unpubl.), p. 10

Cinque Ports, and – as he was in favour with James I – a royal visit became increasingly likely.

From these examples, it will be seen that the course of development of Jacobean country houses was rarely straightforward. Conventions in planning and decoration were evolving all the time, and building was affected by factors including wealth and, in particular, status. Nevertheless, even bearing these influences in mind, certain general developments can be identified (and these will be discussed in detail below). In terms of planning, the principal constituents of the state apartment remained largely the same as in the Elizabethan period – that is, great chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber, closet, back staircase and long gallery. In none of the nine houses under study, even the grandest, were there three outer state rooms before the bedchamber, as had been the case in the Elizabethan work at New Hall and Theobalds (the second, later, apartment).[112]

What is new, however – at least among the houses under study – was an expansion of the inner area of the state apartment, both in size and complexity. Suites took in additional bedchambers while the traditional functions of the closet were spread over two or more rooms; it seems that one of these rooms, the smallest and simplest, contained the close stool, while another (or others) would have been used for private business, relaxation, study and (probably) dressing. In the Elizabethan period, there are examples of state bedchambers and closets being 'removed' from the principal route of access – notably, that leading to the long gallery (see pp. 201-203). Under James I, this process of removal was applied to multiple rooms, taking in secondary bedchambers and closets or – at Audley End and Hatfield – whole areas of lodgings.

[112] Both of these great houses, discussed in Chapter 4, incorporated – in addition to the rooms mentioned – a privy chamber, placed between great and withdrawing chambers. It should be noted that, in his most recent book, Mark Girouard has included privy chambers within reconstructed state apartments in country houses, based on practice in royal palaces; see, for instance: Girouard 2009, pp. 114-5. However, as I have shown, it seems that dedicated privy chambers were rarely included in country houses, probably reflecting the fact that the royal household was willing, where necessary, to combine the roles of different state rooms.

This development no doubt reflects the increasing importance of privacy, while the institution of the royal Bedchamber by James I may have been another factor. For the first time since the mid-sixteenth century, a visiting monarch would have expected an extended inner area to a state apartment, enabling the carrying out of state business and the accommodation of Bedchamber staff, and emphasising royal distance. The privacy of these inner rooms, and the specialisation of the state apartment as a whole, was reflected in its detachment in terms of the plan overall. In Jacobean country houses, it is common to find that state suites could function independently from other lodgings, and could be separately accessed, where need dictated.

Another development was the dual state apartment, which came fully into being in the Jacobean country house, having been used on a rather haphazard basis in the sixteenth century. Again, this reflected the specific needs of James I, the royal family, household and court, who frequently travelled en masse on progress. The provision of adequate and suitable accommodation would no doubt have pleased all concerned, increasing the likelihood of royal attention and favours, and justifying awards that had already been given. Also, the use of dual state apartments provided owners with an ideal opportunity to demonstrate their familiarity with continental architecture, and to create houses that aspired to balance and magnificence.

It is certain that external symmetry was more important to builders of the early seventeenth century than to their Tudor predecessors. Even where it could not be perfectly achieved, it was aimed for – at least in houses of the highest quality. Such ambitions had an impact on the planning of state apartments in the Jacobean period. Room arrangements began to be secondary to the needs of external effect, the form and positioning of chambers often being dictated by the design of the relevant façades. In particular, the long gallery was affected, being positioned with increasing flexibility in the early seventeenth century.

Naming Rooms in the Jacobean State Apartment

It has been noted that the basic components of the Jacobean state apartment differed little from those of the late sixteenth century. This is also true of terminology. Contemporary documents relating to the nine houses under study show that the following room names remained in general use throughout the Jacobean period and beyond: great chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber (or 'king's chamber') and gallery. For instance, this was the case at Cranborne (apart from the gallery, a room not included in the house), Kirby Hall and Hatfield House. Indeed, the general terminology seems to have remained largely unchanged until around the early to mid-1630s.[113] By c. 1637, when a 'schedula' of Bramshill was prepared, the principal Jacobean great chamber had become known as the 'Great Dining Room Above' – though it was still followed by the 'withdrawinge roome' and 'Gallery'.[114] In 1645, the Jacobean great chamber at Knole was similarly named the 'Greate Dyning Roome', as was the great chamber at Aston Hall in an inventory of 1654.[115] This was a function of the room that had been important since medieval times, but it obviously took precedence from the reign of Charles I onwards.

It was shown in Chapter 4 that the association of monarchs with particular rooms was, generally speaking, a development of around the middle of Elizabeth's reign, although there were earlier examples (see pp. 214-216). Even into the Jacobean period, the approach to such rooms was inconsistent. For example, the inventory taken of Aston Hall in 1654 terms the state bedchamber the 'best lodging chamber', despite the fact that Charles I had spent a night at the house in 1642.[116] However, at five of the nine houses under study – for which documents of pre-1645 survive – rooms are ascribed to the king.[117] In the

[113] In 1629, an inventory for Apethorpe Hall refers to the principal state rooms as the 'new greate Chamber', the 'best Drawing Chamber', the 'Kinges Chamber' and the 'Long Gallery': inventory of 1629 (NRO W (A) Box 6, V, nos 1 & 2)
[114] 'Schedula' of c. 1637 (TNA C108/225; Hills 1984 [unpubl.], Appendix B)
[115] Phillips 1930, vol. 1, p. 218; BRLA Holte 17
[116] BRLA Holte 17
[117] The exceptions are: Audley End, for which no pre-Restoration documents survive; Knole, the inventory of 1645 including no king's chamber (reflecting the fact that neither James I nor Charles I are known to have visited); Aston Hall; and Blickling Hall, which again was not visited by James I or Charles I and for which the earliest surviving inventory is of 1699.

case of Bramshill, this is a reference either to James I (who visited in 1620 and 1622) or Charles I (who visited in 1630, with Henrietta Maria). In addition, in a document of 1637, there are references to the 'Queenes Chamber' and the 'Queenes wthdrawinge rome'.[118] It is interesting, though, that the queen's bedchamber at Bramshill was more generally known as the 'White Chamber'. This probably reflects the title given in the Jacobean period to the room, which must only gradually have been renamed to refer to Henrietta Maria after her visit of 1630.

At Hatfield, the status of the state apartments was made clear from the outset. The king and queen's respective bedchambers were so named in the building accounts and the inventory of 1611, and retained those names throughout the course of the seventeenth century, despite the fact that Queen Anne seems never to have visited.[119] The terms 'king's side' and 'queen's side' – in reference to Hatfield's east and west ranges – were also in use by the 1620s, if not earlier.[120] Similarly, at Cranborne, another house of the Earl of Salisbury, Jacobean plans prove that the state bedchambers were known as 'the kinges chamber' and 'prinses chamber' (Figs 72 and 73), while at Apethorpe, according to the inventory of 1629, the two state bedchambers were termed the 'Kinges Chamber' and the 'Dukes Chamber', the latter believed to be a reference to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.[121] At all three houses, these room names remained in use throughout the seventeenth century and beyond, with the exception of the 'prince's chamber' at Cranborne, more usually known as the 'Lord's Chamber'.

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[118] 'A note of such goodes as weare sent to London … January the 24th and February ye 26th': TNA C108/189; Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix E

[119] 1611 inventory (CP Box A/1). Among the Hatfield building accounts is a document detailing the joiners' work in November 1610: CP 143/118-120. This includes references to 'the kinges bedchamber', the king's lodging and 'the Queenes bedchamber'.

[120] The term 'queen's side' appears in inventories from 1620. The term 'king's side' first appears in the inventory of 1621, and is used to describe all the east state rooms in the inventory of 1629 (op. cit.).

[121] This name may commemorate the meeting of James I and Villiers – believed to have taken place at Apethorpe Hall in 1614 – or may imply that the Duke was a visitor on one or more occasions, a strong possibility given that his home at Burley-on-the-Hill was only 12 miles away.

The Siting of the State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House

We have seen that a strong pattern emerged in the positioning of state apartments over the course of the sixteenth century, almost all suites being placed at first-floor level, at the high end of the hall, approached by the great stairs. This pattern continued into the Jacobean period. In the nine houses under study in this chapter, all of the state apartments were at first-floor level, with one exception: Cranborne Manor House, a former royal hunting lodge with a compact plan. As at Hardwick (New) Hall, the principal state rooms were at second-floor level (see Fig. 72). There was, quite simply, nowhere to go but up, hierarchy being emphasised vertically. Still, the traditional arrangement of the high end was maintained, Cranborne's state apartment being accessed via the great staircase at the west end of the double-height great hall. At all of the other eight houses under study, the principal state apartment was likewise associated with the high end of the hall, and with a great staircase. At Audley End and Hatfield, there was also a secondary state apartment, placed in a parallel position and therefore related to the low end of the hall; these suites were seemingly accessed by a separate stair.[122] The only other house to have had two state apartments – for king and queen respectively – was Bramshill; there, the two suites seem to have opened off opposite sides of the great staircase, at the upper end of the hall.

While the outer point of a state apartment was thus almost invariably marked by a great stair, a vital component of the inner end of the suite was the back staircase. Such stairs are known to have existed at six of the nine houses under study; they occupied turrets at Hatfield, Cranborne, Blickling and Aston Hall, and were fully incorporated into the inner areas of the apartments at Audley End and Apethorpe Hall. At Knole, the location of the back staircase is unknown,

[122] There has been some doubt as to whether a secondary (low end) stair existed at Hatfield in the Jacobean period. The current ('Adam and Eve') stair in this position dates from the late seventeenth century. However, I would argue that such a stair certainly existed, both on the basis of planning conventions and of primary evidence; most notably, accounts of the joiners' work set down in late 1610 refer to 'the bottome of the staires … neare the ewrye' (i.e. the ewery, a service room), an item preceded by joinery in the hall and followed by joinery 'at the bottom of the great staires', while accounts of 1612 refer to 'the stare hed one the west side of ye house': CP 143/118 and CP143/123

though it was probably in the vicinity of the 'tapestry passage', on the north side of the Cartoon Gallery.[123] At Bramshill and Castle Ashby, alterations carried out after the Restoration make it impossible to reconstruct the Jacobean plan forms in any detail, though back stairs almost certainly existed.[124]

It was seen in Chapter 4 that before the 1560s there was a close relationship between the state rooms and the chapel, reflecting the importance of religion to the great household for much of that period; for the remainder of the century, the relationship between state apartment and chapel was less consistent (see pp. 182-183). In Jacobean country houses, the situation changed once more. Although the period saw, in the words of Annabel Ricketts, 'a surge in private chapel building', the weakening of the link between chapel and state apartment seems to have continued.

Of the nine buildings under study, the chapel is closely associated with the state apartment in only three instances – Hatfield, Audley End and Castle Ashby. At the latter two houses, there was a particularly close connection between the chapel and the long gallery, placed at the inner end of the state apartment, a feature that has been seen in a number of Elizabethan houses. At Audley End, the chapel was aligned with the principal (king's) state apartment, a first-floor chapel closet opening off the east side of the gallery (Fig. 74).[125] At Castle Ashby, the chapel (with upper closet) was likewise placed at the inner end of the state apartment, close to the state bedchamber and inner rooms. On its west, in the entrance range of the courtyard, was the long gallery (see Fig. 75).

[123] It could have been placed either at the east end of the passage (the surviving Jacobean 'lead stair') or (more probably) at its west end, in the area now occupied by a Georgian staircase. The occupant of the state apartment would, of course, have been able to use the staircase between state great and withdrawing chambers, but this was probably of too high a status for servants.
[124] At Bramshill, the inner end of the secondary (queen's) apartment appears to have included a stair. In the inventory of 1634 (TNA C108/187; Hills 1984 [unpubl.], Appendix C), and the 'schedula' of c. 1637 (C108/225; Hills 1984, Appendix B), the queen's (or White) suite is listed immediately before the garrets 'on the south side', the schedula including a room 'up stayers over the white chamber', implying the presence of a back staircase at this point. There was probably also a stair in the lost block at the inner end of the king's suite, and a newel stair survives between withdrawing chamber (Library) and long gallery, at the north-east. At Castle Ashby, there seems to have been a staircase in a turret at the inner end of the state range, and another stair on the range's west (inner) side.
[125] For the chapel at Audley End, see: Ricketts 2007, pp. 88-91 and pp. 221-2. Sadly, as the chapel and gallery ranges were demolished in c. 1725 and 1753 respectively, very little is known about their architectural details, though the exteriors are shown in views by Henry Winstanley: Winstanley 1688, p. 18, p. 19 and pp. 22-3

At Hatfield, the chapel formed a less happily integrated part of the whole, and was associated with the secondary state apartment (Fig. 76). The upper chapel fell between the queen's withdrawing chamber and bedchamber, meaning that the route between the two rooms – and on to other rooms in the south half of the west wing – took the form of a narrow passage, on the west side of the chapel.[126] Of the remaining six houses under study, two (Cranborne and Apethorpe Hall) had no chapel in the Jacobean period, while the other four had chapels, but in areas not closely associated with the state apartment.[127]

As in the sixteenth century, there was a strong association between the ground-floor parlour and the first-floor great chamber. These rooms were placed one above the other at eight of the nine houses under study.[128] The family lodgings are generally less easy to identify. At Audley End, it seems possible – as Paul Drury has noted – that Thomas Howard's lodgings were beneath the king's state apartment, in the south range of the inner court, while those of his wife were in a comparable position on the north (see Fig. 69).[129] Nonetheless, it is also possible that the couple occupied rooms above the royal apartments, at second-floor level – which would have enjoyed grander prospects than the secluded lodgings on the ground floor – or rooms in the outer court.[130] The

[126] As has been mentioned above (see pp. 244-5), the plan of Hatfield was altered in about 1608; before that date, the chapel seems to have been placed elsewhere, so its current position seems to be something of a compromise.

[127] At Knole, the chapel – which dates from the fifteenth century – is at the south-east of the house, on the east of the Duke's Tower. The rooms around the chapel seem to have been occupied by the family, and probably included a first-floor great apartment, opening off the state great chamber. At Bramshill, the chapel (consecrated in 1621) seems to have been placed behind (to the north-east of) the hall, projecting into the courtyard. It was accessed both from the low end of the hall and the foot of the great stairs, while a gallery seems to have run along its north-west side, accessible from the family chambers. At Aston Hall, according to the ground-floor plan by John Thorpe, the chapel was beneath the long gallery, on the immediate west of the great staircase (a position confirmed by excavation; see: Fairclough 1989, p. 40). It was a single storey in height, and there was no relationship to the state rooms above stairs. Finally, at Blickling Hall, the chapel was likewise of a single storey in height, and was placed at the high end of the hall, at ground-floor level. It was to the immediate north of the great staircase, and fell beneath the south part of the long gallery.

[128] The exception is Cranborne, where – due to its compact plan – the state great chamber was placed immediately above the double-height great hall, though there was a secondary great chamber above the parlour in the west wing.

[129] Drury 1980, p. 7

[130] My reading of the late seventeenth-century Royal Works accounts (TNA Work 5/12-49, etc) differs from that of Paul Drury. For me, they imply that the Earl of Suffolk's lodgings were (by that time) at a high level – seemingly at the west end of the inner court's north range, on the second floor, with turrets above. On the basis of the same accounts, Drury has argued that the

situation is even more vague with regard to Knole, and there are likewise several possibilities. Thomas Sackville could have intended to occupy one of the three first-floor apartments, rooms at ground-floor level in the King's Tower, beneath the inner end of the state apartment, or (perhaps most likely of all) rooms in or close to the Duke's Tower, near the medieval chapel (Fig. 77).[131]

At Bramshill, the principal family rooms were at first-floor level on the opposite (north-west) side of the house, opening off the low end of the secondary great chamber.[132] At Hatfield, it is possible to be more categorical: Robert Cecil's apartment was at ground-floor level in the east range, beneath the king's apartment. Thanks to surviving documents, the situation is also clear with regard to Cranborne. There, space was at a premium, and the Earl of Salisbury – when in residence, which was comparatively infrequently – occupied the secondary state bedchamber, on the first floor, beneath the king's room (see Fig. 73); this was divided by the hall from a great chamber ('new dining room'), withdrawing chamber and antechamber.[133] At Aston Hall, Sir Thomas Holte and his wife occupied first-floor rooms in the north wing – that is, in a parallel position to the state apartment (Fig. 78).[134] At Blickling, the location of Sir Henry Hobart's suite is unknown, but it may also have been in a parallel position to the state rooms – that is, at first-floor level in the west range.[135] The lodgings of Sir Francis and Lady Fane at Apethorpe Hall were centred on the first-floor, pre-Jacobean great chamber in the hall range; they were divided from the state apartment by the landing of the great staircase.[136] Finally, at Castle Ashby, the Earl of Northampton probably occupied rooms in the west range, parallel to the

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Suffolks occupied lodgings in the outer court, centred on the north-west pavilion: Drury 1980, p. 12

[131] The inventory of 1645 includes 'my Lords Chambr', but it is impossible to be certain about its location. Most likely is that, by this date, the Earl of Dorset was himself occupying the state bedchamber at the inner end of the Cartoon Gallery, though it is unlikely that the 1st Earl did so (or intended to do so): Phillips 1930, vol. 1, pp. 360-1

[132] The 'schedula' of c. 1637 (TNA C108/225) implies that opening from the north-west side of the secondary great chamber ('little drawing roome above') were a withdrawing chamber and 'Lord Zouches chamber'. There was also a lodging beneath the principal state rooms in the south-east range, though this was probably intended for guests.

[133] The secondary bedchamber is marked 'Prinses chamber' on the plan of c. 1613, but inventories show that, on a more regular basis, it was used as the 'Lord's bedchamber'. Also relevant is a note in the accounts of August-October 1647, which refers to 'all the upper story over my Lord's lodging, the middle story': Cranborne Papers, vol. 3, pp. 227-8

[134] Fairclough 1984, p. 69

[135] West 2000 (unpubl.), p. 107 and p. 109

[136] Cole, Edgar and Lea 2003 (unpubl.)

state apartment, leaving the rather grand second-floor rooms on the east to function as lodgings for guests.

In all, of the nine houses under study, it seems likely that family and state rooms were placed one above the other in three instances (Audley End, Hatfield and Cranborne), roughly parallel to each other in four instances (Bramshill, Aston Hall, Blickling Hall and Castle Ashby), and indirectly related in two cases (Knole and Apethorpe Hall). From this, it will be seen that Jacobean state apartments were separate from owner's lodgings, divided by the width of a courtyard or the level of a floor. Clearly, privacy was, on both sides, highly prized.

Also important were prospect and light, a matter taken up with vigour in treatises such as Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* (1624). Of the nine houses under study here, the principal state rooms (including long gallery) were, in six cases, orientated south and east (Audley End, Bramshill, Hatfield, Blickling Hall, Apethorpe Hall and Castle Ashby). At Knole, the rooms were on the south; at Aston they were on the south with the gallery on the west; and at Cranborne, of a compact plan, they looked both south and north. In all the cases under study here, the state rooms are known to have looked out over gardens. For instance, at Bramshill, Lord Zouche placed his formal gardens on the south-east, overlooked both by king's and queen's lodgings.[137]

The increasing popularity of loggias is reflective of the importance of gardens, and the link between indoor and outdoor spaces.[138] Loggias were often related to state apartments, a trend which had been set in the sixteenth century by Lord Burghley, who included loggias both at Burghley House and Theobalds.[139] At

[137] The form of the gardens at Bramshill is known through a plan which pre-dates their reconstruction in the early eighteenth century; see: Sara Beer, 'Bramshill', *Historic Gardens Review*, summer 1998, pp. 32-36

[138] Paula Henderson has noted that there was 'a sort of "loggia mania" by the beginning of the seventeenth century': Henderson 1995, p. 111

[139] At Burghley, the state rooms were placed above a loggia, on the south (garden) side, in both phases of work, dating respectively from 1553-66 and 1573-88. Of the loggia of the first phase, Jill Husselby has written, 'The loggia later became a hallmark of Elizabethan houses, but Cecil took the lead at Burghley in 1562, since this appears to be the earliest documented account of a classical loggia designed as a fully integrated feature of an English house': Husselby 2002, p. 27. At Theobalds, there was a loggia on the ground floor of the projecting range containing the queen's gallery (built c. 1572-3), while the south range of the Conduit Court (built in the 1570s

Audley End, for instance, there was a loggia on the garden side of the south range of the inner court – beneath the king's withdrawing chamber, bedchamber and closet (see Fig. 74) – and another loggia on the courtyard side of the east range, beneath the long gallery. As is evident from John Thorpe's plan (see Fig. 69), the king's back stairs descended to a point adjacent to both these loggias. Of a later date is Apethorpe Hall, where the long gallery range incorporated two loggias, one facing onto the courtyard and the other onto a privy garden. These, accessible via the back staircase, were placed roughly back-to-back, an arrangement which may have been inspired by one of the plans associated with Ampthill (see Fig. 67). Although loggias were clearly status symbols, and were highly fashionable in the Jacobean period, they also relate to the role of country houses (and state apartments in particular) as places of entertainment. At five of the houses under study, loggias were placed (at least partly) beneath long galleries, while in at least three instances staircases ascended from loggias to leaded roof-top walks.[140] At Knole, a stair joined the loggia and state apartment to an attic gallery in the hall range, and the garret of the east range at Apethorpe, adjacent to the roof walk, may have functioned in a comparable way.[141]

It has been shown in Chapter 4 (see pp. 178-180) that the position of the state bedchamber – typically at the end of a range – was often identified externally in the sixteenth century by the existence of towers, turrets or pavilions. This practice weakened over the last years of the sixteenth century, and seems to have all but disappeared in the Jacobean period, reflecting the importance of external symmetry. Of the nine houses under study, the state bedchamber seems to have been placed in a tower in only one instance. This was Knole

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and 1580s) contained another loggia, on the garden side; this was placed beneath the king's great and privy chambers.

[140] Galleries are placed above loggias at the following houses: Audley End, Knole, Hatfield, Apethorpe Hall and Castle Ashby. At Audley End, Aston Hall and Apethorpe Hall staircases adjacent to the galleries certainly led to the roof. This may also have been the case at Bramshill, Hatfield, Blickling and Castle Ashby.

[141] The possible function of the attic room in Apethorpe's east range, suggested by Kathryn Morrison, is based on the arrangement of the room itself (which has no evidence of early seventeenth-century partitions); it may be the 'garrett' containing 'three marble tables' mentioned in the inventory of 1629 (op. cit.).

(see Fig. 77), where the area in question – known as the King's Tower – probably pre-dates the Jacobean work carried out under Thomas Sackville.[142]

The Planning of the Jacobean State Apartment

Of the nine houses under consideration in this chapter, the plan of the Jacobean state apartments can be confidently reconstructed in all but two instances – Bramshill, which was damaged by fire in 1640 and altered around the early eighteenth century, and Castle Ashby, which was damaged by fire in the Civil War and rebuilt in the 1660s and 1670s. Here, these plans will be used as a tool by which to understand the state apartments of the houses concerned – how they appeared and may have been experienced by a visitor. Three areas will be looked at in particular – the increasing popularity of secondary state bedchambers and dual state apartments, and the positioning of the long gallery. These represent key developments of the country house state apartment within the Jacobean period, and are recognised here for the very first time.

Of the case studies, the only houses which appear to conform to the standard Elizabethan arrangement of five rooms – great chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber, closet and long gallery – are Blickling (although they do not do so in that order) and Knole, discussed on pp. 282-283.[143] At the former, substantial alterations carried out in 1765-82 inhibit a full understanding, though the first room of the state apartment (discounting the long gallery, on the east of the great stairs) was certainly the great chamber or dining room (Fig. 79). According to an inventory of 1699, the apartment continued with 'the With Drawing roome to the best Dyning roome' and then with 'the Inner Withdrawing roome', which

[142] Knole Conservation Management Plan, p. 30 (part of 'Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent: An Archaeological Survey'). At Audley End, Hatfield, Cranborne, Aston Hall, Blickling Hall and Castle Ashby, there was no external marker at all – aside from bay windows – though the back staircase was often visible where it was contained within a turret. At Apethorpe Hall, the secondary state bedchamber forms part of a pavilion, but neither it nor the principal state bedchamber are distinguished externally. The external form of the state bedchambers at Bramshill is not known, the house having been greatly altered.

[143] It is perhaps no coincidence that, of the nine buildings under study, these two houses were the only ones not visited by James I or Charles I.

was partly hung with gilt leather.[144] However, the building accounts make reference only to a single withdrawing chamber, presumably occupying the central part of the south range.[145] This was probably subdivided at some point in the mid- to late seventeenth century and was replaced in the 1760s by the Chinese bedroom and dressing room. At the south end of the west wing was the 'best Bedd-Chamber', with a closet to its south-west. The bedchamber was served by a back staircase in a turret in the south-west corner of the entrance courtyard.

Double-pile planning – probably pioneered in England, in terms of state apartments, by Holdenby (completed 1583) – can be found in four of the Jacobean case studies: Audley End, Hatfield, Aston Hall (in the main range only) and Castle Ashby (in the east and west ranges only).[146] Of these, it is notable that all but Castle Ashby were newly designed and built in the early seventeenth century, enabling owners to draw upon the most up-to-date practices and fashions.[147] At Audley End and Hatfield, it is the bedchamber and inner rooms of the state apartment that are accommodated in double-pile arrangements (Fig. 80, and see Fig. 76); indeed, at Hatfield, the planning is triple-pile. At Audley End, the gallery stood alone (with views in all four directions), while the great and withdrawing chambers took in the whole width of the side ranges. The king's withdrawing chamber at Hatfield likewise filled the width of the range, while the adjacent great chamber filled the length of the

[144] The inventory, taken on 11-13 March 1699, is in the collections of the National Trust; it was taken on the death of the 4th Baronet and seems to record the contents reserved for his widow (West 2000 [unpubl.], p. 107). It should be noted that there is also an inventory of Blickling taken on 24 June 1700 (TNA PROB 4/19641), which was first cited by Susie West in her DPhil thesis (West 2000, p. 107); sadly, the page relating to the state rooms (aside from the long gallery) is almost entirely illegible, due to damage. I am extremely grateful to David Adshead for allowing me sight of the document of 1699, and to both David and Susie West for discussing the inventories with me.

[145] A large number of accounts survive, including the main contract for the Jacobean work and records of expenditure (Norfolk Record Office MC3/43-53; MC3/100, 466; MC3/263), and the account book of Sir John Hobart (NRS 14649); see: appendices of Stanley-Millson and Newman 1986, pp. 16-35. In the guidebook, John Newman describes the Jacobean state apartment as having contained a single withdrawing chamber: Blickling Guide, p. 15

[146] At Knole, some ranges are more than one room deep, but the planning is less formal and more a reflection of alteration and addition.

[147] It is assumed here that the plan of Audley End was not significantly dictated by the earlier house on the site, though it may well have been influenced by it. Specifically, the inner courtyard seems to have followed the profile of the former cloister, but most details of the Jacobean plan seem to have been entirely new; see: P. J. Drury, 'Walden Abbey into Audley End' (op. cit.)

pavilion, the equivalent space in the west wing housing both great and withdrawing chambers; the long gallery was joined on the north-west by an additional apartment. At Castle Ashby, the double-pile planning seems to have been applied to all state rooms except the great chamber and long gallery, while at Aston Hall it was the rooms of the main range – including, of the state apartment, only the long gallery – which were arranged double-pile (see Figs 75 and 78).

Secondary State Bedchambers

One of the key developments of the Jacobean period was the expansion of the inner part of the state apartment; most simply, by the addition of a secondary state bedchamber. As was seen in Chapter 4, the provision of such a bedchamber began to occur in England in the 1580s. Of the nine houses under study here, three exemplify this practice. At Cranborne, completed in 1612, the state apartment – known in detail thanks to surviving plans of c. 1613 – is fairly conventional in its scale and constituents. At the head of the great stair, on the second floor of the main block, there were three rooms: great chamber, withdrawing chamber and state bedchamber (‘King’s chamber’) (see Fig. 72). A slanted passage at the latter’s south-east corner led to an associated closet (or pallet chamber) in the adjoining east block. However, this did not represent the full extent of the apartment, a point which has never before been noted. A newel stair – placed between withdrawing and king’s chambers, on the south side – led downwards to the first floor. There, above the buttery at the low end of the hall, was the ‘Prinses chamber’; at its south-east corner – in an arrangement replicating that of the floor above – was a closet (see Fig. 73). The planning of the house – discussed below (see pp. 284-285) – makes clear that, although on the first floor, these rooms formed part of the state suite, as does the terminology used on the Jacobean plan. Thus, the main part of the suite was extended through the simple but necessary addition of a second bedchamber and associated closet.

At Aston Hall, the great staircase rose to a landing, with (on the east) a doorway to the great chamber and (on the south) a doorway to the withdrawing chamber

(see Fig. 78). The great chamber, at the centre of the south wing, was lit on its outer side by an elaborate 'complex' bay window. On its east side was the principal state bedchamber – named the 'best lodging chamber' in the inventory of 1654 – with a bow window on its garden side.[148] On the east side of this, at the end of the wing, was a secondary bedroom ('second best lodging chamber'). These two bedchambers seem to have shared a closet, which was placed on the north of the principal bedroom. It could be accessed from that room, or from a passage on its north side, which joined great chamber and secondary bedchamber and provided access to the back staircase, in a turret on the range's courtyard side.

An elaboration of this arrangement can be found at Apethorpe Hall, as rebuilt between 1622 and 1624 (Fig. 81).[149] There, great chamber and withdrawing chamber were followed by the state bedchamber ('Kinges Chamber'), placed at the east end of the south range. Beyond it was a secondary bedchamber; in inventories, this was termed the 'Duke's Chamber' or, later, the 'Prince's Room', underlining its status as complementary to (but of lesser status than) the nearby king's chamber.[150] Both state bedchambers were served by closets: at the south-east corner of the king's chamber, a doorway led into a small, narrow and unheated room which inventories name 'the Inner Chamber to the Dukes Chamber' (1629) and 'the Dukes Chamber Closett' (1691); on the south of this was the secondary bedchamber, while on the north a doorway led into a larger, heated chamber, named 'the Backstaires Chamber to the Kings Chamber' (1629) and 'the outward chamber by the Dukes' (1691).[151] This could also be accessed from its north side, via a doorway opening from the landing of the back staircase, adjacent to the long gallery.

In country houses of this status, the obvious reason behind the creation of two state bedchambers – primary and secondary – was the presence in England of

[148] Birmingham Reference Library Archives Holte 17, and see plan in: Fairclough 1984, p. 56 (which uses the room names from the inventory)
[149] For a reconstruction of the plan of Apethorpe's Jacobean state apartment, see: Cattell 2006 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 251
[150] It is the Duke's Chamber in the inventories of 1629 (NRO W (A) Box 6, V, nos 1 & 2), 1691 (W (A) Box 5, VI) and 1705 (W (A) misc. 55 F), and the 'Prince's Room' in the inventory of 1842 (W (A) Box 3, Parcel XXXVI, no. 1).
[151] Inventories of 1629 and 1691 (see above)

a royal family, rather than an unmarried monarch. The provision of such rooms permitted the accommodation of two members of the royal family, King and Queen or, as was more common between 1616 and 1625, King and Prince. Where the King came with his court – but without Queen or heir – the arrangement allowed the accommodation of an intimate attendant or favourite; most obviously, especially after c. 1619, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.[152] Outside of royal visits, the rooms provided fitting accommodation for a visitor of honour and his wife or chief attendant.

Dual State Apartments

The provision of a state apartment, let alone a state apartment with two bedchambers and closets, was a luxury that only a minority of country house owners could afford. However, an even greater minority of builders – in all cases, close to the royal household and court – chose to create not just an extended state suite, but two separate state apartments, fit to accommodate King and Queen – or King and Prince – in the manner to which they were accustomed at royal palaces.

As has been seen, of the nine houses under study, three provided secondary state bedchambers (Cranborne, Aston Hall and Apethorpe Hall). A further three – Audley End, Hatfield and Bramshill – are known to have provided whole secondary state suites. This arrangement is believed to have existed in only seven sixteenth-century houses of non-royal status (Thornbury Castle, Wolsey's Hampton Court, The Vyne, Theobalds, Chatsworth, Wollaton and Hardwick Old Hall).[153] As far as we know, in only one of these houses – Wollaton (see Fig. 47) – were the apartments placed parallel to each other, the more usual

[152] As the Royal Works accounts make clear, lodgings were specially created for Buckingham at the royal palaces from c. 1619. For instance, at Newmarket in 1619-20 (TNA E351/3253, f. 14) and at Greenwich in 1620-1 (E351/3254, f. 8v).

[153] It should be noted that all (or almost all) of the Jacobean houses under study included suites of lodgings in addition to the state apartments. For instance, Knole contained a number of such suites on the first floor, as well as the state apartment. These lodgings were clearly intended for guests, but are not discussed here, a secondary state apartment being identified as such only where it has a specific relationship to the primary state apartment and is known to be of a comparable status. It should be further noted that the second-floor suite at Castle Ashby, above the primary state apartment in the east wing, may have functioned as a secondary state apartment. However, as there is no evidence to bear this out, it is not discussed here.

arrangement being a stacking of one suite above the other, following medieval practice.[154] Again, there was a practical consideration behind the Jacobean development – the presence in England, from 1603, of a royal family – and it was bolstered by the increasing influence of continental architecture and the growing importance of symmetry. Furthermore, its desirability was known, as symmetrical state apartments had been the most prominent feature of all plans of the proposed palace at Ampthill, drawn up in c. 1605-6 (see Figs 65-67).

The parallel arrangement of dual state apartments in Jacobean country houses is best exemplified by Audley End (see Fig. 80). The symmetry and form of the layout make it almost unique in Britain; its closest parallels must have been royal palaces, and Ampthill is a contemporary (and related) instance. Famously, James I is said to have remarked – on a visit of 1614 – that Audley End was too big for a king, but might do for a Lord Treasurer, while Justus Zinzerling – visiting in c. 1610 – noted that 'when finished, no other palace in the kingdom will compare with it'.[155] For Paul Drury, the house was 'the nearest approach to a royal palace to be built in England in the first half of the seventeenth century'.[156]

As completed in 1614, Audley End ranged around two main courtyards, with projecting blocks at the east and services on the north; the main part of the plan appears to have been almost perfectly symmetrical (see Fig. 69).[157] The notable exception was the double-height great hall, still of the medieval arrangement; this, together with the space assigned to the great staircase (on the south), filled the west range of the inner court. At first-floor level, to south and north, were two state apartments – thought to have been intended for, respectively, James I

[154] At Thornbury, Hampton Court and Chatsworth, the apartments were stacked. At Theobalds, they were placed end-to-end, on different floor levels, and at Hardwick they were on the same (third) floor level, though were not arranged symmetrically. The arrangement at The Vyne is unclear; it is possible that the apartments were stacked or adjacent to each other, but unlikely that they were in parallel ranges.
[155] Braybrooke 1836, p. 82; Rye 1865, p. 135
[156] Drury 1980, p. 22, and see Drury and Gow 1984, p. 51
[157] The plans of the two state apartments have been reconstructed by Paul Drury (Drury 1980, plate 4), based on an analysis of building fabric and historical documents, including accounts relating to the house's period as a royal palace. There seems to be no reason to doubt any of the closely and convincingly argued assertions made by Drury, and his article forms the foundation for the account given here, though I have more fully investigated the potential arrangement and use of the state rooms.

and Anne of Denmark.[158] Each was associated with a staircase at the west end of the side ranges, next to the courtyard, and a back staircase, and the two ranges were joined by the east wing, containing a first-floor long gallery. As has been mentioned (see p. 246), it is probable that the primacy of the south apartment was emphasised by a principal great staircase, certainly intended and possibly built at the upper end of the hall. Its rank was also intimated by tiny disruptions to the symmetry; for instance, the windows on the outer side of the south apartment were somewhat larger than those on the north.[159]

The great stair on the south side, if built, would have risen to the first room of the king's apartment: the great chamber (Fig. 82), later known as the 'Fish Room' on account of its decoration (see p. 299).[160] Both of Audley End's great chambers, vast rooms, occupied the west pavilions of the inner courtyard and were related to the great hall.[161] The other state rooms (aside from the long gallery) filled the south and north ranges; the principal route of access to each range was an enfilade of doorways on the outer side, while an enfilade on the inner side ran between the two staircases (west and east). To the east of the great chambers were the withdrawing chambers, similarly aligned north/south. In each apartment, these two chambers were divided by lobbies, which presumably served to filter out sound, block sight-lines, ensure privacy and emphasise the rooms' separate functions. In addition, the lobbies will have contributed to the spatial experience of the apartments overall, creating a

[158] The two respective 'sides' of the house were emphasised by carved tympana over the doors enclosed by porches, on the west side of the hall block. The right (south) of these depicts War and the left (north) Peace.

[159] Interestingly, during Audley End's years as a royal palace in the late seventeenth century, this hierarchy was overturned. The evidence shows that the King occupied the apartment on the north (the secondary suite), and the Queen occupied the apartment on the south; see: Drury 1980, p. 10. It is difficult to understand why this choice was made. Perhaps the prospect enjoyed by the north suite – looking towards the 'great pond' and other pools – was more attractive than that on the south. Certainly, it was closer to the service rooms, and access to it was more direct; with the decline in importance of the hall, there was no longer significance in passing through that room. The reversal may also relate to the destruction of a great staircase on the south.

[160] Had the great stair not been built, this room would have been accessed (as now) via the stair at the west end of the south range, and then through the doorway at the north-east of the room.

[161] The great chamber on the north – converted to a chapel in c. 1725 – communicated with the gallery over the hall's screens passage, while that on the south seems to have had access to a gallery on the east side of the stair hall, which likewise provided a view of the hall: Drury 1980, p. 9 and plate 4

dramatic moment of almost claustrophobic seclusion between the expanse of the adjacent chambers.

Only slightly smaller than the great chambers, the withdrawing chambers were lit on their garden sides by bay windows and by large windows in the courtyard-side walls. It is interesting that they filled the width of the ranges, rather than being aligned with their length. More conventionally, bay windows marked the upper end of outer state rooms, resembling hall oriels. At Audley End, as the rooms have been turned ninety degrees, the sense of the windows as oriels has been minimised; this is intensified by the fact that a person entering the rooms – by the principal doorway, on the outer side – would have done so directly into their traditional upper end. In this, as with the positioning of bedchambers beneath towers and turrets (see p. 258), the plans of Jacobean state apartments were increasingly influenced by external design, rather than tradition.

The next rooms in the apartments at Audley End, the bedchambers, were more conventional in this respect; as they were aligned east/west, along the length of the side ranges, the upper ends of both could easily be delineated by bay windows on the garden side. It is at this point – to the east of the withdrawing chambers – that the two state apartments begin to follow a double-pile plan. According to Paul Drury's analysis, each suite contained two chambers on the garden side – bedchamber and closet – and two chambers, plus a back staircase, on the courtyard side (see Fig. 80). Drury tentatively identifies the latter as dressing room (on the west) and servants' room (adjacent to the back staircases). Each of these two rooms seems to have been accessed directly from the state bedchamber, and the entrance to one or the other – probably that to the servants' or backstairs rooms, on the east – would have been somewhat hidden by the state bed.[162] The two private rooms could also be accessed from the courtyard side of the state withdrawing chambers.

[162] The heads of the state beds were probably set against the east walls of the respective bedchambers – in line with the bay windows, and next to the doors to the 'backstairs chambers' – though it is possible that they were located on the opposite side of the room (heads to west). In the former position, the beds would have screened the doorways to the backstairs rooms, and in the latter they would have screened the doorways to the withdrawing or dressing rooms.

In the absence of evidence pre-dating the 1660s – aside from a few descriptions by visitors – it is impossible to be certain about the function of these inner rooms, and their architectural form is not entirely clear, following alterations of the second half of the eighteenth century.[163] It would certainly make sense for the closet to be positioned between the state bedchambers and the long gallery, as is indicated in Drury's reconstructed plan. The main rooms of the apartment – essentially, the state apartment of the sixteenth century – would therefore be aligned on the garden sides of south and north ranges. However, this would mean that access to the long gallery could only be obtained through the closet, conventionally a highly private space. This could indicate that the Jacobean closet was more accessible than its Tudor predecessor, or – more likely – that, at Audley End, its function had been spread into adjacent spaces (see below). Either way, the arrangement implies that the long gallery was an extremely private room; as in royal palaces, it was intended principally for the pleasure and use of the occupants of the state apartments (see p. 287).

The two rooms on the inner side of the apartments at Audley End represent the Jacobean development, and it is frustrating that their function is not fully understood. In the Royal Works accounts, there is a reference to the queen's dressing room and 'backstaires room', and a reference to the king's dressing room and withdrawing room; both seem to refer to the respective pairs of rooms on the west of the two back staircases.[164] It is likely that the rooms had a similar use in the Jacobean period. As the principal closet seems to have been on the main route through to the gallery, it may be that one of these chambers –

[163] The accounts of the Royal Works are invaluable for the period 1669-1701, but show the house functioning as a royal palace, rather than as a high-status country house. For instance, standard royal terminology was applied to the rooms, the great chambers becoming presence chambers, and so forth.

[164] In 1671/2 (TNA Work 5/18), the reference is to 'new matting the Queens bedchamber, dressing room and part of the backstaires roome', while in 1677/8 (Work 5/30), the accounts mention the main (outer) part of the suite – 'the Queens Bedchamber and Clossett privy chamber and lobby and prsence'. In 1678/9 (Work 5/31), the full sequence of king's rooms appears to be listed: 'ye Kings bedchamber and clossett, dressing roome, withdrawing room, privie chamber and presence'. The reference to the king's withdrawing room cannot apply to the Jacobean withdrawing chamber which, during the building's years as a royal palace, was known as the privy chamber.

perhaps the ‘dressing room’ of the royal period – took on some of the functions traditionally ascribed to the closet. For instance, while the room between bedchamber and gallery may have served for conversation, business and relaxation, the dressing room – in a ‘removed’ area on the courtyard side, close to the back stairs – may have been used for more private activities, such as washing and dressing. Additionally, in times of need, it may have been used for the accommodation of royal attendants or favourites, who could have entered the room directly from the withdrawing chamber. The room to the east, next to the back staircase, would then have been a convenient space for upper servants and for even more private activities (perhaps the royal close stool was housed here); it could also have served as a closet when the adjacent ‘dressing room’ was in use as a bedchamber.[165] The room had a further use as a point for monitoring access from the back staircase; neither the closet nor the dressing room could be entered directly from this stair, the backstairs chamber and gallery being on the route (respectively) to west and east – a secure arrangement.

As Audley End was being built, so work was progressing on Hatfield House, begun in 1607; it was sufficiently complete to receive King James on 5 July 1611, and the finishing touches were made the following year.[166] In many ways, the plan is completely different from that of Audley End. Sir Robert Cecil’s house was U-plan, and is much smaller in scale. However, it should be remembered that – although the present house stood alone – there were once additional courtyards at Hatfield (for example, a base court on the north), while further accommodation was provided by the buildings of the former royal and episcopal palace, on the north-west.

The state apartments at Hatfield are located at first-floor level in the east and west wings, and are joined by a long gallery, placed on the south side of the

[165] It is interesting to note that Roger North, writing in c. 1695, stated that the inner rooms of a state apartment should include ‘a passage to a back stair, for the servants in their common offices to pass by’ and ‘a room for a servant to be within call’, as well as a closet, ‘where the person, who is supposed of quality, to retire for devotion, or study’: North 1981, p. 134

[166] The status of the house in July 1611 is set out in a progress report prepared four days before the King’s visit: TNA SP14/65, no. 3. The King did not stay the night on this or any other known occasion.

main block (see Fig. 76).[167] Thus, with the gallery, the apartments create a rough U shape, like the apartments (and gallery) at Audley End; both Cecil and Howard would have been well aware that it was an arrangement common in royal palaces. Outwardly, Hatfield is largely symmetrical, like Audley End. However, there is no complete internal balance to the east and west sides. Most obviously, the traditional arrangement of great hall remains; the porches at the centres of the south and north façades open into the screens passage, and then into the double-height hall. Also, the primacy of the great staircase, on the east, at the upper end of the hall, seems always to have been made evident; as has been mentioned (see p. 253, note 122), a secondary stair certainly existed at Hatfield in the Jacobean period, at the low end of the hall, but it is likely to have been smaller and plainer in style than its counterpart.[168]

At first-floor level, the two apartments aim for symmetry, but do not quite achieve it. The great staircase ascends to the principal (king's) great chamber, which has three bay windows looking east; as at Audley End, there is no obvious delineation of the room's 'upper end', the largest bay window (the traditional oriel) being at the centre, opposite the chimneypiece. This room survives, with internal alterations, but the rest of the suite – to the south – has been greatly remodelled, notably in the 1780s and 1840s. Still, the remarkably large number of surviving documents permit a confident reconstruction, aided by a plan thought to record the house as it was before the late eighteenth-century changes.[169]

To the south of the king's great chamber was the withdrawing chamber, aligned (unlike the great chamber) east/west, and lit by bay windows on each side. Divided into two in the 1780s, it was originally the only room of the state apartment that filled the east range (that is, it was not arranged double- or triple-

[167] The state apartments at Hatfield have been studied, and reconstructed plans published, in: Smith 1992 (see especially p. 61); Smith 1993, pp. 70-1; and Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002 (for the plans, see pp. 74-6). All of these works are drawn upon here, although – as with Audley End – the following account largely represents my own analysis of the plan, while I am the first to thoroughly compare the seventeenth-century inventories.
[168] See: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 82
[169] The plan, of c. 1821, is by C. R. Cockerell and forms part of the RIBA Drawings Collection; see: John Harris, 'C. R. Cockerell's "Ichnographica Domestica"', *Architectural History*, vol. 14 (1971), p. 16, and Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 67

pile). In the south-east corner of the room, a doorway – placed opposite that opening off the great chamber – led to the king's bedchamber, with a bay window overlooking the gardens on the east.[170] Next to this, on the west – at the centre of the range – was the king's lobby or pallet room. With no natural light, and seemingly no fireplace, this room must have been entirely functional; inventories show that it contained a simple bed and close stool.[171] To the west again – on the courtyard side – was a room given various names in inventories. For instance, the 'antechamber at the west end of the King's withdrawing chamber' (1611), the 'withdrawing chamber to the King's bedchamber' (1620), the 'little drawing chamber to the King's bedchamber' (1629, 1638) and 'the King's dressing room' (1685). Although this was used as a high-status bedchamber on 'extraordinary' occasions around 1611 – probably for a guest's close relation or attendant – it was generally furnished with chairs, stools and such like; that is, as a withdrawing chamber.[172] It is interesting to note the terminology of the Hatfield documents – that the room was known as a 'dressing room' in the 1680s implies a similarity with the dressing rooms mentioned in the contemporary royal accounts for Audley End, on the inner sides of the state bedchambers.

On the south side of these three chambers at Hatfield – bedchamber, pallet chamber and withdrawing (or dressing) room – there were a further three chambers. That at the south-east corner of the wing seems to have been accessed directly from the king's bedchamber, and formed a passage to the newel stair contained in the south-east turret. In the seventeenth century, it was clearly a bedchamber of some status, although there was no bed in the room at

[170] In reconstructing the physical arrangements, I have relied upon the first-floor plan published in: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 75. However, given the scale of rebuilding in this area, it is natural that the plan is general, and may not capture some of the details of the original arrangement. For instance, the building accounts refer to 'the passage to the K's beddchambr' (CP 143/119), the exact location of which is unclear. It may perhaps have run between the staircase in the south-east turret and the bedchamber, bypassing the pallet chamber.

[171] These details, and the following discussion, are based on the seventeenth-century inventories of Hatfield, among the Cecil Papers: 30 September 1611 (Box A/1), 31 July 1612 (Box B/5), 2 October 1620 (two copies; Box A/2 and 3), 20 August 1621 (Box A/4 and 5), 9 June 1629 (Box A/6), 23 September 1638 (Box A/7), 25 July 1646 (Box A/8 and 9), 24 March 1679/80 (Box A/10) and 1 July 1685 (Box A/11).

[172] The inventory of 1611 (see above) lists 'extraordinary' furnishings for certain state rooms, including this. None of the inventories of the 1620s list the antechamber or withdrawing chamber as containing a bed; a bed appears in the room in the inventory of 1638, had gone by 1646, and then a bed appears once again in the inventories of the 1680s.

the time of the inventory of 1611, it being furnished as a withdrawing room or antechamber.[173] In 1612, named 'ye chambr over my lo. book cha', it contained a black and gilt bedstead with a canopy.[174] Next to it was a good-sized bedchamber, likewise of high status; in 1611, it was known as the 'Second Chamber', and contained, on extraordinary occasions, a gilded bedstead with a sparver.[175] At the south-west corner of the range was a third chamber. Perhaps on account of its position – adjoining the staircase of the south-west turret, with views over the courtyard – this did not serve as a principal bedchamber. Instead, for the first half of the seventeenth century, it was used as a pallet chamber, containing a simple bed and close stool.

As has been recognised by others, this area (further discussed on pp. 273-274) clearly included a lodging at the inner end of the king's apartment, although its lack of independent status tends to be overlooked. All three chambers seem to have communicated directly with the king's innermost rooms, and access to the back stairs was only possible via the two corner chambers. It is clear that the south-west room functioned as a pallet chamber, serving – at least by 1629 – the adjacent middle chamber, which was the grandest and most important room of the three. Around 1611, the south-west room probably also served the antechamber to the north, on occasions when that was in use as a bedchamber.

This private realm, beyond the state withdrawing chamber, was replicated on the queen's (west) side. It should be stated, first of all, that the hierarchy

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[173] The 1611 inventory (op. cit.) shows that the room, termed the 'Corner Chambr southward nexte to the King's bedchamber', then included a table, cupboard, chairs and stools.
[174] The location of the book chamber clearly changed following the death of Sir Robert Cecil. According to the inventory of 1611, it was in the area beneath the king's withdrawing chamber, and is shown in this position in the plan published in: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 74. However, shortly afterwards, it seems to have moved, allowing for an additional outer room for the Earl (either dining room or drawing chamber). In the inventory of 1620, the 'chamber over your lord's book chamber' is mentioned in addition to the king's state withdrawing chamber (named his 'dyning chamber'), and the order in which the rooms are listed – and the number of curtains they each have – make it clear that the 'book chamber' must have moved to the south-east corner of the ground floor.
[175] In 1620 and 1621, the room was functioning as 'My Lady Anne's nursery' (Lady Anne was a daughter of the 2nd Earl of Salisbury), but soon reverted to being a bedchamber, known between the 1630s and 1640s as the 'Middle chamber on the King's side'. By 1646, the room had once again become a nursery, but was shown as being a bedchamber in the inventories of 1680 and 1685.

between the two state apartments was far more obvious at Hatfield than it was at Audley End. As has already been mentioned (see pp. 254-255), the upper part of the chapel interrupts the conventional sequence on the west side, though it did serve to emphasise the divide between the outer and inner areas of the state suite. The arrangement had implications for the other rooms, notably the queen's great and withdrawing chambers, which were forced into a space occupied on the east side solely by the king's great chamber (see Fig. 76). These could be accessed separately from the king's rooms, either via a stair at the low end of the hall or via a passage which led from the great stairs over the hall dais and into the long gallery. The west great chamber was lit by two bay windows – the larger one, on the south, serving to give the sense of an upper-end oriel – while the withdrawing chamber was lit by a single bay window. Although the link with the bedchamber was not as direct as usual – it was entered via a passage on the west of the upper chapel – it may be that an enfilade of doorways was still achieved.[176]

To the immediate south of the chapel were three rooms, aligned as on the east. On the garden side was the queen's bedchamber, while to its east, in the centre, was a small, unheated room exactly comparable with the king's pallet chamber; in seventeenth-century inventories, it is named the pallet chamber, lobby room and, later, 'the dark chamber'. On the courtyard side was a room termed the 'Antechamber adioyninge to the upper chappell' in 1611. In use, it was probably akin to the king's antechamber. However, from 1620 (or earlier) the room served as a high-status bedchamber, known as the 'Chapel Chamber'.[177] At the south end of the west wing there were, as on the east, a

[176] Assuming that there was a doorway between great and withdrawing chambers on the far west, it would have been roughly aligned with that which led to the passage and rooms beyond. Such a doorway is shown in the first-floor plan produced by C. R. Cockerell (see note 169), which is thought to show the house before the late eighteenth-century alterations. However, the sole doorway between the rooms is shown as being on the far east in the reconstruction published in Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 75. This is based on the work of J. T. Smith, who was unaware of the Cockerell plan, and seems to be in error. A position on the west would seem far more likely, although it is possible there were doorways on both west and east. I am grateful to Claire Gapper for discussing this matter with me.

[177] It is termed the 'Chapel Chamber' in all seventeenth-century inventories from 1620 on. Annabel Ricketts has argued that the room served as an antechamber to the chapel, stating that 'Although intended to become a bedroom during royal visits, it was not otherwise furnished as a bedroom': Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 91. On the contrary, according to

series of three rooms. At the south-west corner – directly accessible from the queen's bedchamber and opening onto the turret staircase – was a room usually known as the 'pallet room' to the queen's chamber. To the east was a room consistently known as the 'middle chamber'; this functioned as a high-status bedchamber. Finally, there was the corner chamber at the south-east, which communicated with the turret staircase. This corner room functioned as a pallet chamber until the 1680s, serving the adjacent Chapel Chamber from 1620.

As will be clear, the status of the rooms at the inner ends of the two state suites varied somewhat in the early seventeenth century, and they cannot all be simply defined as 'lodgings', a point recognised here for the first time. There is a difference between 1611 and later years. In 1611, when Hatfield was not yet fully complete, the Queen was actually better served than the King. She seems to have had, in addition to her bedchamber and 'lobby', an antechamber (on the east) and a pallet chamber (in the corner by the garden). The King had the same provisions, with the difference that his antechamber (on the west side of the lobby) was intended to function during royal visits as a high-status bedchamber. Each apartment thus spread throughout the length of the garden side – progressing from great chamber to back stairs – and also took in the antechamber on the courtyard side. In all, each suite included three rooms beyond the bedchamber, and it is interesting that – as has been seen – there were also three such rooms at Audley End (closet, dressing room, and backstairs/withdrawing room). In both cases, the roles associated with the sixteenth-century closet were clearly spread into a number of different chambers. This left two rooms at the south ends of each of Hatfield's wings – a bedchamber (at the centre) and a pallet chamber (in the corner by the courtyard). During a royal visit, given their location, these rooms – and the king's antechamber – could only have been occupied by attendants, favourites, household officials or members of the royal family.[178] They were – in terms of

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inventories it was furnished as a bedroom by at least 1620, and remained so for the rest of the seventeenth century.

[178] Claire Gapper, John Newman and Annabel Ricketts have suggested that the occupant on the king's side was the Lord Chamberlain: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 81

single state apartments within country houses – secondary state bedchambers, with associated closets.

By 1612, the arrangement on the king's side had changed. The former pallet chamber at the south-east corner had become a bedchamber, and by 1620 – if not before – the antechamber to the west of the king's bedchamber was consistently used as a withdrawing room. Presumably, from this time, the back staircase associated with the king's rooms was that in the south-west turret, accessible via the pallet room on the south of the antechamber. The King therefore had use of – in addition to bedchamber and lobby – an antechamber and pallet chamber, though the latter also generally served the 'Middle Chamber'. In addition, there were two bedchambers: the Middle Chamber and the room at the south-east corner. On the west side, by at least 1620, there had also been changes. The former royal antechamber became a bedchamber (the 'Chapel Chamber'), and the Queen was thus left with a curtailed inner suite – no longer roughly parallel with that of the King – consisting of bedchamber, lobby and pallet chamber (at the south-west corner), which provided access to the back stairs. In addition, there were now two bedchambers – the Middle Chamber and the Chapel Chamber – together with a pallet chamber (at the south-east corner), serving the latter. That only the king's side had an antechamber after c. 1612 is interesting, and perhaps reflects the specific need of a space for private business and study.

Despite its compact plan, Hatfield manages to include a third apartment at first-floor level. Although this was not a state apartment in terms of its constituents, it was associated with the king's and queen's suites and was clearly of high status, and is therefore worthy of note here. The lodging is located on the north side of the long gallery, to the west of the upper part of the hall (see Fig. 76). It consisted of two main rooms; in the inventory of 1611, these were listed as the 'within drawing chamber' and the 'bedchamber adjoining to it'.[179] These functions seem to have changed after the death of Sir Robert Cecil. By the early

[179] In the building accounts, the rooms are referred to as 'the withdrawing chamber from the gallery to the north' and 'the lodging adioyning': CP 143/122. They both had timber chimneypieces.

1620s, the first chamber was functioning as a bedchamber, known from 1629 as the 'Gallery Chamber'. The room to its east – despite its comparatively large size – seems to have become an inner chamber or closet, containing a simple bed, hangings, chairs and a close stool.[180] It would seem likely that, as has been suggested, this north apartment was intended for the Prince of Wales, a title which was formally conferred on Henry in June 1610 – and on Charles in November 1616.[181] Its rank is emphasised by the presence of a canopy of state, listed among the 'extraordinary' furnishings of 1611, although it is interesting to note that, by 1629, this canopy seems to have been moved to the queen's withdrawing chamber. By that point, in the absence of a Prince of Wales – the future Charles II was born in 1630 – the status of the apartment had clearly declined, though it would still have provided fitting accommodation for a high-ranking visitor.

Bramshill is the third of the houses under study which boasted dual apartments for king and queen, and is given prominence here as no attempt has previously been made at reconstructing its Jacobean and Caroline state suites.[182] This reflects the fact that precise details of the plans of the apartments have not been documented, though the general form of the Jacobean house is known from an estate map of 1699 (Fig. 83).[183] This reveals the fact that, in the seventeenth century, Bramshill's entrance front was flanked by two projecting wings. One of these – probably that on the south – is thought to have been damaged by fire in c. 1640, and both were demolished in the early eighteenth

[180] In 1611, the narrow chamber to the immediate west of the upper hall – an extension of the long gallery, projecting over the north porch – was clearly functioning as a pallet chamber to this lodging. However, it does not appear to have been intended as such, and was not so named in any of the subsequent seventeenth-century inventories; the likelihood is that it was incorporated into the long gallery, to which it so closely relates. Its functions were then transferred to the neighbouring room, and the lodging was reduced from three chambers to two.
[181] Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 81
[182] There have been a number of studies of Bramshill, including those by Helen Hills: Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Hills 1985 I and Hills 1985 II. However, these have concentrated on the whole house, its dating and decoration, and have paid only passing attention to the function and planning of the state rooms. The location of the king's and queen's suites have never been fully explored, various rather summary (and unconvincing) assertions having been made; see, for instance, Hills 1985 II, p. 1099, and Hills 1984 (unpubl.), pp. 67-8
[183] The map survives at Bramshill (I am grateful to Jane George and Linsey Kerr for access to it, and for providing me with photographs). It was reproduced in: Hills 1985 I, p. 1012

century.[184] The 1699 map also implies that alterations carried out in the early eighteenth century to the main state range, on the south-east, were greater in scale than has previously been recognised, and this point – as we shall see – is borne out by inventories. The north-east end of the range, adjacent to the junction with the long gallery, is shown on the map as having been wider and deeper than is the case today.

In its present form, the first floor of the south-east range consists of two impressive rooms (now known as the Great Drawing Room and Library) (see Figs 70 and 71). The former is accessed via the great staircase, rising from the upper end of the great hall.[185] On the inner side of the Library, filling the north-east range, is the long gallery. Meanwhile, on the south-west side of the great staircase – above the great hall – is the Chapel Drawing Room. This was probably the principal great chamber until the completion, in the second decade of the seventeenth century, of a new great chamber (the Great Drawing Room). At the south corner of the Chapel Drawing Room is a chamber which, since the mid-nineteenth century, has functioned as the chapel; this once formed part of the wing which projected on the right side of the entrance front, and has a fine ceiling of the early 1600s (see Fig. 87), probably contemporary with that in the adjacent (secondary) great chamber.

The scale and opulence of early Stuart Bramshill is reflected by a series of important documents: an inventory of 1634, taken shortly after the death of Sir Edward Zouche, and five lists of furnishings, all dating from c. 1637, the year before the house was sold to Randal MacDonnell, 2nd Earl of Antrim.[186] These documents show that, by 1634 at the latest, the house included two state apartments. These presumably formed the accommodation of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, who stayed at the house in 1630; previously, they may have

[184] Information on Bramshill is gleaned from three principal sources – Cope 1883, Hill 1984 and Farrell and Lowe 2005 (unpubl.) – though there are also a series of useful articles in *Country Life*, including those by Helen Hills (Hills 1985 I and II).
[185] The stair itself dates from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, but seems to occupy the position of its Jacobean predecessor.
[186] For the inventory, see: TNA C108/187 and Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix C. For the lists, see: TNA C108/225 and C108/189, and Hills 1984, Appendices B and D-G. These primary documents form the basis for the account set out here.

been used by James I and Prince Charles, who visited the house together in 1620 and 1622 (see Appendix 2).

The king's suite was clearly focused on the two rooms which survive in the south-east range – which are named, in the 1634 inventory, the king's presence and privy chambers – and the long gallery in the north-east range. The 'King's Presence' of 1634 tallies, from its contents, with the 'Great Dining Room above' mentioned in the 'schedula containing all the goods at Bramsell, wch are to be sould', a document of c. 1637.[187] Meanwhile, the privy chamber to its north-east can, from a comparison of the contents, be identified with the 'Withdrawing room' listed after the 'Great Dining Room above' in the schedula. In Elizabethan and Jacobean terminology, they were great and withdrawing chambers.

There was, of course, more to the king's apartment than that. In the inventory of 1634, the two first-floor rooms of the south-east range were followed – after the chapel – by the 'Kinges lodginge' (i.e. the king's bedchamber), 'the Inner Chamber to the Kinges' and 'the Outer Roome to the King's Bedchamber', the compiler of the inventory then moving on to the 'chamber over the hall'.[188] In the schedula of c. 1637, the great chamber, withdrawing room and gallery are directly followed by 'the passage room to the King's Chamber', 'the King's Chamber' and 'the King's Withdrawinge Chamber', the list then continuing – as in 1634 – with the chamber over the hall ('the little dining roome above').[189] There were, then, two private chambers in addition to the king's bedchamber – one on its outer side, close to the state withdrawing chamber, the other on its inner side – and both seem to have functioned as closets. The 'passage room' or 'outer room' included a simple bedstead, a table, cupboard, stools and (in 1634) a close stool, while the 'inner chamber' or 'King's Withdrawinge Chamber' – more fully furnished in 1634 than in c. 1637 – contained a cupboard, table, chairs, stools and carpets. The latter room seems to have been heated, while

[187] TNA C108/225. The 'Great Dining Room above' referred to in the 'schedula' cannot be a reference to the present Chapel Drawing Room, as there is a separate mention of the 'little dining room above', while the inventory of 1634 includes a separate reference to the 'chamber over the hall'. From its contents, it seems to be the smaller room – over the hall – that is named the 'Great Dining Chamber' in the inventory of 1607, a role in which, by the 1630s, it had clearly been superseded.
[188] Inventory of 1634 (op. cit.)
[189] Schedula of c. 1637 (op. cit.)

there is no reference to fire stuff in the former. A comparison can be made with the unheated pallet chambers or lobbies in the two suites at Hatfield and the adjacent antechambers or withdrawing chambers.

Documents make clear that these inner rooms were closely associated with the two main chambers of Bramshill's principal apartment, and conventions of planning dictated that they should all be on one level; it is extremely unlikely that the inner rooms were on the floor above or below, especially as the south-east range appears to have been newly built in the Jacobean period, and was therefore largely unhampered by existing fabric.[190] A former sub-division of the surviving rooms also seems unlikely, given the existence of complete Jacobean ceilings. The strongest possibility is that the bedchamber, two inner chambers and presumably the back stairs were located in a block – now lost, but shown in outline on the estate map of 1699 (see Fig. 83) – at the north-east end of the range. This would have jutted out towards the gardens and adjoined the wing containing the long gallery.[191]

As to the location of the queen's apartment, the evidence of the Caroline documents points strongly in one direction: the first floor of the lost wing that projected from the right (south) end of the south-west front. It has already been stated that the room over the hall seems, following the completion of the Jacobean house, to have functioned as a secondary great chamber. The family rooms, including Lord Zouche's chamber, opened from its north-west side. Immediately after the 'chamber over the hall', in the inventory of 1634, are: the 'chamber called Herkulous Labours' (named after a series of hangings), 'the chamber next to Herkulous Labours', 'the White Bedd Chamber' and 'the withdrawing chamber to the White Chamber'.[192] The names of the rooms of this

[190] Farrell and Lowe 2005 (unpubl.), p. 23; Gapper 2003 (unpubl.), n.p.
[191] There is no evidence today for the presence of such a block – and it is difficult to reconcile the evidence of the estate map (which seems to be a reliable source) with the withdrawing chamber as it survives – but then this part of the house is known to have been greatly rebuilt. For instance, Helen Hills has argued that the loggias now at each end of the south-east terrace were moved to their current position from elsewhere, probably soon after 1699: Hills 1985 I, p. 1014. Originally, they may have been part of the south-west wings.
[192] Inventory of 1634 (op. cit.). A 'note of the howse holde stuffe' (TNA C108/225; Hills 1984 [unpubl.], Appendix F) shows that the 'Hercules roome' contained hangings depicting Hercules with his horses, his boar, 'the conjurer wth the bulls head', the lion and the man. After mentioning these rooms, the inventory goes on to describe 'the innermost roome on the south

suite are almost exactly replicated in the schedula of c. 1637, with the exception that the 'chamber next to Herkulous Labours' seems to become the 'passage to the White Roome' (both contained a simple bed); presumably, the 'passage' room was comparable with that in the king's apartment in being on the outer side of the bedchamber.[193] Another document, a 'note of such goods sent to London' in January and February 1637, mentions 'ye Queenes withdrawinge roome', 'the passedge to ye Queenes chamber' and 'the Queens chamber', as well as furnishings taken 'out of Hercules'.[194] Almost certainly, the references are to the rooms of the 'White suite', detailed above.

From this and other evidence, the queen's apartment seems to have begun with the secondary great chamber, which was then followed by four dedicated chambers. The first, the 'Hercules Labours chamber', is likely to have opened off the secondary great chamber and can therefore be identified with the present chapel, with its elaborate plasterwork ceiling, although its dimensions may well have been changed after the early 1700s. It seems that the room functioned as a state withdrawing chamber; furnishings, aside from the hangings, included chairs, tables and a cupboard. The room's status is reflected in the worth of its contents: in the schedula of c. 1637 the hangings were valued at £238, only slightly less than those of the (king's) great dining room and withdrawing chamber, the hangings of which were each valued at £278.[195] The chamber next to (on the south-west) of this, sometimes termed the 'passage room', was simply furnished and probably unheated. Then came the 'White Bedchamber' or 'White Room'; in 1634, this contained a 'sparver bedd with double vallence of white damaske', though the bed is not listed in the schedula of c. 1637. Finally, on the inner side of this, was a heated 'withdrawing

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side above' and 'the middle garret on the south side' – surely on the second floor of the projecting wing – before coming down to ground-floor level with the hall, great parlour and so forth. Slightly later, the compiler of the 'schedula' of c. 1637 (op. cit.), after describing the White Room and the withdrawing chamber to the White Room, moved 'up stayers over the white chamber' and into 'the corner chamber next to it' – implying he was close to the end of a range – before moving 'down stayers in the chamber under the white chamber' and on to the great hall.

[193] The 'passage room' seems to be referred to as 'the entry roome' in the undated 'note of howse holde stuffe' (op. cit.).

[194] TNA C108/189; Hills 1984 (unpubl.), Appendix E

[195] Schedula of c. 1637 (op. cit.). In the inventory of 1634 (op. cit.) the room's contents totalled £180, compared with £170 for the king's presence chamber and £230 for the king's privy chamber.

chamber'; in 1634, it was furnished with tables, cupboards, and numerous chairs and stools. The suite overall was comparable with that of the king, in comprising great chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber and two subsidiary rooms, which functioned as closets, although it had no associated long gallery. The Caroline documents strongly imply that there was a back staircase on the south-west side of the innermost chamber, perhaps topped by a turret, as at Hatfield.[196]

Helen Hills has described Bramshill as 'essentially a conservative house', built 'in the tradition of the Elizabethan prodigy houses' but lacking 'the spirit of courageous innovation which would rank it in the same league as Theobalds and Hatfield'.[197] Although its plan may have lacked refinement, however, the inclusion of two state apartments – for king and queen – places Bramshill in a tiny minority of English country houses; as has been noted, only three houses built or altered in the Jacobean period are known to have made this specific provision, the others being Audley End and Hatfield. As Lord Zouche was adapting an earlier property, he was not able to create a symmetrical arrangement. Instead, Bramshill's state apartments seem to have formed one long line on the south-east (garden) side, each opening off a great chamber, placed on either side of the great staircase. It is perhaps no coincidence that the only other known instance of this general plan form is Theobalds (see Figs 48 and 49) – where Zouche must have spent quite some time (see p. 229) – although there, the two apartments were split by a floor level.

The Positioning of the Long Gallery

It has been stated in Chapter 4 that, in the sixteenth century, the long gallery was considered ideally placed at the inner end of the state apartment, following royal practice (see pp. 189-190). However, this arrangement was not always possible – notably, in houses of a compact plan or in those rebuilt and therefore affected by existing fabric. Still, including these instances, a direct relationship

[196] For evidence of this, see note 192
[197] Hills 1985 II, p. 1099

between long gallery and great chamber was found to be unusual; generally, galleries were associated with the withdrawing chamber or a suite's inner rooms.

Of the nine houses under study in this chapter, all but one – Cranborne Manor House – featured a long gallery, reflecting the continued significance and popularity of this architectural component. In four of the cases – all courtyard houses – the gallery was at the inner end of the apartment: namely, Audley End (joining the two state suites), Bramshill (relating only to the king's suite), Apethorpe Hall, and Castle Ashby (the gallery seemingly added in the early 1630s, though it may have replaced a comparable earlier range). However, as in the sixteenth century, it was not necessarily associated only with the bedchamber, closet and back stairs. At Apethorpe, a passage linked the withdrawing chamber and long gallery (see p. 286), while at Bramshill the principal (king's) withdrawing chamber seems to have led directly into the gallery, the bedchamber and inner state rooms being 'removed' to the south-east.

The remaining four cases reveal an even greater sense of flexibility about the positioning of the gallery, which was increasingly affected by two factors: the growing popularity of compact and double-pile plans, and the increasing importance of external symmetry. This is particularly well represented by Hatfield, where the long gallery (which originally had lobbies at each end) occupies the south part of the main block, which is built on a double-pile plan (see Fig. 76).[198] The room does serve to link the two state apartments, but does so from their outer (rather than inner) chambers, extending from the south-west of the king's great chamber to the east side of the queen's withdrawing chamber.[199] On account of this position, the gallery must have functioned as a

[198] As has been noted by others, were the gallery in a range of a single thickness, and were that range brought forward to join the southern ends of the projecting wings, it would be in its conventional position; see: Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 70, and Girouard 2009, p. 117. Fused with the hall range, however, the gallery 'becomes a crucial element in the circulation pattern of the house, and thus cannot be … the culmination of the state apartments': Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 74

[199] The gallery's context has since been altered, with the opening up of the lobbies in the early nineteenth century and the creation in the 1780s of a single large chamber (the library) out of the former queen's great and withdrawing chambers.

more public space than usual, and also as a passage, linking the two state apartments and providing access to the additional suite on the north. It is notable that, in a newly built house which must have imitated royal palaces to a large extent, the gallery should have been positioned in such a way, and implies fashions were changing, internal arrangements being subjugated to outward effect.

The remaining three houses – Knole, Blickling Hall and Aston Hall – are all somewhat atypical in their planning. At Knole, Thomas Sackville's state apartment must have been greatly affected by pre-existing fabric; for instance, the King's Tower (containing the state bedchamber) is likely to have pre-dated the early seventeenth century, and the Jacobean great chamber (the present Ballroom) occupies the site of its medieval predecessor. The result is an arrangement which may be unique among English country house state apartments (see Fig. 77). The suite begins along conventional lines: the great chamber is at the head of the great staircase, and – although there is a secondary staircase to the chamber's west (probably marking the site of a fifteenth-century stair) – it is followed, as usual, by the withdrawing room, known as the 'Reynolds Room' since the early nineteenth century. Conventionally, the state bedchamber and long gallery would follow, but at Knole this order has been reversed. Opening off the east end of the withdrawing chamber is the long gallery (known as the 'Cartoon Gallery' since the early nineteenth century), and then, in the King's Tower at its south-west end, comes the state bedchamber, with a small closet to its north.[200]

In some ways, it is surprising that Sackville – so familiar with royal palaces – would even have considered this arrangement. However, in actuality, the reordering has only a limited effect on function and status; the gallery, usually a private room, becomes even more so, as it forms the passage to the

[200] The gallery was remodelled in the early eighteenth century to house a series of copies of Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine Chapel. It was known as the 'Cartoon Library' in 1799 and by 1817 had become 'The Cartoon, formerly the Great Gallery'; see: Knole Conservation Management Plan, vol. 2, p. 219

bedchamber and closet.[201] While the bedchamber was in use, access to the gallery would, presumably, have been strictly limited. The governing principle of the arrangement was not planning but outward symmetry. This was ensured – the King's Tower and Duke's Tower flanking the new loggia – as was the traditional positioning (in a tower) of the state bedchamber. A lack of prescription is further exemplified by Blickling, where the long gallery (in the east wing) was placed on the outer side of the great chamber, beyond the great stair (see Fig. 79). As with the similar, Elizabethan arrangement at Kirby Hall, this undoubtedly reflects the existence of earlier fabric, Blickling having first been built in the 1390s.[202]

At Aston Hall, begun in 1618 – only a year before Blickling – the situation is quite different; the usual sequence of public state rooms was disrupted, in the hands of John Thorpe, who is known to have provided designs.[203] The arrangement of the two state bedchambers, on the east side of the great chamber, has already been outlined (see pp. 261-262). On the west side of the great chamber was the withdrawing chamber, which provided access to the long gallery (Fig. 84, and see Fig. 78). This runs through the west part of the house's main (double-pile) block, and was originally lit by bay windows on its north, west and south sides.[204] Aston's gallery served to link the state apartment (on the south) with the rooms of the family (on the north), an arrangement familiar from sixteenth-century houses such as Burghley. However, the house's compact U-plan meant that – as at Hatfield – the gallery was associated with the outer rooms of the suite, rather than the inner chambers. Design was clearly all important: the plan was subjugated to the building's external effect – most notably the elaborate windows and massing of the south front. As the 'complex' window had to be at the centre, so too did the great chamber, meaning that the

[201] The room could have been bypassed – there is a corridor, known as the 'tapestry passage', on its north (courtyard) side, accessed by hidden doorways in the gallery's north wall – but the occupant of the apartment would clearly have walked the length of the Cartoon Gallery to access the bedchamber.
[202] Thinking of this, Caroline Stanley-Millson and John Newman have commented that, 'The state apartment at Blickling is not a single entity': Stanley-Millson and Newman 1986, p. 11
[203] The book of John Thorpe includes a ground plan of Aston and an unfinished first-floor plan. For further information, see: Fairclough 1989
[204] The context of the gallery was altered somewhat around the early eighteenth century; not only were the bay windows removed, but an antechamber was built at its south end, over the existing Jacobean loggia.

withdrawing chamber was moved from its traditional position – between great chamber and bedchamber – to a location between great chamber and long gallery. Both gallery and withdrawing chamber must have been public (or at least semi-public) spaces, since the remainder of the suite could function independently from them.

In many respects, Aston is testament to a wider issue – the problem (even impossibility) of integrating the traditional state apartment with the classically styled buildings of the Caroline period and later. As we have seen, the gallery proved particularly awkward for the double-pile plan, as at Hatfield, and (of sixteenth-century examples) Hardwick. The result was an increasingly public room, no longer predominantly associated with the innermost state areas.

Routes of Communication and Access

This section will use four of the nine country houses under study – Audley End, Hatfield, Cranborne and Apethorpe Hall – to demonstrate how routes of communication and access developed in the Jacobean period. It has been seen that, in the sixteenth century, the layout of state apartments grew in complexity and sophistication to give rise to the true *appartement*. Many suites of the earlier period simply formed a procession of single rooms, one after another, and though this continued to be the case in certain Elizabethan houses, there was a noticeable advancement in planning, involving the creation of flexible and dramatic routes of communication and access (see pp. 198-204).

In the Jacobean period, there still existed the simple, processional apartment – for instance, at Blickling Hall (see Fig. 79). However, planning seems to have become increasingly complex, and drew on continental architecture, known from first-hand experience and through drawings and published works. This complexity could be applied to even the simplest of plans, as is proven by Cranborne Manor House. Nicholas Cooper has commented that Cranborne's second-floor state rooms 'are no more than what was provided for important guests in a great many permanent residences of the higher gentry who would

never aspire to entertain the sovereign'.[205] There is an element of truth in this assertion, in that Cranborne's rooms are comparatively small-scale, although – as has been mentioned (see p. 261) – provision was made for a second state bedchamber. However, the planning of the house overall – studied through the plans of c. 1613 (see Figs 72 and 73) – reveals a great degree of talent and sophistication, presumably in the person of William Arnold, known to have provided designs.[206]

A great deal of thought was obviously given to routes of access. Cranborne incorporated two major apartments – one for state, the other for the daily use of the Earl of Salisbury – plus about eight sets of lodgings. Remarkably, almost all of these were independently accessed, and there was obviously a hierarchy. The state suite, in the main block, was carefully and cleverly detached from other lodgings, despite the compact nature of the plan. The wing on its west side was of two storeys only, meaning that the state chambers on the top floor adjoined 'dead rooms' of the roof space.[207] The east wing – largely demolished in the early eighteenth century – rose through three levels. However, there was no way through from the king's pallet chamber to the 'upper east garret chamber', which was accessed by its own stair, rising from the low end of the hall. The second-floor state rooms were therefore completely cut off, the only point of access – aside from the great stairs – being the newel (back) staircase in a turret on the south. This descended to the first-floor 'Prinses chamber' and adjacent pallet chamber, which were (again) carefully isolated; on the west side was the upper part of the hall, while there was no way through to the three sets of lodgings on the first floor of the east wing, these being accessed from the hall's low end. It seems that the principal access to the prince's chamber was via the great stair; that is, up to the second floor, through the great and withdrawing chambers, and then down the newel. On less ceremonial occasions, the occupant of the prince's chamber could have accessed the room by ascending the newel stair from the east end of the screens passage.

[205] Cooper 1999, p. 121
[206] Arnold has been described as 'one of the most inventive and attractive of Jacobean artificer-designers': Girouard 2009, p. 389
[207] CPM Supp. 85/4

Apethorpe is another house whose seeming simplicity belies a rather sophisticated plan.[208] The first-floor state apartment – which incorporates the outer state rooms of the Elizabethan house – fills the south and east ranges of the principal courtyard (see Fig. 81). It begins, after the great stairs, with the great chamber. This is followed by the withdrawing chamber, the east wall of which contained two doors: that on the north led into a passage, and then to the back staircase and long gallery; that on the south led directly into the king's chamber and, from thence, into the 'Duke's Chamber' and the two respective closets (see p. 262), and so round to the back stairs. The provision of the passage on the courtyard side of the king's chamber ensured flexibility of use: the long gallery could be accessed from the withdrawing chamber, while the bedchambers and closets were 'removed' to the south-east, an arrangement discussed in Chapter 4 with regard to houses such as Burghley and Copthall. Each of the state bedchambers could function independently: access to the Duke's Chamber could be gained via the two closets, without crossing the king's chamber, while the latter could be accessed directly from the withdrawing chamber.

As may be obvious, the only awkwardness concerned the closets. Access to the Duke's Chamber was only possible via the king's chamber or via the king's closet and adjacent 'Dukes Chamber Closett', while the occupant of the king's chamber would have had to pass through either the state withdrawing room or the 'Dukes Chamber Clossett' in order to reach their own inner room.[209] This arrangement could be understood as a compromise, reflecting the existence of pre-Jacobean fabric. Alternatively, it could be understood as a reflection of the use of the two inner rooms. Apethorpe's plan implies that the occupants of the two state bedchambers would always have been known to each other, perhaps as husband and wife, father and son, or, indeed, king and favourite. They were

[208] The analysis of Apethorpe's plan is based upon the work carried out by English Heritage, including Cole 2003 (unpubl.) and Cattell 2006 (unpubl.); vol. 2 of the latter includes my report 'The Use of Elizabethan and Jacobean State Apartments, with reference to Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire'. The arrangement of the apartment's inner rooms is known through fabric analysis, and is further illuminated by a nineteenth-century copy of a plan of c. 1720-40, which seems to show the Jacobean inner rooms *in situ*, before their rebuilding; see: Cattell 2006 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 276

[209] Inventory of 1691 (NRO W (A) Box 5, VI)

given their own closets, but these cannot be considered as rooms which functioned alone; they were private as a pair, but not independently.

The planning of the state apartments at Audley End and Hatfield has already been discussed, but it is worth revisiting these houses to consider routes of communication and access, especially as this subject has not been investigated before. At both, whole areas – rather than individual rooms – seem to have been treated as private, at least when the state bedchambers were in occupation. The plan of Audley End exemplifies the practice of 'removing' inner chambers from other areas of the suite. As at Apethorpe, there were two doorways in the east walls of the withdrawing chambers in both state apartments (see Fig. 80). Those on the inner (courtyard) side certainly led to a 'secret' domain, comprising two inner rooms – both related to a closet in function – and a back staircase. But the doorways on the outer (garden) side seem likewise to have led into a private domain, consisting of bedchamber and closet, with access to the long gallery in the east range.

There are two possibilities: firstly, that this was the case, and that all first-floor rooms beyond the state withdrawing chambers were considered private when the apartments were in occupation; secondly, that the bedchamber and closet were, in fact, semi-public, and formed part of the route of access to the long gallery and the rooms beyond (including the upper chapel), leaving the chambers on the courtyard side 'removed'. At this date, the state bedchambers of English royal palaces were still private spaces (see pp. 113-114). Either Audley End was extremely advanced, or (more likely) the whole east half of the state apartments was indeed considered out of bounds to all but the occupants of the suites, their immediate attendants and guests. This private status would inevitably have extended to the long gallery. When the state rooms were in occupation and the back stairs in use, separate access to the gallery would only have been possible via the newel stairs on its east face, and it would probably have been considered off limits altogether to those unassociated with the occupants of the two suites.

Perhaps even more private was one other first-floor room at Audley End: that placed parallel to the upper chapel, on the east side of the gallery, and termed 'ye great councell chamber' in 1669.[210] Its function during the early seventeenth century is unknown, but it seems probable that it was intended as a private sanctum for the King and his Privy Council, of which Thomas Howard was a key member. Such a room is unknown to have existed at any other Jacobean house, though there was a council chamber at Theobalds by 1591.[211] At Audley End, its presence is likely to relate less to need than to external effect.[212] Any state room could have served, where necessary, for meetings of the Privy Council – a long gallery, for instance – but the projecting chapel at Audley End had to be balanced by a parallel block on the north, and that block had to have a function.[213]

Hatfield was only slightly less lavish in its provisions, and is comparable in having areas which were clearly highly private in status. These did not, in this case, include the long gallery, which – as has already been mentioned – joined the outer rooms of the two state apartments. However, as at Audley End, the rooms on the inner side of the state withdrawing chambers seem to have formed a 'secret' realm. On the king's side, as at Audley End and Apethorpe, the withdrawing chamber had two doorways in its inner (south) wall (see Fig. 76). These led, respectively, into the king's bedchamber and the king's antechamber; as has been discussed, the latter room seems to have taken on some of the roles traditionally associated with the closet, and could also serve as a high-status bedchamber.

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[210] TNA Work 5/12

[211] The schedule of accommodation of 1591 (CP 140/33) shows that a 'counsell chamber' was positioned at the end of Lord Burghley's own gallery, in the north range of the middle court. By 1650, when the parliamentary survey was taken, the council chamber had been transferred to the single-storey north range of the inner (Conduit) court: TNA E351/Herts/26, p. 5

[212] As has been noted (see p. 27), the practice of holding meetings of the Privy Council during royal progresses differed under Elizabeth and James. Such meetings occurred regularly under the Queen (one was held at sixteenth-century Audley End in 1578, for example), but James's Privy Council seems generally to have met in or near London, even though councillors often accompanied him on progress. A full understanding is, however, impossible due to the loss of the Privy Council books of 1602-13.

[213] The lofty ground floor, beneath the council chamber, was filled with a vaulted cellar, another function which was surely not strictly necessary, especially in this location.

Given the intimate nature of such rooms, it can only have been the select few who were permitted to cross them in order to access the chambers at the south end of the east wing. The provision of staircases in the turrets at south-east and south-west (one of which will have served as the king's back stairs) meant that it was possible to access these rooms without entering the king's apartment. Still, this was an advantage, and aided flexibility; it did not take away from the proximity of the rooms to the adjacent state suite, and their status can only be viewed as extremely high, and private. Flexibility was also enabled by the planning of the west wing. The upper chapel could be accessed from the lobby at the west end of the long gallery, without any need to enter the state rooms. Meanwhile, a doorway at the south-east corner of the upper chapel led to the Chapel Chamber and rooms beyond, meaning that the whole state apartment could be 'removed' when necessary, and that it was able to function independently from the chapel and Chapel Chamber.

It is likely that the outer and inner areas of a state apartment were strongly differentiated in architectural terms; for instance, by ceiling height. It is impossible to argue this point in detail, for the closets and/or other inner rooms have been lost or radically altered at seven of the nine houses under study; the surviving examples, at Knole and Blickling Hall, are both limited in extent and unambitious in character, comprising a single closet, placed adjacent to the state bedchamber. However, it is clear that inner rooms were – in comparison to outer state rooms and the state bedchamber – dark, small and confined, emphasising their privacy. As has been noted, of the two separate closets in the state apartments at Bramshill, Hatfield and Apethorpe, one was unheated. The 'passage rooms' at Bramshill may also have been unlit, something which was true of the 'lobbies' of the state apartments at Hatfield. At Audley End, the two inner chambers on the courtyard sides of each suite are known to have been heated, but – each lit by single windows – must have seemed dim and confined in comparison to the vast scale of the adjacent state rooms. Thus, their function was strongly linked to their form, furnishing and, probably, to their decoration.

The Decoration of the State Apartment

It is in this area, in particular, that a study of Jacobean state apartments – as opposed to those of the sixteenth century – can be valuable. Of the nine houses under study, all but two (Cranborne and Castle Ashby) retain significant interior decoration of the early seventeenth century, at least in the outer, more public rooms of the state apartment.[214] In one case, that of Apethorpe Hall, the surviving internal decoration is highly notable in forming a cohesive suite, which constitutes a unique survival among country houses of the period. In all cases, such decoration can be invaluable in illuminating the form and function of the state rooms.

It is immediately clear from surviving decoration that state rooms of the highest rank were the subject of considerable elaboration and display – emphasising their status within the house as a whole – although this was often of a different character to that of the Elizabethan period, tending to be more restrained and elegant in style and form.[215] Extravagant gestures – such as the extraordinary celestial ceiling at Theobalds (see p. 209) – seem to have become deeply unfashionable. Indeed, this ceiling appears to have been removed from the great chamber at some point between 1600 and the acquisition of the house as a royal palace in 1607; so too were the room's 'grotto' or fountain and the artificial trees lining the walls.[216]

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[214] Cranborne was largely neglected between the mid-seventeenth century and the mid-nineteenth century. When the house was restored in 1863, new panelling and chimneypieces were inserted. At Castle Ashby, the early seventeenth-century plaster ceiling of the great chamber survives, but the majority of the state range was destroyed by fire during the Civil War. It was rebuilt in the 1660s and 1670s, and altered again in the nineteenth century. It should also be noted that at Hatfield, although a wealth of Jacobean work survives, the interiors of the two state apartments were radically altered in the 1780s and later.

[215] Eric Mercer has commented on this change, noting that the Elizabethan 'love of bright colours and bizarre effects' tended to be replaced with more subdued colours and, in particular, by 'fair white', silver and walnut colour. Meanwhile, the counterfeiting of precious materials was replaced by use of the real things: Mercer 1953, pp. 156-7 and pp. 161-3. Furthermore, compared to work of the sixteenth century, the rib outlines of Jacobean plaster ceilings were finer and more intricate: Gapper 1998 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 438, p. 443 and pp. 438-9

[216] The last known description of the features is that by Baron Waldstein, who visited on 10 July 1600; see: Waldstein 1981, pp. 81-7. The room's subsequent remodelling, apparently carried out by Robert Cecil, may have formed part of the preparations for the entertainment of James I and his court in May 1603. It seems to have involved the insertion of the panelling sketched by John Smythson in 1618.

However, like the Elizabethans, builders of the Jacobean period continued to emphasise their status and sense of style by making use of architectural treatises and continental pattern books, such as those by Sebastiano Serlio, Jan Vredeman de Vries and J. A. du Cerceau. For instance, de Vries's *Das Ander Buech* (1565) inspired part of the carved decoration in the great chamber (Ballroom) at Knole (see Fig. 95).[217] A more specific quotation – in this case, from du Cerceau's second *Livre d'Architecture* (1561) – was made by the overmantel in Knole's state withdrawing chamber (Reynolds Room). This, probably executed by Cornelius Cure, also shows the influence of the suite of trophies published by de Vries in 1572.[218]

The use of allegorical figures was especially popular. For example, the great chamber at Aston Hall has a decorative plaster frieze featuring the Nine Worthies, symbolising virtue, courage and heroism (Fig. 85). These are thought to derive from prints published by Philips Galle and possibly designed by Maarten de Vos; they may have been influenced by (or have influenced) similar plaster figures in the great hall at Blickling.[219] The plasterwork in the state rooms at Audley End – described by Claire Gapper as being 'astonishing for its variety and invention' – included references to another popular series, depicting the Four Parts of the World, which was illustrated by Maarten de Vos and others.[220] Surviving friezes of the state withdrawing chamber on the south side – now in the dining room – contain roundels representing America (on the east) and Europe (on the west). Especially spectacular is the ceiling of the long gallery at Blickling Hall, executed by Edward Stanyon in 1620 (Fig. 86). This features a number of figures in compartments – known to derive from Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* [*sic*] (1612) – together with the Five Senses, from

[217] Wells-Cole 1997, p. 64 and p. 66
[218] Ibid, p. 38, p. 40 and p. 88
[219] Ibid, p. 115; Blickling Guide, p. 19. The Worthies at Blickling seem to have been in place by 1627, while the plasterwork at Aston Hall was probably completed in c. 1630, dates kindly suggested to me by Claire Gapper. Of Aston's state rooms overall, Nicholas Cooper has noted that, 'The original decoration of architectural features derives largely from the Northern European pattern books': Nicholas Cooper, 'A Jacobean masterpiece for free: Aston Hall, Birmingham', *Country Life*, 26 August 2009, vol. 203, p. 55
[220] Gapper 1998 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 438 and p. 450. This series seems to have been popular with James I, for his withdrawing chamber at Whitehall was, in 1620-1, painted with 'four equal squares showing the four quartets of the world and the four seasons with their fruits': Mercer 1953, p. 157

an unidentified source.[221] These range along the centre of the room according to the classical hierarchy (ascending from Touch to Sight); Doctrina or Learning is placed at the head of the sequence, emphasising that it can only be achieved via the senses.

An even more popular decorative component of Jacobean state rooms was heraldic devices and coats of arms, used to emphasise the rank, lineage and connections of the owners concerned. As in the sixteenth century, the great chamber proved a particularly popular place to display heraldry. At Audley End, for instance, the chimneypiece in the south great chamber (the present Saloon; see Fig. 82) bears the arms of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk impaling Knyvett (the family of his wife, Catherine) and the symbol of the Garter, which formed part of the arms and devices of James I; the Garter motto – 'honi soit qui mal y pense' – had already been prominently displayed, the words featuring in the balustrades of the outer (entrance) courtyard.[222] At Knole, begun around the same time as Audley End, Thomas Sackville likewise chose to adorn the chimneypiece in the state great chamber with his own arms and the symbol of the Garter. The symbol and motto of the Garter appear once again at Bramshill, as a recurring motif on the plaster ceiling of what is now the chapel and what was probably originally the secondary (queen's) withdrawing chamber (Fig. 87); the Garter encloses a Tudor rose and is topped by a crown, while the surrounding ribs bear roses and thistles (representing England and Scotland) growing from a single stem. Dating from the other end of James's reign are the plasterwork ceilings in the great and withdrawing chambers at Apethorpe Hall, which bear a genealogical sequence 'showing eight generations of marriages between the wealthiest and most important families of later medieval England'.[223]

At Hatfield, now in the Winter Drawing Room, to the north of the long gallery, there is a marble chimneypiece – probably by Maximilian Colt, the King's

[221] Wells-Cole 1997, p. 165; Gapper 1998 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 480
[222] This and another motto are mentioned by Count Magalotti, who visited Audley End in 1669 (Braybrooke 1836, p. 88), and are shown in Henry Winstanley's views of the outer court: Winstanley 1688
[223] Wilmott 2009, pp. 25-6

Master Sculptor – bearing the arms of Robert Cecil. It has been suggested that this was originally in the queen's great chamber.[224] The doorway to the principal (east) great chamber, facing onto the great staircase, was topped by a 'carv'd picture of my lo: Armes', but within the room Cecil chose to emphasise his status in more dramatic style.[225] The overmantel, again carved by Colt, bears a statue of James I himself, in ceremonial dress (see Fig. 64). Salisbury's loyalties and social position, and the status of the east apartment, were thus explicitly stated, though it is notable that the royal arms are not known to have appeared as an integral part of the interior decoration at Hatfield.[226] Indeed, they only rarely appear in the state rooms at the houses which have been studied, a notable exception being Apethorpe Hall, where the royal arms fill the centre of the ceiling of the king's bedchamber (Fig. 88). It may be that the builders concerned preferred to display their allegiance in more imaginative ways or perhaps did not need to display their allegiance at all, the provision of elaborate state rooms being in itself a sufficient gesture.[227]

From the evidence of the houses under study, the function of individual state rooms was not generally proclaimed in their decoration during the Jacobean period. There are, however, exceptions. The overmantel of the great chamber (Ballroom) at Knole includes garlands, ribbons and trophies of musical instruments – presumably making reference to the room's use as a place of entertainment – while a similar point is made by an inscription above the fireplace in the long gallery at Apethorpe. Known to have been composed by Mary, the wife of Sir Francis Fane, it states:[228]

> Rare, & ever to be wisht maye sownde heere
> Instruments wch faint sp'rites & muses cheere
> Composing for the body, soule and eare
> Which sicknes, sadnes, & foule spirits feare

[224] Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 84. The accounts refer to a stone chimneypiece 'with his Lordships arms in the Great chamber on the west side'.
[225] Hatfield inventory of 1629 (CP Box A/6)
[226] Pers. comm. (Robin Harcourt Williams)
[227] It should be noted that the absence of the royal arms can be seen to undermine the traditional view that high-status state apartments were intended just for royalty.
[228] White 2008, p. 72. The discovery regarding its authorship was made by Kathryn Morrison and is based on the evidence of a commonplace book of c. 1640.

Still, in general, the signifier of function seems to have been less important in decorative terms than the illustration of cohesion within a state apartment as a whole, and the hierarchy of importance of the various rooms which made up that apartment. Unity within the suite was achieved, in particular, by the use of a hierarchy of chimneypieces and plaster ceilings, carefully designed with an overall effect in mind.[229] For instance, at Knole, the suite's chimneypieces – probably by Cornelius Cure, royal Master Mason until his death in 1607 – are all crafted of different coloured marbles and stones, and are clearly influenced by continental architecture. The ceilings, meanwhile, are all thought to be the work of Richard Dungan, the King's Master Plasterer, and form a cohesive set.

This is similarly the case at Bramshill, where the plasterwork and chimneypieces of the surviving rooms in the principal (king's) apartment are all contemporary, executed in the second decade of the seventeenth century.[230] The chimneypieces in the two most important state rooms at Bramshill – great chamber (State Drawing Room; see Fig. 71) and withdrawing chamber (Library) – are made of marble and classical in style, though they are even more restrained than those at Knole. Helen Hills has noted that, 'Together, the chimneypieces and decorated ceilings at Bramshill strikingly illustrate the absence of any idea of homogeneity in the decoration of a single room. They do show, however, that a degree of coherence was expected between adjacent rooms. In turn, this reflects the way in which rooms were conceived and used as parts of a sequence, rather than as separate, discrete units'.[231]

The sense of state rooms as a sequence – an apartment – is perhaps best illustrated by Apethorpe Hall (see Fig. 81). It is hard to know how unusual the decoration at Apethorpe was – of the houses under study in this chapter, aside from Apethorpe, complete (or nearly complete) suites of chimneypieces and ceilings survive in the state rooms only at Knole, Bramshill (king's apartment)

[229] Although evidence it limited, it seems that 'architects' were sometimes involved in the design of such features, underlining the sense of unity. For instance, Robert Lyminge, architect of Blickling, is known to have designed the overmantel of the great chamber: Blickling Guide, p. 20. Earlier, in 1611, mention was made of painting the two chimneypieces in the long gallery at Hatfield 'after the order of the aciteckt' (CP 143/122), presumably another reference to Lyminge.
[230] Farrell and Lowe 2005 (unpubl.), p. 42; Gapper 2003 (unpubl.), n.p.
[231] Hills 1985 II, p. 1099

and Aston Hall. However, it seems to be uncommon, and reflects two main factors: the speed with which the Jacobean remodelling was carried out – it was begun after May 1622 and completed in time for James I's visit in summer 1624 – and the fact that the work was initiated at the command of the King (see p. 220), who, by 1622, had already visited Apethorpe ten times.[232] As has been noted (see p. 234), some of the foremost craftsmen of the day seem to have been involved in the rebuilding, including (probably) the workshop of Thomas Thorpe, master mason, and the plasterer Edward Stanyon, both of whom had worked at Blickling Hall.[233]

James I's connection with the new work at Apethorpe was made immediately obvious. At the centre of the state (south) range, which faced the medieval gatehouse, a niche contained a statue of the King, dressed in his coronation robes (Fig. 89). This statue – which survives at the house – broadly resembles that in the great chamber at Hatfield, and may have been based on a printed source, such as the portrait which appears in John Taylor's *A Briefe Remembrance of all the English Monarchs* (1622).[234] Apethorpe's great chamber retained the chimneypiece inserted in the 1560s by Sir Walter Mildmay, but the ceiling was new – an extravagant display of decorated ribs and heraldry (Fig. 90) – and a sequence of Jacobean chimneypieces began in the withdrawing chamber, continuing into the king's chamber, Duke's Chamber and long gallery.[235]

The sequence as a whole served to flatter and glorify James I, and to celebrate the successes of his reign (for instance, the upholding of peace, and the publication of the King James Bible), thereby emphasising the status of Sir Francis Fane, who was created Earl of Westmorland in December 1624. In the overmantel of the withdrawing chamber a bas-relief depicts the Sacrifice of

[232] James I came to Apethorpe in 1603, 1604, 1605, 1610, 1612, 1614 (when he apparently met George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham), 1616, 1617, 1619, 1621 and 1624. His host for all but the last two of these visits was Sir Anthony Mildmay, Fane's father-in-law.
[233] Alexander and Morrison 2007; Gapper 2008, especially pp. 100-1
[234] White 2008, p. 66 and pp. 74-5
[235] It is unknown whether this decorative scheme originally took in the king's closet. This chamber was destroyed in the reworking of c. 1740, along with the smaller (Duke's) closet to the south and the back staircase on the north, and all respective plaster ceilings.

Isaac, a known allegory of obedience and faith (Fig. 91).[236] Either side of this, atop columns, there were originally figures of two Theological Virtues – on the left, Faith, and on the right, Hope – while motifs on the lower part of the fireplace refer to the King and monarchical power. For instance, the columns are encircled with imperial crowns, while an open book may originally have been painted with a text composed by James I; to either side of it, a sword and sceptre – emblems of kingship – issue from clouds, indicating the divine source of the King's authority.[237]

The status of the adjacent king's chamber was boldly proclaimed by its ceiling, which features the Stuart royal arms in high relief (see Fig. 88). Above the fire opening is a carved panel bearing reference to James I's favourite recreation: it depicted a hunting scene, with mounted riders and dogs chasing a stag towards a waiting spearsman. The room's overmantel is especially elaborate (Fig. 92); clearly inspired by the Mildmay monument in Apethorpe's church, commissioned by Fane in 1621 and almost certainly executed by Maximilian Colt, it has a bowed entablature forming a curtained canopy. Within the draperies are two seated figures, that on the left representing War (holding a sword) and that on the right Peace (holding an olive branch). Above, a hovering cherub is about to crown Peace, while groups of figures below depicted the lion and the lamb and the child and the cockatrice; these, derived from verses in Isaiah, contrast ferocity with gentleness. The overall theme – the Coronation of Peace – must have greatly pleased the King, who throughout his reign emphasised his role as a peacemaker.

The chimneypiece in the Duke's Chamber is of a slightly different form to those in Apethorpe's other state rooms, but is no less impressive (Fig. 93). The overmantel features an English galleon in full sail, with its guns on display; this was originally flanked by two reclining female figures, signifying Victory and

[236] For a more detailed discussion of this and the other chimneypieces at Apethorpe, see: Cole 2003 (unpubl.), pp. 37-8 and pp. 41-2, Cattell 2006 (unpubl.), and White 2008. Other information cited here derives from material to be published in a forthcoming monograph on Apethorpe Hall. This is taken as the most up-to-date analysis of the house – superseding, for example, the assertions I made in 2003 with regards to the iconography of the chimneypieces.
[237] In Adam White's view, the chimneypiece as a whole serves to demonstrate 'that the king rules by divine sanction, that he is obedient to God and that in turn he has the right to demand obedience from his subjects': White 2008, p. 67

Fame. On the lintel, two arms grasp an anchor and a coronet (probably princely or ducal), while a central cartouche bears the feathers of the Prince of Wales. Today, the meaning of this overall composition is unclear, though Prince Charles was obviously a focus. Some believe that the chimneypiece also refers to George Villiers, created Duke of Buckingham in 1623; he was Lord Admiral from 1619, and used a fouled anchor (one wrapped in cable or chain) as one of his emblems.[238] The traditional assertion is that the ship commemorated the Spanish voyage of Charles and Buckingham, carried out in 1623 with the aim of securing marriage between the Prince and the Infanta. This seems possible – the pair's safe return (with the English fleet) was a cause for rejoicing, celebrated, for instance, in a painting by Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom.[239] However, it seems less likely that the chimneypiece referred to a specific event than that it had a more general meaning. Most probable, as Justin Reay has suggested, is that it celebrated the passion for ships and the sea demonstrated by both Jacobean Princes of Wales – Henry and then Charles – and by the Duke of Buckingham.[240] In this way, the primary intended occupants of Apethorpe's secondary state bedchamber – Charles and/or Buckingham – were reflected in its decoration.

The last chimneypiece in the Apethorpe sequence is that in the long gallery, a room which seems to have been in an unfinished state at the time of the King's visit in summer 1624.[241] Its overmantel bears a statue of King David from the Old Testament (Fig. 94 and see Fig. 44). The figure – which is likely to be based on a printed source, as yet unidentified – is dressed as a warrior and is

[238] See, for instance, White 2008, pp. 76-9

[239] The painting, believed to have been commissioned by Buckingham, is entitled 'The return of Prince Charles from Spain, 5 October 1623', and is in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. It shows Charles and Buckingham at the head of the fleet, in the HMS *Prince Royal*.

[240] Justin Reay, 'Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire. The Carved Over-mantel in the "Duke's Room" c. 1620-25', report commissioned by English Heritage, 6 March 2007, n. p. Like his elder brother, Charles was interested in maritime issues from his childhood, and this passion 'never flagged': Gregg 1981, p. 230. For Reay, the main carving of the Duke's Chamber overmantel 'portrays the "idea" of a modern English galleon warship', and the overall message was 'command of the sea', reflecting Prince Charles's 'interest in the Navy Royal and the importance of maritime control to England'. The overmantel's ship does not seem to resemble any specific warship; for instance, it is not the HMS *Prince Royal* (launched 1610) or the *Constant Reformation* (built to mark Buckingham's appointment as Lord Admiral in 1619).

[241] See: Morrison 2009. The panelling was put up later (though before 1629) and the room was fitted with portraits of members of the Fane family between 1624 and 1640.

playing a harp.[242] Flanking the King are figures of two Cardinal Virtues – Justice and Fortitude – while behind, in low relief, are references to the story of David and Goliath. Such imagery was associated with James I, who, in his writings, frequently made mention of David.[243] Various meanings have been read into the figure's dress and the harp (for instance, that it is symbolic of the peaceful union of England and Scotland).[244] However, while the imagery may have had multiple connotations, it is first and foremost a reference to the biblical story in the Book of Samuel.[245] This tells of Saul, troubled with 'an evil spirit from the Lord', being comforted by the playing of David, 'a mighty valiant man'.[246] David was thus portrayed as a peacemaker, continuing the message of the king's chamber overmantel, and the entertainment function of the long gallery was also alluded to. This was emphasised by the inscription on the chimneypiece (see p. 293), which spoke of music cheering 'faint sp'rites & muses' and driving away 'foule spirits', sadness and sickness, referencing once again the biblical story.

That these chimneypieces were executed as a set is confirmed by the presence of matching masons' marks on all but one – that in the Duke's Chamber.[247] This may have been left unfinished until the last moment, in the hope that the political situation, and the news with regard to the Prince's marriage, would become more clear; certainly, it forms part of the overall suite, for it was in place before the room's plaster frieze was created. Together, the chimneypieces vividly emphasise the successes of James's reign. They do so in a complex, multi-faceted way, drawing upon Old Testament imagery and allegory and incorporating many other motifs and emblems. They serve not only to flatter the King, but to demonstrate the allegiance, status, wealth and taste of Sir Francis Fane, and to emphasise the importance of the state rooms within the house as a whole.

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[242] A similar figure of David, with a harp, appears in the influential picture Bible *Thesaurus Ueteris et Novi Testamenti* (first published 1579); see: Wells-Cole 1997, p. 106
[243] For more on this, see: White 2008, p. 73
[244] Ibid
[245] The relevant sections are chapter 16, verses 14-23, and chapter 17, verses 40-51.
[246] The text states that 'it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him'.
[247] Alexander and Morrison 2007, p. 85

Such decorative schemes served also to emphasise the hierarchy of the various rooms which made up the state apartment. In particular, the significance of the great chamber was clearly proclaimed, the use of lavish decoration and furnishing showing immediately that it was the 'ceremonial pivot of the house'.[248] In the Jacobean period, this room – more than any other – would have been used for the entertainment of high-ranking visitors (pp. 150-155). It was therefore extremely important that the status and wealth of an owner was made apparent. As has been mentioned, it was in the principal great chamber at Hatfield that Robert Cecil incorporated a figure of King James, while that at Aston Hall included figures of the Nine Worthies (see Figs 64 and 85). The great chamber at Knole (the present Ballroom) is perhaps one of the most splendid of all Jacobean state rooms to survive (Fig. 95). The impression of grandeur and magnificence is immediate, and reflects the combined effect of a number of individual features, all remarkable in their own right: the marble chimneypiece; the extraordinary sculptural frieze, which bears fantastic figures, including mermaids, griffins and dolphins;[249] the rich ceiling; and the elaborate carved panelling, which even covers the back of the main (north) door. The cohesion of these elements is perfectly achieved, through both form and colour; for instance, the chimneypiece – predominantly black and white – stands out against the white of the ceiling and the panelling (which seem to have been so coloured from the outset), while the level of detail in the decoration is balanced by the sheer scale of the room. At Audley End, also, the principal (south) great chamber is magnificent (see Fig. 82). Its elaborate ceiling recalls the frieze in the almost contemporary room at Knole in bearing nautical scenes; these, placed in 32 compartments, led the chamber to become known as the 'Fish Room'.[250]

In terms of plasterwork, it is common to find that the most elaborate treatment was afforded to the ceiling of the great chamber. This is true, for instance, of

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[248] Girouard 1980, p. 88

[249] Nicholas Cooper notes that the figures on the frieze 'may have a heraldic significance that is no longer clear': Cooper 2006, p. 38

[250] Braybrooke 1836, p. 120, and see the inventory of c. 1722 (Bristol Record Office AC/AS/5/4). I am grateful to Andrew Hann for drawing this document to my attention.

Bramshill, where the ceiling of the principal great chamber is the most sophisticated of those surviving at the house (see Fig. 71),[251] and of Apethorpe, where the ceiling – adorned with heraldic badges and armorial bearings – is more advanced than any other in the state apartment (see Fig. 90); a similar ceiling, also by Edward Stanyon, exists in the great chamber at Blickling Hall.

The elaboration of great chambers tends to be matched only by that of long galleries. For instance, the galleries at Knole, Hatfield, Blickling and Aston Hall were all lavish, with rich plasterwork and chimneypieces (see Figs 63, 84 and 86). This is also known to have been the case at Audley End. Thomas Baskerville, who visited the house in 1681 – during its time as a royal palace – wrote that 'in that most noble gallery is the best ceiling for plaster work as ever I saw, having many various figures of birds, beast [*sic*], flowers, fishes, trees and men'.[252]

Clearly, the decorative approach to such rooms depended on their place within the state apartment, and whether they were primarily intended as public, semi-public or private spaces. As has been mentioned (see pp. 281-284), the galleries at Hatfield, Blickling and Aston Hall were all unconventionally placed in being associated with the great chamber, rather than the inner areas of the state suite. This more public role no doubt explains the lavishness of their decoration, and it is notable that galleries placed in the more traditional position – at the inner end of a suite – are sometimes more restrained in style; for instance, those at Bramshill and Apethorpe (see Fig. 44).

The difference between the outer, more public areas of a state apartment and the inner rooms must have been emphasised by decorative schemes. However, as with the planning and physical arrangement of the inner rooms, such decoration is not fully understood, on account of the scale of alterations carried out after the early seventeenth century. Still, it is clear that there would have been a gradual progression. The building accounts for Hatfield House show that, while the chimneypiece in the king's great chamber was of stone, those in

[251] Farrell and Lowe 2005 (unpubl.), p. 42; Gapper 2003 (unpubl.), n.p.
[252] HMC, *Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland*, vol. 2 (London, 1893), p. 264

the king's bedchamber, antechamber and pallet room were of wood, that in the latter being of 'plain wainscot' (the others were decorated with columns).[253] Similarly, the transition between the principal great and withdrawing chambers at Bramshill is strongly emphasised by the plaster ceilings. Although they are broadly in the same style (and seem to be of the same date), the ceiling in the great chamber is elaborate and complex, with patterned ribs and pendants (see Fig. 71), while that in adjacent withdrawing chamber has a simpler, more elegant character, its design being dominated by strapwork.[254] This is also true of Apethorpe and Aston Hall, as Claire Gapper has noted, and of Blickling.[255]

Other plaster ceilings at Apethorpe make clear that the status of certain areas of the state apartment was emphasised through decoration. The passage adjacent to the king's chamber – running between withdrawing chamber and back stairs – has a simple ceiling, inspired by designs published by Serlio in the sixteenth century; it is lower than others in the south range.[256] The same form of ceiling was used in the long gallery (see Fig. 44), associating these two areas – which would have been experienced almost sequentially by the visitor – and their functions: both passage and gallery could be private or public, depending on the occasion. Meanwhile, the specifically royal associations of the state bedchamber were proclaimed through the inclusion of the royal arms on the plaster ceiling (see Fig. 88), and the lesser status of the secondary bedchamber was emphasised by the use of what was, in comparison with Apethorpe's other plasterwork, a conventional ceiling design.[257] Alas, nothing is known of the decoration of Apethorpe's two closets and the back stairs area, but they were probably simple; perhaps the Serlian design of the gallery and passage was

[253] CP 143/118-121
[254] Farrell and Lowe 2005 (unpubl.), p. 43; Gapper 2003 (unpubl.), n.p.
[255] Gapper 2008, p. 91. Of Apethorpe, Gapper notes that 'After the exuberance of the great chamber the withdrawing chamber exhibits a marked diminution in richness', and, of Aston Hall, that 'Although the withdrawing chamber ceiling is executed in enriched ribs, its design is much more conventional than that of the great chamber'. With regard to Blickling, John Newman has written that 'the plasterwork established a sort of hierarchy through the rooms of the principal suite', moving from elaborate to simple: Blickling Guide, p. 22
[256] Gapper 2008, p. 95 and pp. 98-9, and Cattell 2006 (unpubl.), vol. 1, pp. 263-4
[257] Gapper 2008, p. 93 and p. 96. Claire Gapper has noted of the Duke's Chamber that 'The overall impression is of a rather standard ceiling, appropriate to the room's status relative to the King's Chamber preceding it' (ibid, p. 96).

repeated once again, or perhaps there were plain ceilings, as seems to have been the case in the king's bedchamber and pallet chamber at Hatfield.[258]

The Furnishing of the State Apartment

As with the decoration of Jacobean state apartments, a fair amount is known about their furnishing. Detailed inventories dating from between 1600 and 1645 survive for five out of the nine houses under study, while other such Jacobean documents have been cited in Chapter 4, including the inventory taken of Kirby Hall in c. 1619.[259] They reveal interiors of remarkable richness, many with matching or 'suitable' suites of furniture, known in France as *emmeublement* or, today, *ameublement*.[260] A consistency in approach to the colour schemes of particular rooms implies that there were certain conventions – perhaps set by royal palaces, or by the state apartments of the sixteenth century. Among the houses studied, the dominant colours in state suites seem to have been red, green, gold, silver and white.[261]

Such schemes demonstrate the fact that overall impression was important to country house owners of the highest rank, and served to emphasise their place in society. The furnishing of state suites combined with their fixed decoration, planning and dimensions to ensure that they were experienced as a sequence – a true apartment – with particular visual coherence between the outer, more public rooms (great and withdrawing chambers).[262] The hierarchy of the various state rooms was also emphasised by their contents. For example, the status of the state bedchamber was almost always emphasised by the presence of a bed

[258] Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 80
[259] Surviving inventories are all fully cited in notes 18-25. Other documents include general accounts for Knole, Hatfield, Cranborne, Blickling and Castle Ashby, and lists of furnishings for Knole, Bramshill and Hatfield. The inventory of Kirby is in the Northamptonshire Record Office: FH 2977
[260] Thornton 1979, pp. 103-4, and Thornton 1993, p. 14. Generally, such unified suites of furnishings are seen as being characteristic of the period after the Restoration, though Thornton notes that they were common in grand circles by the 1640s (Thornton 1979, p. 104).
[261] According to the inventory of 1619, these were also the dominant colours among the furnishings of Somerset House (especially red or crimson); see: Payne 2001
[262] This unity between decoration and furnishing is emphasised by the fact that Robert Lyminge, Blickling's architect, designed and made a long table for the great chamber, together with rails 'above and below' for wall hangings: Blickling Guide, p. 22

clothed in crimson textiles, as had been the case in high status country houses during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Secondary bedchambers and inner rooms were, in comparison, more simply furnished, and seem to have been less associated with particular furnishings. This grading of furnishing seems to have been complex, and cannot be fully understood today.[263]

The movement from one room to another was clearly emphasised both by space and colour; for example, at Bramshill, there was a dramatic transition between an entirely white furnished state bedchamber (on the 'queen's side') and an adjacent inner chamber fitted out in crimson velvet (see p. 312). Such colours would have underlined the rooms' fittingness for (and associations with) royalty. At Kirby Hall, the inventory of c. 1619 reveals that the furnishings of the great chamber were mostly red, while those of the withdrawing chamber featured white, silver and red, and the state bedchamber was dominated by crimson and gold, also containing portraits of King James, Queen Anne, Prince Henry and Queen Margaret of France.[264]

It is certain that at least some of these suites of furniture were specially made or acquired for use in particular rooms. The accounts for Knole show that, in December 1607, the upholsterer Robert Singleton provided items including six pieces of hangings, worth £207.[265] Interestingly, Singleton also provided furniture for Hatfield House and, in July 1611, he submitted a bill for work at Cranborne.[266] Late in 1609, hangings had been acquired for Cranborne from the merchant Henry Andrews, while in September 1614 – after one progress visit, and not long before another – the whole house seems to have been

[263] A tantalising reference is made by the Duke of Newcastle, in advice written for the future Charles II; he discusses the importance of such grades for different levels of society, 'as … none under the Degree off a Barones can have Carpetts bye her Bedd & shee butt one or two att the moste': Newcastle on Government, p. 211
[264] NRO FH 2977
[265] Phillips 1930, vol. 1, p. 217
[266] Pers. comm. (Robin Harcourt Williams), Beard 1997, pp. 284-5, and Cranborne Papers Supplement, vol. 3, pp. 319-321. Singleton provided a number of items for Cranborne, including 'high turky stooles' and one 'great chear of turky work wth elboyes'. He was also responsible for preparing entertainments for the King's visits to Theobalds in 1607 and Salisbury House in 1608 (CP Bills 22). Alas, almost nothing is known about this clearly very successful upholsterer.

refurnished in one go.[267] Hangings are also known to have been specifically provided for Blickling Hall and Castle Ashby; in the latter case, they were supplied by no less a figure than Sir Francis Crane, director of the Mortlake tapestry works, a friend and neighbour of the 2nd Earl of Northampton.[268] Whether such items remained in place during royal visits is unknown. As has been noted (see p. 38), a visiting monarch usually brought with them all kinds of furnishings, including tapestries. However, where existing furnishings were considered adequate, it is likely that they were used instead, thereby reducing time and expense and probably pleasing the royal visitor and their household.

Hatfield seems to be an example of the latter approach. Not only could Sir Robert Cecil afford two state apartments, but – from the evidence of the inventory of 1611, taken about three months after a visit of James I – we know that he was able to provide two sets of furnishings for certain chambers: one 'extraordinary' – to be used, presumably, for royal visits and in the presence of others of exalted rank – and the other 'ordinary'.[269] The state rooms in question were seven in number: the king's bedchamber, the antechamber to its west and the 'Second Chamber' at the middle of the south end of the east wing; the withdrawing chamber and bedchamber on the north of the long gallery; and the queen's bedchamber and antechamber to the east. The rest of the state rooms, including the great chambers and withdrawing chambers on both sides, were consistently furnished.[270]

As this practice of using different sets of furnishings is so notable, and as the evidence overall is so full, it is worth considering Hatfield in detail here, especially as this aspect of the house has not been analysed in this way

[267] Cranborne Papers, vol. 2, p. 99; CP Box C/17. The surviving inventory of that month records 'stuffe delired' to Ralph Jackson of Cranborne 'by me John Blandford'.
[268] Hangings provided for Blickling included a set of 'Hanyball Scipio' and another of the story of Abraham: Blickling Guide, p. 22. The hangings provided by Crane for Castle Ashby are referred to in an account of 1632; they cost £500: WCRO CR 556/274, f. 47
[269] Inventory of 1611 (op. cit.)
[270] All of the state rooms may have been consistently furnished in subsequent years, as the 'extraordinary' and 'ordinary' suites are only mentioned in the inventory of 1611. However, later inventories show that many of the 'extraordinary' items were safely stored in the wardrobe, and it is likely that they were brought into use when need required.

before.[271] On the east side of the house, the king's great chamber was hung with six tapestries depicting the story of Hannibal and Scipio, and featured a green set of furnishings. For instance, 'two heighe Chaires of grene wrought velvett trimed wth grene fringe', four back chairs 'of the same', twelve high stools 'sutable to the same', eight window curtains of green taffeta, and (by 1621) one large carpet of 'greene wrought velvett'.[272] The room also contained 'one ffaire greate Organ'; this had been obtained from John Haan, a Dutchman, in 1608 and was gilded by Rowland Buckett.[273] Inventories show that the room's furnishings remained largely identical throughout the seventeenth century, though a table had been introduced by 1629 – no table was listed in the room in the inventory of 1611, dining presumably going on elsewhere (seemingly in the adjacent withdrawing chamber) – and the organ had been removed to Salisbury House, London, by 1646.[274]

The adjacent withdrawing chamber – known as the 'Kings dyninge chamber' in the early 1620s – also included six hangings of the story of Hannibal and Scipio, which, again, remained *in situ* right through the seventeenth century, and must have created visual coherence between this room and the preceding great chamber. The room's chairs and stools were described as being 'of cloth of gold' in 1611. The inventory of 1621 seems to describe the same suite in more detail, stating that they were 'of crimsen velvitt imbrothered with gould', while

[271] It is clear that extraordinary furnishings were used by many house owners of the highest status. For instance, an inventory of 1601 records that there were alternative sets of hangings for the High Great Chamber and withdrawing chamber at Hardwick New Hall, one slightly grander than the other: Of Houshold Stuff, p. 47, and see White 2005 (unpubl.), vol. 1, p. 95. Two years later, Sir Thomas Egerton referred in his household regulations to 'extraordinarie stuffe', which the yeoman usher was to see fetched from the wardrobe and returned safely after use (Ellesmere 1603, point 4 (yeoman usher)), and an inventory of 1682 for Longleat mentions 'a progresse furniture', including curtains, stools and a bed (TP, vol. 11, f. 126). However, although the practice embodied by the Hatfield inventory of 1611 may not have been unusual, the document itself is unique in detailing the alternative provisions so clearly.

[272] This discussion is based on the various seventeenth-century inventories of Hatfield House (op. cit.).

[273] Lynn Hulse, '"Musique which pleaseth myne eare": Robert Cecil's Musical Patronage', in Croft 2002, pp. 146-7. See also: Wells-Cole 1997, p. 32. This organ survives at Hatfield, at the west end of the loggia.

[274] It would appear from the evidence that the king's great chamber was reserved for entertainment and that meals took place in the adjacent withdrawing chamber (named the 'King's dyning chamber' by 1620), and probably also in the queen's great chamber. This must have been a convenient arrangement, and was enabled by the scale of the state suites at Hatfield.

the four window curtains were of ‘changeable taffata’; the room also contained a long table with tressles and a court cupboard.

In 1611, on ‘ordinary’ occasions, the king’s bedchamber was to contain six hangings of the story of Joseph, a gilt bedstead clothed in green velvet embroidered in coloured satin, and a green velvet suite of chairs, stools, cushions and carpet – recalling the colour scheme of the great chamber. On extraordinary occasions, six hangings of crimson velvet and white satin were substituted, along with a gilt bedstead clothed in red and white and ‘suitable’ chairs, stools, cushions and carpets. The set overall must have created a remarkable (and regal) effect, especially as it seems to have been mirrored by the decoration of the room itself; the frieze of the bedchamber is known to have been painted red and gold by Rowland Buckett.[275]

However, by 1612, the room’s furnishing had changed. In that year, it contained a sparver bedstead, ‘blew & gilt wth my Lords Armes’; this was clothed in watchet taffeta embroidered with birds and strips of silk and gold, and had two counterpoints – one embroidered with beasts and flowers, and the other with a spread eagle at its centre. In 1611, this bed had been part of the extraordinary furnishings of the adjacent ‘Second Chamber’, on the south, but in subsequent years it became a fixture of the king’s chamber. In 1629 the bed and eagle counterpoint were still in place, along with five rich tapestry hangings of ‘Antique worke’ and chairs and stools matching the bed.[276]

To the west – beyond the pallet chamber or lobby, which in 1611 contained a simple bed with a crimson quilt and a close stool of crimson cloth – lay the king’s antechamber or withdrawing chamber. The ordinary furnishings of the room consisted of hangings of forest work, together with a table, cupboard, and chairs and cushions of arras work ‘with my lordes armes imbrothered on them’.

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[275] Gapper, Newman and Ricketts 2002, p. 80

[276] In that year (1629), and in 1621, the crimson and white ‘extraordinary’ set was safely tucked away in Hatfield’s wardrobe, though it is interesting that it seems to reappear in the late seventeenth century. In 1680, the contents of the king’s bedchamber included hangings ‘of crimson velvet’ and a standing bedstead with curtains of ‘white satin and red velvet embroidered with gold’; the Jacobean set may have been reinstated (or replicated) for the visit of Charles II in August 1660.

When occasion demanded, hangings decorated with birds and fishes were substituted, together with a ‘greate gilte bedsteed’ topped with cups and plumes of feathers; this was clothed in white taffeta embroidered with silk and gold, and was accompanied by matching chairs and stools. Clearly, it was intended that the room double up as a bedchamber for a high-status attendant, favourite or relative of the King (see p. 270), though on more usual occasions it was a form of closet. The ordinary furnishings were still in place in 1620, and the inventory of the following year shows that there were three ‘fine arras hangings’, together with a chair, four stools and cushions of white satin with embroidery; a bed only seems to have reappeared later in the seventeenth century.[277] Meanwhile, the room’s extraordinary furnishings found their way into the queen’s bedchamber (see below), where they were listed in the inventory of 1629.

As has been discussed elsewhere (see pp. 270-271 and pp. 273-274), the rooms to the south of the king’s apartment included associated lodgings. The ‘Corner Chamber’, at the south-east, had just one set of furnishings in 1611; these included green curtains, a table, a court cupboard, and a high chair and two stools, all of red cloth. As has been noted, it probably served as a closet for the King at this date, a point underlined by the use of red. The room at the south-west corner of the wing was also a pallet chamber or closet, and contained a simple bed, a table, cupboard, close stool, and chairs and curtains all of green cloth. However, in after years the status of the south-east Corner Chamber varied. By 1612, it had been refurnished as a bedchamber of reasonably high status, with a canopied black and gilt bedstead, clothed in black velvet. These furnishings were still in place in 1621 – along with a chair and stools of black velvet, ‘suetable to the cannapie’, two tables, a cupboard and close stool – but by 1629 they had been minimised (though they still included the canopied bedstead) and the room had been renamed ‘the Pallet Room to the Kinges bedchamber’. In between the two corner rooms was a chamber of higher status, known in 1611 as the ‘Second Chamber’. As has been noted, on extraordinary occasions it was to contain the sparver bestead

[277] No bed is listed in the room in the inventories of the 1620s, but one is mentioned in the inventory of 1638. This had gone by 1646, though a bed was once again a feature of the room by the 1680s.

that subsequently found its way into the king's bedchamber, together with a matching set of chairs, stools and cushions. For the rest of the time, it contained hangings of forest work, and a suite which comprised bed, carpets, chairs, stool and cushion, and was coloured peach and green. Again, however, its status fluctuated: in the early 1620s, it was used as a nursery for Lady Anne, the daughter of the 2nd Earl of Salisbury, before becoming a bedchamber again from 1629.

The relationship between the two state great chambers was underlined by their respective furnishings. Like its counterpart on the east, the queen's great chamber included a suite of green velvet chairs and stools, with curtains of green taffeta, while its tapestries depicted Holofernes rather than Hannibal and Scipio. These items seem to have remained in place for much of the seventeenth century, along with tables and a cupboard. In 1611, the adjacent withdrawing chamber contained hangings of forest work, with tables, a cupboard, and chairs and stools of 'blacke cloth of silver'; like the king's withdrawing chamber, the room had curtains of changeable taffeta. By 1620, these items had been replaced with 'fine tapestrie hangings' – presumably those of the story of Jacob and Joseph, in place in 1629 and 1680 – and chairs and stools of crimson velvet embroidered with gold (again, matching the colour scheme of the king's withdrawing chamber). There had been another change by 1629, when the room is described as containing a black velvet canopy and chair (which, in 1611, had been placed in the withdrawing chamber on the north of the long gallery), together with chairs and stools of white satin embroidered with silver and gold and bordered with crimson velvet.

The queen's bedchamber, like the king's, was impressive. In 1611, ordinarily, its hangings bore the Earl of Salisbury's arms, and it contained a gilded bedstead clothed in crimson velvet and cloth of gold, with curtains and quilt of changeable taffeta and chairs, stools and cushions of red and yellow damask. On special occasions, it still contained a gilded bedstead, but this – topped by plumes of feathers – was more fully clothed in crimson velvet and was complemented by a crimson velvet suite: nine hangings, embroidered with cloth of gold and silver, and chairs, stools, cushions and a carpet. At such times, a counterpoint was

added, ‘with yor honors Armes in the mideste’. Both sets of furnishings seem to have been slightly different from that in place in 1620 and 1621, which included six fine tapestry hangings, a gilt bedstead clothed in cloth of gold embroidered with silver, and matching chairs and stools. This may have been the suite placed in the king’s antechamber in 1611, which was certainly in place in the queen’s bedchamber by 1629.[278]

Beyond the small pallet chamber or lobby – which, in 1611, contained a simple bed and close stool of red cloth – was the queen’s antechamber, ordinarily containing hangings depicting the story of Alexander, together with a table, cupboard, and chairs, stools and cushions of watchet cloth of silver. On special occasions, chairs and stools of crimson velvet, embroidered with China gold, were substituted. As has been noted (see p. 272), the room had become the ‘Chapel Chamber’ by 1620, when it included tapestry hangings, a field bed clothed in blue and yellow ‘brockudell’, a matching set of chairs and stools, and a close stool.

As in the east wing, the queen’s apartment was associated with three rooms at the south end of the range. In 1611, the two corner chambers were very simply furnished; for instance, that on the south-east contained a table, a carpet and a feather bed. In between them was the ‘middle chamber’, which – like the queen’s antechamber – was lined with hangings of the story of Alexander, and contained a bed clothed in red and yellow brocatelle, with matching chair, stools and cushions; these furnishings seem to have been transferred to the Chapel Chamber by 1620. The two corner chambers remained basic in their furnishing throughout the seventeenth century, but the middle room rose somewhat in status. By at least the early 1620s, it was dominated by a gilt field bedstead clothed entirely in green velvet, embroidered with flowers and topped by plumes of feathers, and also contained a close stool of red cloth.

[278] The contents of the room in 1629 included six pieces of tapestry hangings decorated with birds and fishes, a bedstead clothed in white taffeta embroidered with gold and silk, and matching chairs and stools.

The long gallery at Hatfield was, like the two great chambers, richly and consistently furnished. In 1611, for instance, it contained a number of different suites of furniture, including one of crimson velvet embroidered with gold and another of green velvet, both of which bore coronets and ‘SS’ for Salisbury. Such lavishness was continued in the ‘within drawing chamber’ on the gallery’s north side. On extraordinary occasions, it featured – like the king’s antechamber – six hangings with birds and fishes, together with a canopy of estate, made of black velvet, with matching high chair, cushions and stools, and curtains of ‘greene changeable taffata with goulde lace’. On a more usual basis, it was hung with tapestries telling the story of Holofernes (which also featured in the queen’s great chamber), and contained a black table, gilded and painted, and a cupboard. Meanwhile, on ‘ordinary’ days, the adjoining bedchamber contained hangings of the story of Hercules, and a bed clothed in crimson taffeta and velvet, with crimson chairs and stools. On special occasions, the furnishings were upgraded to a gilt bedstead clothed in cloth of gold, with matching furniture. Next door, in the northern extension of the gallery, a pallet chamber contained a table, stools and two simple beds. Later, from at least 1620, the north withdrawing chamber seems to have become a bedroom, and the bedchamber a large closet. In that year, the former contained a stoop bedstead, tapestry hangings and furniture of figured satin, while the associated chamber had, in addition to a close stool, tapestry hangings and furniture of arras work.

As will be seen, the furnishings overall emphasised the high status of Hatfield’s apartments, and – together with the fixed decoration – must have created a truly sumptuous impression. The fact that furnishings moved so much from room to room shows that – especially in the case of the inner state chambers – it was less specific items that were connected with particular spaces than their colour, fabric, type, cost and style. The great and withdrawing chambers appear to have been much more static, something also true of the rooms’ names, but for other state rooms there was a flexible approach, governed by considerations of grade, quality and ‘suitability’. It was these aspects which created unity, although specific items also aided cohesion. For instance, the classical subjects of the tapestries in both east and west great and withdrawing chambers.

Tapestries seem also to have been a conspicuous feature of the interior of Audley End. A series of hangings, which – like those in the king's great and withdrawing chambers at Hatfield – told the story of Hannibal and Scipio, were woven specially for Thomas Howard in Delft, probably between 1607 and 1611.[279] Paul Drury has noted that – aside from the long gallery – Audley End's state rooms appear to have been unwainscotted, and their doors were simple, implying the presence of large tapestries throughout.[280]

At Bramshill, the tapestries were no less impressive. According to the 'Note of the howse holde stuffe' of c. 1637, the principal great chamber was hung with tapestries – worth about £208 – telling the story of Noah and the ark.[281] The adjacent withdrawing chamber featured hangings depicting Joseph and Jacob – again, worth just over £200 – while, as has been noted, the queen's withdrawing chamber or 'Hercules Labours room' took its name from its hangings, worth about £175.[282] Other furnishings included (in the principal great chamber) four carpets featuring Lord Zouche's arms, a long table, two side tables, a court cupboard and three curtains of green taffeta, and (in the neighbouring withdrawing chamber) chairs and stools of crimson velvet, a crimson velvet carpet and three curtains of crimson taffeta; at £230, this was the most expensive set of furnishings in the house.[283] Notably, the colours used for these rooms – green for the great chamber and crimson for the withdrawing chamber – matched those at Hatfield, a choice which may have been conscious, given Zouche's ties to the Cecil family, or which may have drawn

[279] Drury 1980, p. 3. These are likely to have been intended for Audley End, and five tapestries on this subject were certainly at the house in 1671; in that year, they were acquired by the King from the Earl of Suffolk, along with other hangings including eight of the Passion, four of the Triumphs, five of Hercules and Hydra, and four of the Labours of Hercules: TNA LC5/14, pp. 43-4. Some of the pieces survive; for instance, 'The Generosity of Scipio' is now in the Cinquantenaire Museum, Brussels – it includes Suffolk's arms and the insignia of the Garter – and 'The Surrender of Carthage to Scipio' is in the Prinsenhof, Delft; see: Drury 1980, p. 3 and note 9, and p. 30. I am grateful to Gareth Hughes for providing me with further information on these tapestries.

[280] Drury 1980, p. 13

[281] TNA C108/225 (transcribed in Hills 1984 [unpubl.], Appendix F)

[282] Ibid

[283] The information on furnishings is taken from the 'Note of howse holde stuff' (op. cit.), the inventory of 1634 (C108/187; Hills 1984 [unpubl.], Appendix C), and the schedula of c. 1637 (C108/225; Hills 1984, Appendix B). The valuations of the rooms' contents are set out in the inventory of 1634. For instance, the principal great chamber (presence chamber) was valued at £170, the withdrawing chamber (privy chamber) at £230, the king's bedchamber ('King's lodging') at £70, and the long gallery at £200.

upon a general convention no longer understood.[284] The king's bedchamber contained a gilt court cupboard and a gilt bedstead clothed in damask, with a tester and vallance 'of wrought velvett dophin worke', and two sets of chairs with matching stools.[285] The associated inner chamber or withdrawing chamber contained a suite of chairs and stools of green velvet, while the outer or passage room included a table, court cupboard, simple bed and close stool.

In the secondary (queen's) apartment at Bramshill, the 'Hercules Labours room' was followed by a passage room and then by the bedchamber or 'White Room', which took its name from its furnishings. In 1634, it contained a sparver bed clothed in white damask, together with a high chair and stools with cushions 'all of silver gorgerine suitable', while in the undated note of 'howse holde stuff' the bedstead was described as being gilt and clothed in silver tabine, the rest 'belonging to the said furniture all of white damaske and tabine'.[286] The adjacent withdrawing room or inner chamber contained a suite of chairs and stools all of crimson velvet, while the outer or passage room included a table, cupboard, simple bed and a couch chair with cushions, embroidered on a ground of silver. In the north-east range, the long gallery was – as was usual with such rooms – crammed full, including in 1634 a couch chair with cushions and canopy of cloth of silver, stools of cloth of gold, and 'the genilogie of the Kings of England', presumably in portraits.

Of the Jacobean furnishings at Knole we cannot be sure; the earliest surviving inventory dates from 1645, by which time a number of the original furnishings are likely to have been sold, given the financial situation of Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset. However, the Jacobean accounts include payment to a merchant for 22 pieces of gilt leather hangings, and it is interesting to note that leather was still a prominent feature of the interiors in 1645; according to Peter Thornton, such hangings 'provided a truly striking effect'.[287] The great chamber ('Greate Dyning Roome') contained three printed leather carpets, tables, back

[284] In support of the latter assertion, it is notable that the (secondary) great chamber at Northampton House in the Strand contained, according to an inventory of 1614, green tapestry, green velvet stools and a green velvet chair: Guerci 2010, p. 53
[285] Inventory of 1634 (op. cit.)
[286] Undated 'note of howse holde stuff' (op. cit.)
[287] Phillips 1930, vol. 1, p. 218; Thornton 1979, p. 133, and see pp. 118-123

stools of Turkey work, and seven window curtains of green say, a colour that – as we have seen – was also used in the great chambers at Hatfield and Bramshill.[288] The state withdrawing chamber can be identified with the 'wth Draweing chambr to the Rich Gallery', which contained a set of chairs and stools of cloth of silver 'wth fflowers', while the adjacent gallery included a canopy of estate, presumably positioned above 'one great cheyer'.[289] The identification of 'my Lords Chambr' with the state bedchamber may be confirmed by the form of bed it contained. This is described as being a 'guilt ffrench bedstead' clothed in crimson velvet and crimson taffeta, enlivened with silver and gold. The room also included window curtains 'of red Cloath ve[ry] ould', implying they may have been part of the original Jacobean scheme. It contained a close stool, while the adjacent closet contained a desk, tables and ('in a servants Lodgeing there') a bed.[290]

At Cranborne, the furnishings were comparatively simple, reflecting the size and status of the house, but were still far from restrained. The second-floor great chamber was hung with gilt leather and decorated with ten 'pictures of turcks'.[291] The chair, stools and cushions were all of Turkey work, and there were long and short tables, a court cupboard, Turkey carpets and window curtains of blue and yellow say. On the walls of the adjoining withdrawing chamber were hangings of green cloth, 'imbrodred wth my lordes armes'. The room also contained chairs and stools 'all of damaske', a long table, a cupboard, and – again – curtains of blue and yellow say. In the king's chamber, the field bedstead – topped by gilt knobs – was clothed in green and watchet damask and taffeta; there were matching carpets and cushions, while the walls were hung with tapestries and the window curtains were of 'draught worke'. The adjacent pallet chamber was hung with gilt leather; it contained a simple bedstead with a green canopy, a chair and stool of yellow leather, a folding table, and a close stool. On the floor below, the prince's or lord's chamber was hung with tapestry and had a field bedstead – topped by gilt knobs – with

[288] Phillips 1930, vol. 1, p. 354
[289] Ibid, pp. 357-8
[290] Ibid, pp. 360-1
[291] This discussion is based on the evidence of the inventory of 1614 (CP Box C/17), which is almost exactly replicated in those of 1621 and 1630.

curtains ‘all of blew and carnacon damaske’. Matching the bed was a suite of carpet, chair, stools and cushion, while there was also a folding table, cupboard and window curtain of green say. The hangings of the associated pallet chamber were of draught work, and the room contained a livery bedstead, cupboard and close stool. The overall effect is notable for its consistency and unity, emphasising the movement from one state room to another; here, the apartment seems to have been dominated not by crimson, gold and silver, but by green, yellow and blue. That the furnishings were considered appropriate for the rooms – and for the house’s standing as a hunting lodge – is reflected by the fact that they remained for almost 30 years.[292]

The sense of consistency in the furnishing of state rooms can also be seen at Apethorpe Hall, probably fitted out in 1624 (using some existing items) and recorded in an inventory taken on the death of Sir Francis Fane in 1629.[293] The principal great chamber was hung with arras telling the story of Abraham, presumably – especially in the absence of a Jacobean overmantel in this room – preparing the visitor for the iconography of the chimneypiece in the adjoining withdrawing chamber, which depicted the sacrifice by Abraham of his son, Isaac. Also in the great chamber were tables, cupboards, and four different sets of chairs and stools – respectively of watchet satin, ‘tuftaffeta’, watchet embroidered with crimson velvet, and yellow satin embroidered with black velvet. The overall effect must have been one of extraordinary richness, but its cohesion as a single room cannot be compared with the great chambers at Hatfield and Bramshill, for example.[294]

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[292] Although the Earl of Salisbury removed a quantity of the most expensive pieces to the Isle of Wight in April 1643, during the Civil War – including the clothes of the two state beds and the hangings of the king’s chamber and the adjacent withdrawing chamber – many remained to be plundered by soldiers just a month later. The Cecil Papers at Hatfield include an inventory of ‘stuffe sent from Cranborne House to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight in Aprill 1643’ (Cranborne Papers, vol. 3, pp. 183-187; CP Box D34) and an inventory of 26 August 1639, amended on 24 May 1651 to show furnishings that had been plundered during the Civil War (Box C/27).

[293] Inventory of 1629 (NRO W (A) box 6, parcel V, nos 1 & 2). This document is used as the basis for the discussion here.

[294] It should be noted that the 1629 inventory of Apethorpe was taken on the death of Sir Francis Fane. The furnishings listed were not necessarily arranged in the same way at the time of the most recent royal visit, in 1624.

Apethorpe's withdrawing chamber included hangings of forest work, a harpsichord, and a high chair and a range of stools of various 'sutes', while the king's chamber was dominated by a field bedstead clothed in crimson satin and topped with gilt knobs and feathers. Matching the bed was a set of chairs and stools, while the walls were hung with tapestry telling the story of Tobias. According to Adam White, this biblical story illustrated a similar theme to that of the room's chimneypiece – representing the King as an instrument of divine providence – and therefore 'the hangings which told the story may have been placed there to underline the message'.[295] At the south-east, the Duke's Chamber contained a 'high bedd' clothed in wrought purple velvet, with five 'purle sarnett curtaines', and matching chairs and stools. This set emphasised the room's associations, purple long having been used as a regal colour, although the furnishings were generally less lavish and expensive than the king's chamber (including, for instance, hangings of forest work), a fact which emphasised its secondary status. The two closets, to the north, were more simply furnished, though the room associated with the king's chamber was the grander of the two, reflecting its status and size. The 'Backstaires Chamber to the Kinges Chamber' was hung with tapestries of the story of 'Hester' (Esther), the Queen of King Ahasuerus, and included a livery bedstead with a canopy, cupboard, cross chair, stools, a map and a wooden chest. As has been noted, the long gallery had not then been fully fitted out, work only being completed in 1640. Along with two pictures, it contained a few chairs and stools.

The fact that the contents of Apethorpe's state suite broadly followed the rooms' hierarchy is reflected by the values listed in the 1629 inventory. Most expensively furnished was the great chamber (valued at £120), though interestingly this was followed by the king's chamber (at £100) rather than the withdrawing chamber (£80). The contents of the Duke's Chamber were worth £40, and the duke's and king's closets respectively £10 and £20. The value of the gallery's furnishings, £10, again emphasises that the room had not yet been fully fitted out.

[295] White 2008, p. 70

Although complete Jacobean interiors survive at none of the nine houses under study, the information set out in this chapter does much to help realise their contemporary impression. Their appearance can also be conjured up through the survival of certain furnishings, especially in houses which remain in the same family ownership, such as Knole and Hatfield. Equally, surviving architecture is often able to provide a sense of richness in its own right, especially where it is combined with elaborate furnishings of any style or date, a point well illustrated by the great chambers at Knole and Audley End (see Figs 82 and 95). Still, the interiors we see today are usually the product of centuries and reveal the contributions of many generations. What has been shown here is that, when newly fitted out, Jacobean interiors were carefully ‘suited’ or matched, emphasising the different status of the various state rooms and adding to the experience of coherence and unity within the state apartment as a whole.

CONCLUSION

From the detailed study of a group of houses undertaken as part of this thesis, it has been shown that the country house state apartment of the Jacobean period was radically different from its Henrician predecessor. Indeed, it can be clearly differentiated even from Elizabethan examples, a point which has been fully argued here for the first time. Having become increasingly ambitious from the 1570s onwards, state apartments reached a height of evolution and refinement during the reign of James I. Stimulated by the activities of the Jacobean Royal Works – notably, the King's plans for a new palace at Ampthill and the rebuilding of Somerset House for Queen Anne – members of the nobility and upper gentry vied with each other in creating state suites that reflected their status and ambitions. From the nine houses used as exemplars in Chapter 5, it would seem that these apartments were elaborate and often expansive (for instance, including secondary state bedchambers), provided flexible and often dramatic routes of access, and were fitted out with splendour and expense. The individual state rooms were clearly provided with suites of matched furnishings and, overall, were graded in terms of decoration, size and accessibility, giving rise to a true apartment.

It has been shown in Chapter 1 that the context for such building works was ideal. James, like Elizabeth, stayed regularly at country houses during his annual summer progresses – a point previously ignored by historians – and would have expected adequate accommodation for himself, members of his family and their numerous attendants. The traditional view that these were simply 'hurriedly arranged hunting parties' made by the King has been challenged.[1] In fact, the chase was just one of the many motivations behind Jacobean progresses, which – as has been argued, on the basis of a quantity of previously under-used (even unused) primary material – were organised with exceptional care and often involved the movement of thousands of people (including, on several occasions, three royal households).

[1] Davies 1957, p. 263

It has been demonstrated that James was an extremely able demonstrator of kingship and magnificence and that, whilst he may have favoured informality on a personal level, he appears to have been attended with due pomp and ceremony while on progress, as on countless other occasions throughout his reign. Meanwhile, the question of the King's accessibility was explored in Chapter 2, and it was found that – contrary to popular belief – James was not always personally ready of access; both in Scotland and England, he made efforts to create an inner area of the state apartment in which he could be truly private, one of his major court innovations being the institution in 1603 of the Bedchamber. During progress visits, as has been shown, there would have been a strict code of etiquette regarding entrée to state rooms – indeed, for the duration of the royal visit, the country house was viewed and treated as a royal palace, the house owner ceding jurisdiction to the monarch and their household.

However, although the royal visit represented a high point for the hosts of James I and Queen Anne – and for their country houses – the state apartment had an existence beyond such occasions, a point explored fully in Chapter 3. The duty of hospitality, promoted vigorously by James I himself, meant that all members of the nobility and upper gentry were obliged to welcome and accommodate a range of guests. Furthermore, as representatives of the power of the sovereign, and heads of their own estates, they were to celebrate festivals and other 'extraordinary' occasions with a level of ceremony that appears, to the modern mindset, to be royal in character. Far from being covered in dust sheets, state rooms were used on a regular basis, an argument informed here by a large amount of primary material, including household regulations. The importance of 'suitability' was underlined in this chapter; the greeting, reception, accommodation and general treatment of all guests was carefully adapted to match the status of the person concerned, the state apartment – as the best rooms in a house – being considered the most suitable lodging for any honoured visitor, especially one of a higher rank than the house owner. The use of the individual state rooms was explored, and it was found that comparable rooms in English royal palaces clearly set the example.

Similarly, in planning and decoration, the Jacobean state apartment seems to have been part of a native tradition, one which was fully introduced in Chapter 4. As was shown, state suites evolved from a comparatively limited group of chambers which were flexible in nature to fully integrated apartments, the rooms of which related to each other spatially and functionally. This development – illustrated by 29 case studies – was found to be especially evident in the great houses built during the reign of Elizabeth I, from the 1570s onwards, when the true country house apartment can be said to have emerged. As was shown, these suites were complex in their planning and elaborate in their decoration, while state rooms became increasingly fixed in function and status and were clearly differentiated from other lodgings (notably, those used by the house owner). They also became associated with particular names and furnishings, which – as was shown – were often carefully preserved as a means of reflecting and furthering an owner's rank and allegiances.

The Jacobean apartment, fully discussed in Chapter 5, was shown to be based upon these important foundations; for instance, the suites at Bramshill and Apethorpe Hall were seen to have developed in a direct line from those at Theobalds and Burghley House. It has been argued that such great houses should not be viewed in isolation; the owners of the nine buildings studied in this chapter were almost all prominent in the royal court and household, and were familiar with each other. They formed a network through which fashions spread, while the royal progress provided another vital conduit for the dissemination of trends among a wider group, as houses (both royal and private) were seen and experienced. It is, therefore, unsurprising that a number of similarities have been traced among the state apartments of various houses; for instance, it was shown that certain colours seem to have been considered suitable for the decoration and furnishing of particular state rooms.

As a group, the Jacobean houses studied in Chapter 5 also show that the state suite was increasingly affected by continental influences. These are identifiable, in particular, in the importance of external design and the growing popularity of the symmetrical plan, well exemplified by Audley End. However, as symmetry became more important, the Tudor and Elizabethan state apartment – by its

very nature unsymmetrical, in being progressively graded from the expansive, public great chamber to the intimacy of the closet – became less fashionable. The revolution in architectural style initiated by the work of Inigo Jones caused its demise, while social and other changes hastened the end of the royal progress, which seems to have been largely abandoned after the Civil War.

At the same time, there was an increasing move away from ceremonial and hospitality in the noble household, with the result that lodgings previously intended mainly for guests began to be occupied by family members and used, informally, on a daily basis. In other cases, state apartments became museum pieces, preserved for their historical associations and grandeur, or – all too often – were removed altogether. Yet during its heyday – which lasted from around the 1560s until the 1620s – the country house state apartment shone brightly, and its success is immortalised in the countless bedchambers around the country bearing the names of Queen Elizabeth and King James.

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APPENDIX 1

EXCERPT FROM BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MS 71009

Introduction and Notes

This excerpt from BL Add. MS 71009, comprising ff. 19-20, is an exact transcription; spelling has not been corrected. Underlining is used to show contractions. BL Add. 71009 is a collection of various documents, dating from between the late fifteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries, relating to the royal household. It is split into three sections, the first two written on paper in use in c. 1545 and the third on paper dated c. 1553/4. The documents that concern religious ceremonial have been published, with an introduction and notes, in: Fiona Kisby, 'Religious Ceremonial at the Tudor Court: Extracts from Royal Household Regulations', *Camden Fifth Series*, vol. 22 (December 2003), pp. 1-33. The excerpt set out below is not among those that appear in this work; indeed, I believe I am the first to cite it in full (or even in part).

Traditionally, the compilation of the documents which make up parts 1 and 2 of BL Add. MS 71009 has been ascribed to John Norris (c. 1502-77), a gentleman usher daily waiter at court from c. 1536 and later Usher of the Black Rod. Fiona Kisby, in her introduction, supports this attribution (see pp. 5-6), and proposes that Norris may be the author of some of the items; the others seem to be the work of older individuals. The BL document is apparently a copy of Norris's original collection, for it is written in a number of different hands. Kisby has argued that, as a 'book of ceremony', it was prepared by Norris for consideration by Queen Elizabeth soon after her accession in 1558, in order to inform the organisation of the new royal household.

The excerpt transcribed below is of obvious relevance to the present study; it comprises instructions as to the preparation of the king and queen's accommodation when they stayed beyond the 'standing' palaces (for instance, when they were on progress). The document, which falls within part 2 of the BL manuscript, almost certainly dates from the reign of Henry VIII, probably from the 1530s. It is, therefore, likely to be the work of John Norris, reflecting the knowledge he gained as one of the King's gentlemen ushers, reporting directly to the Lord Chamberlain.

How the kinge and the Quenes lodginges shalbe made at eu^{r}y tyme of the kinge and the Quenes removinge

(f. 19)
The Lord Chamberlaine ought to know the kinges pleasure when and whether the kinge will remove and when he knoweth the kinges pleasure the Lord Chamberlaine ought to doe comandement to on of the iiii^{r} Gentilmen usshers daly wayters to goe before and to prepare the kinges lodginge and the Gentilman ussher that is in this manner warned by the Lorde Chamberlain shall resorte to the kinge to know his ffurther pleasure in that behalf how and in what manner he will have his lodginge prepared and made for him the Quene and for how many Lordes and of his Counsaile and how for other lordes and ladies and

that their names maie be entitelled into a bill that his pleasure maie be substancially knowen who shall lye wthin and also how for his officers suche as must widely be wth him And when the kinges mind is thoroughly knowen in that behalf then shall the saide Gentilman ussher commande a yeoman ussher two yeomen of the chamber and one grome of the kinges chamber a grome of the warderoobe of the beddes and to bringe wth him all suche stuff that shalbe neccie for suche a remevinge and the gromeporter shall in lykewise ryde wth the foresaid Gentilman ussher there to provide for suche provisions as to his roome belongeth that it maie alwaie [*sic*] be ready at the comandmente of the ussher for it hathe been thus accustomed that all theis aforesaid parsons shulde wayte and geve their attendance onn the Gentilman ussher when he shall goe to mak the kinges lodginges and theis aforesaid parsons when thei be ready shall come on horsbacke to the gentilman usshers lodginge and thei to tary for him till he be ready to Ryde wth them and then all the aforesaide to ryde in Company together and not to departe one from a nother untill thei come to the place wher the lodginge shulde be made And when the Gentilman ussher is

(f. 19v)

in his Inn or ostery and alight from his horse then all the other Company that will may departe till thei have sett uppe their horses and shifted them selves and made them redy at w^{ch} tyme thei shall resorte againe unto the Gentilman ussher to know farther what he will comande them to doe And then shall the Gentilman ussher wth the aforesaide company goe or repaire to the place wher the kinge and the Quenes lodginges shall be made and shall view and see all the Chambers of that howse or howses and as the Gentilman ussher shall comande the yeoman ussher to warne the Gromeporter to bringe Russhes to strawe the chambers aforesaid and shall warne the Grome of the warderobe aforesaide to bringe in aras to hange the chambers aforesaid and to bringe also a clothe of Estate wth a Chaire and Cusshions and then the yeoman of the Chamber shall hange the saide Chambre And when it is hanged then the yeoman ussher shall show unto the Gentilman ussher how and what thei have doone w^{ch} then will resorte unto the saide Chambers to oversee the doinge of the yeoman ussher & whether it be well to his minde and purpose and as it ought to be and if it be not to his p^{r}pose then to amende it and doe it as the Gentilman ussher shall comaunde it. And be it knowen that the kinge ought to have ffoure chambers prepared for him selfe but at the lest he must have thre chambers that is to saie on chamber for the kinges Beade Chamber the second chamber to make the kinge ready in and the third chamber for the kinges dyninge and ther the clothe of Estate shall hange in w^{ch} the pallettes shall be caste for the knightes and esquires for the kinges body to ly uppon then the iiiith chamber shalbe for the yeoman of the chamber to watche in And percase the kinge maie come into suche places wher he maie haue but two chambers Then shall the Gentilman ussher looke where any plor [parlour] be in the house and in that plor shall the lordes dyne and suppe and also ther shall the palletes be caste for the aforesaid kinges [*sic*] and esquiers for the kinges body And the yeomen shall keape their watche in the haule and ther shall haue their fier and other

(f. 20)

necessaries to them belonginge And the Quene shall have as many Chambers as the kinge hathe or moo if thei maie be hadd and where the kinge and the Quene be in one house the kinges pleasure is that the Quene shall have the

ffayreste and the largest romes for the kinge woll alwaie [*sic*] resorte unto the Quenes Chamber for his comfort pastime solas and disporte. Provided alwaie [*sic*] that the Quenes Gentilman ussher shall resorte all tymes to the kinges Gentilman ussher for the tyme that maketh the lodginges for the kinge to haue the lodginge of the Quene to be delyveryd by him to them ffor be it knowen that the Quenes Gentilman ussher shall nother make lodginge nor take no lodginge ne chambr for the Quene but all only that the whiche shalbe delyveryd to them by the kinges Gentilman ussher in all those plases wher the kinge is present

APPENDIX 2

ITINERARY OF JAMES I, 1603-1625

Introduction and Notes

This is the first time a full itinerary of James I has been attempted. The only 'court calendar' of the King which has previously been published appears in volume 4 of E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage* (1922), and is merged with an itinerary of Queen Elizabeth. This work is far from complete, concentrating on theatrical productions at court during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, and ends in April 1616. Chambers's specific focus is made evident; for instance, he states that James's 'constant absences from court on hunting journeys are difficult to track and of no interest to dramatic history' (p. 74).

The present study necessitated a more detailed understanding of the King's movements and the houses he visited while on progress. The initial aim was to gain information on the latter area in particular, but the work has developed from there, taking in James's reign as a whole. The result is more than sufficient to support the arguments set out in this thesis, although I hope to carry out further research and publish a fuller version at some point in the future; even then, it will probably always be presented as a basis to be built upon.

For some years (especially after c. 1616), it has been possible to show James's whereabouts on a day-by-day basis, reflecting the survival of comparatively high numbers of letters, accounts and other documents. For others, especially those early in the King's reign, a much more general impression is given. Incomplete information is demonstrated by ranges of dates between fixed points (e.g. 9-12 Nov.>, meaning that James was certainly in the location between the 9 and 12 November, and may have stayed even longer). Where a source only provides a month (rather than an actual date) for a visit, the King's location is generally listed at the end or the beginning of the month concerned; such entries are rendered in italic (except where they form part of progresses). That said, if there seems an appropriate place for them within the more detailed itinerary, they have been inserted there.

It should be noted that, for the purposes of this work, visits undertaken during the course of a day are differentiated from overnight stays; where the word 'visit' is used, it should be taken to imply the former. It should also be noted that, in numerous instances, evidence is contradictory, the King seeming to be in two places at once. In certain cases, sources may agree as to the King's location but differ with regard to the dates he was there. With time, most of these discrepancies can hopefully be resolved, but for now they are included – and denoted by question marks – to reflect the fact that there is doubt. Priority has been given to the source which seems to be the most reliable (notably, the diet sheets discussed under 'Notes on Sources').

In addition to the dates and locations of the King, certain key information has been included. Firstly, the more important historical occurrences and festivals, such as the Gunpowder Plot, the visits of Christian IV of Denmark, Easter and St George's Day, and the opening and closing of Parliament (new Parliaments

were summoned by James I in 1604, 1614, 1621 and 1624). These help to place James's movements within a larger context, and provide possible motives for them. Where the King was staying at a house of non-royal status (especially relevant for progresses), the name of the host concerned is set out (their title being made relevant to the year concerned), but the county is not given. For days which fall beyond progresses, it should be assumed that properties are royal unless stated otherwise, while during progresses the opposite convention applies. Where specific, known activites took place during a visit – such as the performance of masques and plays – they are mentioned, though the information given is by no means exhaustive. The focus, in this as in other respects, has been on the King's summer progresses; state occurrences which took place during the remainder of the year, such as audiences, are generally omitted, and sermons are only mentioned where they were given at somewhere other than a royal palace.

Lastly, it should be noted that the itinerary focuses upon the movements of James I. Where Queen Anne of Denmark and/or the Prince of Wales (first Henry, then Charles) accompanied the King on progress, that is stated. However, the stopping points listed are those of James – it should not be assumed that the Queen and/or Prince stayed at the locations as well, as it was often the case that separate accommodation was provided for them at houses nearby.

Notes on Sources

It is important to emphasise that the most reliable sources of information for James's whereabouts are those documents of the royal household which were prepared at the end of the year concerned; most notably, accounts of the Royal Works, the Treasurer of the Chamber and the Controller/Cofferer. Gestes, detailed progress itineraries prepared in advance of royal journeys, were subject to change. In contrast, household accounts show the journeys as they actually occurred, although some last minute changes may still not be represented.

Of the documents mentioned, the diet sheets – which form part of the accounts of the Controller/Cofferer – are the most detailed. Written in Latin, they make daily reference to the property where the King took his main meal, and also provide information concerning the location of the Queen; they do not mention the name of the hosts, where relevant. For James's reign, the surviving accounts – all in The National Archives and mainly spanning the period 1 October-30 September – cover the years 1604-5 (TNA E101/433/3), 1605-6 (E101/433/5), 1612-13 (E101/433/16), 1614-15 (E101/433/19), 1615-16 (E101/434/1), 1617-18 (E101/434/5), 1618-19 (E101/434/11), 1619-20 (E101/435/1), part of 1622 (E101/435/17), 1623-4 (E101/436/15) and 1624-5 (E101/437/1). As far as I am aware, they have never before been drawn upon to elucidate James I's itinerary; certainly, these documents were unknown to E. K. Chambers.

The accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber (TNA E351/543-544) record 'apparelling' and 'making ready' of houses in advance of visits by the King, Queen and/or the royal children. Usefully, and unlike the accounts of the

Controller/Cofferer, they often provide the names of hosts. However, they generally omit precise dates for visits; they tend to record how long the work took to carry out, the month or months in which it was undertaken, and the total cost. On occasion, more precise dates are given, but these have been treated with caution, as they seem to relate to the movements of the King's officers and not necessarily of the King himself. The accounts, which are long and detailed, make clear whether the monarch was to 'dine' or to 'lie at' the various places listed; it should be noted, however, that preparations were sometimes made for visits which did not come to pass.

The accounts of the Office of Works include annual lists of the houses visited on progress, again not previously drawn upon. These sometimes refer to hosts by name, but do not make clear the length of the stay, the date it took place or whether the visit was made by King, Queen or Prince. They state the number of 'removes' in a particular progress, though it can be hard to reconcile this with the number of properties listed. It is worth noting that royal palaces are sometimes excluded from these lists, even though they may have been visited on progress. They are dealt with in the main section of the Works accounts, which detail the alterations undertaken at each royal property in the given year.

Of other contemporary documents, royal proclamations are particularly useful, as are the letters of King James; both tend to state the date and the King's location. That said, royal proclamations need to be treated with some caution. The name of the palace/house may, on occasion, bear no relation to the location of the King; it may be that those particular proclamations were signed as well as issued by James's ministers. This can also be true of warrants, which were often issued at Westminster while the King himself was miles away.

The letters and despatches of other figures, such as John Chamberlain, Dudley Carleton and ambassadors, are also extremely useful, although sometimes they err slightly when mentioning dates, house names and owners, especially when the King was far from London. Care has been taken in treating the places named in letters of the King's officials as evidence; although such figures were often with the King, it is also possible that they were miles apart. It should be noted that the Venetian ambassadors and envoys – the letters of which are a major source for this itinerary – use the new style calendar; the relevant dates have been adjusted to the old style calendar in using such documents as evidence of the King's location.

Of secondary sources, the four volumes written by John Nichols on James I's *Progresses, Processions, & Magnificent Festivities* are outstanding and constitute the only detailed work previously carried out on this subject. They form a collection, chronologically arranged, of letters and any other contemporary information of which the author was aware, and cover the whole of the King's reign in England (not just his summer progresses). However, it is understandable, given Nichols's focus, that the more routine parts of James's itinerary are generally not represented, nor (on the whole) are the movements of the Queen or Prince. Nichols's own voice and thoughts are barely identifiable; it is both useful and frustrating that he provides only limited

comments on the information he sets down. There are explanatory notes, but no overview of patterns, motives or significance is given.

Gestes of James I's progresses have been of particular use to this thesis, and to this itinerary. A number of these documents survive or have been published, as follows: 1603 (Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, & Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, vol. 1, p. 250); 1605 (Nichols, vol. 1, pp. 517-8); 1612 (Nichols, vol. 2, p. 446); 1614 (Nichols, vol. 3, pp. 10-11); 1616 (Nichols, vol. 3, p. 180); 1617 (English part of journey: Nichols, vol. 3, p. 257 and p. 389, and TNA SP14/90, p. 200; Scottish part of journey: HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie preserved at Alloa House* (London, 1904), p. 80); and 1622 (Ed. Robert Ashton, *James I by his Contemporaries*, pp. 247-8, and TNA SP14/133, p. 20).

Key to Sources
Numbered sources, listed below, are set out after locations in the itinerary. Other sources, used on a far more limited basis, are given in superscript after the relevant entries; full information on such sources can generally be found in the bibliography.

1. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (London, 1922), vol. 4, pp. 116-130 (Appendix A, 'A Court Calendar')

2. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (London, 1864-1947), 38 vols

3. HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House*, vols 15-22 (London, 1883-1971)

4. Accounts of the Royal Works: TNA E351/3239-3258

5. Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber: TNA E351/543-544

6. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*

7. John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, & Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (London, 1828), 4 vols

8. Ed. Maurice Lee Jnr, *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters* (Brunswick, New Jersey, 1972)

9. Ed. Norman E. McClure, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), 2 vols

10. Ed. G. P. V. Akrigg, *Letters of King James VI and I* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1984)

11. Mary Susan Steele, *Plays and Masques at Court During the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles* (London and New Haven, 1926)

12. Ed. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations: Volume 1: Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603-1625* (Oxford, 1973)

13. Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First* (London, 1849), 2 vols

14. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. 6: 1599-1604 (Edinburgh, 1884), and vol. 11: 1616-1619 (Edinburgh, 1894)

15. Accounts of the Controller/Cofferer: TNA E101 series (for full information, see 'Notes on Sources')

16. Accounts of the journey of Queen Anne, Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth from Scotland to London, May-June 1603: TNA AO1/2022/1 and TNA E351/2798

17. 'A Calendar of Sermons preached at Court during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I 1558-1625', disc accompanying Peter E. McCullough's *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998)

18. Information supplied by the History of Parliament Trust

19. Letters, warrants, etc of James I in: HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie preserved at Alloa House* (London, 1904)

1603	
24 March	*Death of Queen Elizabeth I at Richmond (funeral: 28 April)*
>5 April	**Edinburgh** (Holyrood; James hears of his accession to the English throne on 26 March, and takes public leave of his Scottish subjects in St Giles's Church on 3 April) [7;9;14]
5 April-11 May	**PROGRESS FROM SCOTLAND TO ENGLAND (through Northumberland, Co. Durham, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire)**
5 April	**Seton House** (Robert Seton, 2nd Earl of Wintoun) [1;7]
5-6 April	**Dunglass Castle** (Alexander, 6th Lord Home) [1;7]
6-8 April	**Berwick-upon-Tweed** (sermon preached before the King at Berwick church, 6 April) [1;3;7;10;14;17]
8 April	**Fenham** (Sir William Read) [1;7]
8-9 April	**Widdrington** (Sir Robert Carey) [1;7]
9-13 April	**Newcastle** (Sir Robert Dudley, Mayor of Newcastle; sermon preached before King at St Nicholas's Church, 10 April) [1;3;7;10;17]
13 April	Visit to **Lumley Castle** (John, 1st Baron Lumley; he was apparently absent, so the King was shown around by Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham) [1;7;ODNB]
13-14 April	**Durham** (Durham Castle;Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham) [1;7]
14-15 April	**Walworth Castle** (Mrs Elizabeth Jennison) [1;7]
15-16 April	**Topcliffe** (William Ingleby) [1;7;10]
16-18 April	**York** (Manor of St Mary's; Thomas Cecil, 2nd Baron Burghley; sermon preached before the King at York Minster, 17 April; feast staged at house of Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Walter: 18 April) [1;3;7;17]
18-19 April	**Grimston Hall** (Sir Edward Stanhope) [1;7]
19 April	Visit to **Pontefract Castle** (Royal) [1;7]
19-20 April	**Doncaster** (Bear and Sun Inn) [1;3;7]
20 April	Visit to **Blyth** [1;7]
20-21 April	**Worksop** (Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury) [1;7]
21 April	Visit to **Southwell** [1;7]
21-22 April	**Newark Castle** (Royal) [1]
22-23 April	**Belvoir Castle** (Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland) [1;7]
23 April	Visit to **Burley-on-the-Hill** (Sir John Harington) [1;7]
23-25 April	**Burghley House** (Thomas Cecil, 2nd Baron Burghley; Easter: 24 April, with sermon preached before the King) [1;3;7;12;17]
25-26 April	Another visit to **Burley-on-the-Hill** (Sir John Harington) [1;3;7]
26-27 April	**Burghley House** (Thomas Cecil, 2nd Baron Burghley) [1;3;7;12]
27 April	Visit to **Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay) [1;3;7]
27-29 April	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [1;7]
29 April	Visit to **Godmanchester** [1;7]
29-30 April	**Royston** (Robert Chester) [1;7]
30 April-2 May	**Standon** (Sir Thomas Sadleir) [1;7]
2-3 May	**Broxbournebury** (Sir Henry Cock) [1;3;7]
3-7 May	**Theobalds** (Sir Robert Cecil; first formal meeting of James I's Privy Council) [1;3;5;7;12]

7-11 May	Via **Stamford Hill** (met by Lord Mayor and aldermen) to **Charterhouse** (Sir Thomas Howard; sermon preached before the King, 10 May), with visits to **Whitehall** and **St James's** [1;5;7;17]
11-?15 May	Via **Whitehall** to the **Tower of London** [1;2;7]
13-25 May	**Greenwich** [1;5;6;7;10;12;19] (with visit to **Tower of London** [and/or **Whitehall**?], 22-23 May) [2;7]
25-27 May	Visits to **Nonsuch** via **Putney**, **Hendon** (Sir John Fortescue), **Syon House** (Royal), **Beddington** (Sir Francis Carew), **Oatlands** and **Hampton Court** [1;5;7]
27 May>	**Greenwich** [2] [or **Whitehall**? [12]]
>29 May-1 June>	**Greenwich** [12]
>5-?24 June	**Greenwich** [6;7;12;17] (with visits to **Syon** and **Windsor**, c. 12 June, and visit to **Whitehall** on 18-20 June [King's birthday: 19 June]) [1;2;7]
24 June	**Hanworth** (Sir William Killigrew) [1;5;7]
24-26 June	**Windsor** [1;3;5;7;16]
27 June	Visit to **Easton Neston** (Sir George Fermor), meeting Queen Anne at the house [7;16]
27-28 June	**Grafton Lodge** (with Queen; George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland; banquet) [7;16]
28 June	**Salden House**, Muresly (with Queen; Sir John Fortescue) [3;7;16]
28-30 June	Visits (?) to **Braynford** (Sir Thomas Savage),[5] **Hampden** (Sir Alexander Hampden), [1;5;7] **Thorpe** (Sir John Egerton),[5] and **Aylesbury** (Sir John Packington) [7]
29-30 June	**Great Missenden** (with Queen; Sir William Fleetwood) [1;7;16]
30 June	**Beaconsfield** (with Queen; Lady Tasborough) [5;7;16]
30 June-11 July>	**Windsor** (royal party joined by Princess Elizabeth on 30 June; Prince Henry invested with the Order of the Garter on 2 July) [2;5;6; 7;8;12;16]
c. 12-13 July	**Oatlands** (to be home of the Prince and Princess) [2;5]
13-21 July	**Hampton Court** [1;2;3;5;6; 7;12]
22 July	Visit to **Fulham Palace** (Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London) [1;5;7]
22-25 July	**Whitehall** (Coronation of James I at Westminster Abbey on 25 July, St James's Day) [1;2;5;6;7;17]
26 July	Visit to **Oatlands** [2]
26-29 July>	**Hampton Court** [1;2;12]
July	**Beddington** (Sir Francis Carew) [5]
July	Dinner at **Egham** (Mr Clerk),[5] **Old Windsor** (Mr Meredith),[5] and **Thorpe** (Sir John Egerton) [5]
>3 Aug.	**Nonsuch** [2]
4-10 Aug.	**Hampton Court** (including Gowrie anniversary, 5 Aug.) [2;6;7;10;12;17]
10 Aug.?	(Visit to?) **Nonsuch** [4]
10 Aug.-25 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, BERKSHIRE AND OXFORDSHIRE (King and Queen)** [*NB end of progress disarranged by the continuance of the plague and the need for the King to be at Winchester*]
10 Aug.	**Pyrford Place** (Sir Francis Wolley) [1;4;5;7]

11-12 Aug.	**Loseley Park** (Sir George More) [1;4;5;7]
Aug.	**Guildford** [5]
13-17 Aug.	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester) [1;4;5;6;7]
c. 17 Aug.	(Visit to?) **South Warnborough** (Sir Thomas White) [1]
17, 22, 23 Aug., again on 31 Aug.	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [1;2;4;5;6;7]
18-19 Aug.	**Sydmonton** (William Kingsmill) [7]
c. 19-21 Aug.	**Highclere** (Sir Thomas Lucye) [4;5]
21-22 Aug.	**Hurstbourne** (Sir Robert Oxenbridge) [4;5;7]
22-23 Aug.	**Thruxton** (George Philpott) [5;7]
24-25 Aug.	**King's Somborne** (Sir Richard Gifford) [7]
c. 25-26 Aug.	**Winterslow** (Thomas ?Thistlethwaite) [4;5]
26-28 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury) [1;4;7]
29-30 Aug.	**Wilton House** (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke; sermon preached before the King on 30 Aug.) [3;4;5;7;17]
31 Aug.	**Everleigh** (Henry Sadleir) [4;5;7]
1-4 Sep.	**Tottenham House** (Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford) [4;5;7]
5-6 Sep.	**Littlecote House** (Sir Francis Popham) [4;5;7]
7-8 Sep.	**Wadley House**, near Faringdon (Dorothy Shirley, prev. Lady Umpton) [4;7]
9-11 Sep.?	**Burford Priory** (Sir Lawrence Tanfield) [7]
Sep.	(Visit to?) **Langley in Wychwood** (Sir John Fortescue) [4;5]
8-20 Sep.?	**Woodstock** (Royal), with visit to **Ditchley** (Sir Henry Lee; 15 Sep.) [1;2;3;4;5;6;7;12]
Sep.	**Abingdon** (Mr Read) [4;5]
16-17 Sep.	**Sir Christopher Brown's** (possibly Great Shefford, near Newbury) [7]
17-19 Sep.	**Hampstead Marshall** (Sir Thomas Parry) [7]
21 Sep.>	**Shaw House**, Newbury (Thomas Dolman) [1;4;5;7]
	[*NB the intended visits to the following houses were probably disarranged on account of the plague, or they may have been stopping points for the Queen:* ***Henley****,*[4] ***Newington****,*[4] ***Rycote*** *(Francis Norris, 2nd Baron Norris),*[4] ***Bisham Abbey*** *(Sir Edward Hoby/Lady Elizabeth Russell).*[4] *The progress apparently also took in the following: visit to* ***Churvson*** *(Mr Phillips) (between King's Somborne and Winterslow?),*[4] *dinner at* ***The Holt*** *(Aug.; Thomas West, 3rd Baron de la Warr ['Lord Delaware']),*[5] *visit to the lodge at* ***Croneburie*** *(Aug.; probably Cranburie or Cranbury Park, Sir Francis Fortescue),*[5] *and visit to Mr Kingsmill (Sep.)*[5]]
25 Sep.-20 Oct.> [*NB plague in London*]	**Winchester** (Wolvesey Palace; Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester; arrival of Prince Henry),[1;2;4;5;6;7;12] with visits to **Southampton**,[1;4] **Netley**, near Portsmouth (Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford),[5] **Mottistone**, **Isle of Wight** (Cheke family),[1;7] **Collingborne**,[7] **Wallop**,[7] and **Wilton** (9 Oct. and earlier; William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [6;7]
***Oct*.**	**Waslie** (Wylie?) (Sir Valentine ?Knightes) [5]
***Oct*.**	**Hampton Court** (King dined with ambassadors) [5]
c. 20 Oct.-2 Dec.>	**Wilton House** (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke; court there until at least 10 Dec.; play by John Hemyngs on 2 Dec.),

	with visit to **Salisbury** (1 Nov.) [1;2;3;5;6;10;11;12;13] (start of trial of Sir Walter Raleigh at Winchester Castle on 17 Nov.)
>27 Nov.>	**Winchester?** (trials) [8]
***Nov*.**	**Nether Wallop** (Sir Hampden Paulet) [4;5]
***Nov*.**	**Horwell** (Lord ?Lawan) [4;5]
>6 Dec.>	**Salisbury** (Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury; sermon preached before the King on 6 Dec.) [17]
19-31 Dec.	**Hampton Court** (performance of plays) [1;2;5;7;8;11]
***Dec*.**	**Farley** (or Farleigh Wallop) (Sir Henry Wallop) [4;5]
***Dec*.**	**Yelverton** (Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford) [4;5]
***Dec*.**	**Woking** [5]

1604	
1 Jan.-c. 8 Feb.>	**Hampton Court** (performance of plays and masque; Parliament called 11 Jan.; Hampton Court conference 14-18 Jan.; sermon preached before the King on 21 Jan.; Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [1;5;6;7;11;12;17]
***Jan*.**	**Woking** [5]
***Jan*.-*Feb*.**	**Royston** (30 days; house of Robert Chester seemingly hired by the King) [5]
***early-mid-Feb*.**	**Whitehall** to **Royston** to **Newmarket** to **Theobalds** (Sir Robert Cecil) to **Whitehall** [7]
>9 Feb.-12 March	**Whitehall** (plays at Shrovetide: 20-22 Feb.; bearbaiting; visit to **Woking** [Feb.?]; visit to Archbishop Whitgift on 27 Feb.) [1;2;5;6;7;10;11;12]
12-15 March	**Tower of London** (lion-baiting on 13 March) [1;2;5;7]
15 March	Coronation festivities (deferred due to plague): entry through London with pageants to **Whitehall** [1;2;7]
15-c. 29 March	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Coronation Triumph*: 15 March; opening of James's first English Parliament on 19 March; Accession Day: 24 March; tilt on 29 March) [1;2;7;10;17;18]
c. 29 March-2 April>	**Royston** (>29-30> March; serrmon preached before the King on 1 April; King unwell) [3;17]
c. 2-3 April	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [2;3;5]
c. 3-5 April	**Royston** [3]
5-25 April>	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned from 5 April to 11 April; Easter: 8 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [2;3;5;6;7;17;18]
1 May	Visit to **Highgate** (Sir William Cornwallis; performance of Ben Jonson's masque *Penates*) [1;7]
1 May>	**Hampton Court** [6]
2 May	**Greenwich** [3]
2-19 May	**Whitehall** [2;3;17]
19 May>	**Greenwich** (Parliament adjourned from 26 May to 30 May) [2;18]
>23-27 May>	**Whitehall** (Whitsuntide: 27 May) [3;5]
30 May-30 June>	**Greenwich** [1;2;5;6;12]
June	Visits to **Windsor**, **Whitehall**, **Ramsey Park**, **Theobalds** (Sir Robert Cecil), **Havering** and **Wanstead** (Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy), the latter two for c. 5 days [5]
16 June	Visit to **Ruckholt in Leyton** (Michael Hicks) [1;7]
>19 June>	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June) [17]
>26 June	**Greenwich** [2]

>29 June	**Whitehall** [7]
late June	**Cobham Hall** (Lady Cobham) [5]
30 June-3 July	**Greenwich** [7] (with visit to **Whitehall** on 1 July by King, Queen and Prince; sermon preached) [17]
3-12 July>	**Whitehall** (with visit to **Chatham** and **Rochester** on 4 July; Parliament prorogued 7 July) [1;2;5;6;7;12;18]
>13-18 July	**Oatlands** (sermon preached) [1;2;3;5;6;7;12; 17]
18-21 July	**Windsor** [1;2;5;6;7;12; 17] [and **Bagshot?**; July; 4 days [5]]
21-24 July	**Whitehall** [2;6;7;10]
24 July-14 Aug.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE (broken by Spanish visit)**
24-29 July	**Theobalds** (Sir Robert Cecil; Coronation Day: 25 July) [1;2;5;6]
Late July/early Aug.	**Royston** (house of Sir Robert Chester seemingly hired by the King in 1603-4) [5]
>2 Aug.	**Somersham** (Royal; keeper: Sir John Cutts) [1]
early Aug.	**Sapley Park** (Royal; keepers: Sir Oliver and Henry Cromwell)[5]
early Aug.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [5]
5-c. 7 Aug. (and again on 14 Aug.?)	**Bletsoe** (Oliver St John, 3rd Baron St John; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.) [1;3;5;6]
>7-10 Aug.	**Drayton** (Henry Mordaunt, 4th Baron Mordaunt), [3;5;8] with visit to **Broughton House** (Sir Edward Montagu) on 9 Aug. [3]
10-13 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay), with dinner at a lodge of Mildmay's (11 Aug.) [3;5]
10 Aug.	*Arrival of Fernandez de Velasco, Constable of Castile, and other Spanish and Flemish Commissioners at Somerset House [1;2]*
14-20 Aug.	**Whitehall** (signature of treaty and banquet for Constable of Castile on 19 August) [1;2;3;6;7;12]
25 Aug.	*Departure of Constable of Castile [1]*
20 Aug.-c. 10 Sep.	**PROGRESS (resumed)**
20 Aug.>	**Ware** (Mr Emeries) [1;5]
>26 Aug.>	**Castle Ashby** (William, Lord Compton) [5;6]
c. 25/26 Aug.	**Rockingham Castle** (Sir Edward Watson) [2]
Aug.	**Braybrooke Castle** (Sir Edward Griffin) [5]
Aug.	Visit to **Onye Park** (Lord Compton) [5]
29 Aug.>	**Grafton Lodge** (George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland) [3;5]
>2 Sep.>	**Broughton House** (Sir Edward Montagu; sermon preached before the King on 2 Sep.) [3;5;17]
Sep. (3 days)	**Broughton Castle** (Richard Fiennes, 7th Lord Saye and Sele)[3;5]
Sep.	Visit to **Whitewood Forest** (probably Wychwood Forest; Lord Garret) [5]
Sep.	**Langley in Wychwood** (Sir John Fortescue) [1]
>6 Sep.>	**Woodstock** (Royal) [1;6]
Sep.	**Rycote** (Francis Norris, 2nd Baron Norris) [5]
Sep.	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby) [5]

	[*NB apparently, also a visit to **Hatfield** (Royal) on 5 Sep., but it is impossible to fit this into the route taken* [7]]
>11-21 Sep.	**Windsor**, [1;3;5;6;7;8;12;17] with visit to **Eton College** (21 Sep.) [1;7]
22-29 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [1;2;3;5;8;6;17] [yet 25 Sep. at **Windsor**? [10]]
late Sep.	**Royston?** [6]
***Sep*.**	Dinner at **Oatlands** [5]
***Sep*.**	**Southampton?** (Sir Richard Tichborne) [5]
>1-16 Oct.	**Hampton Court** [2;5;6;7;12;15] [yet 1-6 Oct. at **Easton Neston** (Sir George Fermor), to meet Prince Charles, and then to **Windsor**,[1;7] and 7 Oct. at **Royston**? [3]]
16-24 Oct.>	**Whitehall** (King, Queen and Prince met on their arrival to London by the Lord Mayor, aldermen and citizens 'with great pomp') [1;2;6;7;12] [*NB this visit is not recorded in souce [15], which states that the whole period 1-26 Oct. was spent at **Hampton Court***]
>26 Oct.	**Hampton Court** [15]
26 Oct.-16 Nov.	**Whitehall** (earliest known performances of *Othello* (1 Nov.) and *Merry Wives of Windsor* (4 Nov.), at Whitehall) [1;7;11;12;15;17] [yet on 6-7 Nov. at **Royston**? [7;17] (sermon preached on 6 Nov.) and 9-12 Nov. also at **Royston**? [5;7]]
12 Nov.	*Arrival of Ulric, Duke of Holstein, Queen Anne's brother* [2]
16 Nov.-1 Dec.	**Royston** [3;15]
1-16 Dec.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [3;6;7;15] [yet on 4-15 Dec. at **Royston**? [5;7;9]]
16-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays, including *Measure for Measure* and *Comedy of Errors*; marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan de Vere on 27 Dec., with masque) [2;5;7;8;9;11;12;15]

1605	
1-10 Jan.	**Whitehall** (creation of Prince Charles as Duke of York on 6 Jan.; performance of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* on 6 Jan. and plays by Shakespeare) [1;2;6;7;8;9;10;15;17]
10-14 Jan.	**Royston** [2;15]
14-31 Jan.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell; King went to church on 20 Jan.) [3;5;7;10] [yet on 26 Jan. at **Royston**? [7;9]]
31 Jan.-1 Feb.	**Royston** [15]
1-3 Feb.	**Ware** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [15]
3-20 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 11-13 Feb.) [2;3;6;9;10;12;15] [yet on 6-8 Feb. at **Hampton Court**? [6;7]]
20 Feb.	Visit to **Ware** [3;15]
20-25 Feb.	**Royston** [2;3;7;15]
25-27 Feb.	**Newmarket** [3;6;7;15]
27 Feb.-15 March>	**Thetford** (King unwell) [3;6;7;11;12;15] [yet on 6 March at **Royston**?,[7;10] 9-10 March at **Theobalds**,[6] and 12-15 March at **Newmarket**? [3;15]]
15-18 March	**Royston** [3;15]
18-19 March	**Ware** [15]
19 March-29 April	**Greenwich** (Accession Day: 24 March; Easter: 31 March; birth of daughter, Mary Stuart, on 8 April; visits to **Whitehall** on 9 and 12 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [2;3;6;7;12;17]

29 April-3 May	**Nonsuch** (sermon preached before the King on 30 April) [5;15;17]
3-6 May	**Greenwich** (baptism of Mary Stuart on 5 May) [2;15]
6-9 May	**Nonsuch** [5;15]
9-10 May	**Richmond** [15]
10-13 May	**Greenwich** [3;15]
13-17 May	**Richmond** (King walking there from Kew) [3;5;7;15]
17-31 May	**Greenwich** [3;15;17] (19 May: Whitsuntide, with sermon and 'the Churching of Queen Anne'; visit to **Dartford** on 25 May, and visit to **Salisbury House**, Strand, on 27 May) [3;7;17;Hatfield Archives]
31 May-2 June	**Rochester**, via **Southfleet** (accompanying Duke Ulric, who left England on 1 June) [2;5;7;15]
2-3 June	**Greenwich** [15]
3-6 June	**Whitehall** (with visits to **Tower of London** on 3 June [1;3] and **Marylebone Park** on 5 June [15])
6-12 June	**Greenwich** (visit to **Marylebone Park** on 10 June) [15] [yet >June 7 at **Whitehall**?;[7] June 8> at **Windsor**? [3;10]]
12-15 June	**Eltham** [5;15] [yet 13 June at **Greenwich**? [10]]
15-20 June	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June) [5;15]
20-22 June	**Eltham** [3;5;15]
22-25 June	**Greenwich** [2;3;15]
25-26 June	**Whitehall** [15]
26-28 June	**Richmond** [2;3;5;15]
28-29 June	**Oatlands** [2;3;5;15] [yet 26-30 June> at **Whitehall**? [1;5;6;10]]
29 June-1 July	**Nonsuch** [5;15] [yet 26-30 June> at **Whitehall**? [1;5;6;10]]
1-3 July	**Oatlands** [2;3;5;7;15]
3-12 July	**Windsor** [3;5;6;7;12;15] [yet >5-8 July at **Whitehall**? [5;7]]
12-16 July	**Whitehall**, meeting Queen at **Hounslow** (Thomas Crompton) on the way [2;5;7;15]
16 July-5 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN ESSEX, HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE (King, Queen and the royal children)**
16-19 July	**Havering** (Royal; K) [1;3;5;7;15]
19-20 July	**Luxborough**, Chigwell ('Loughborough'; Lady Hawkins) [5;15]
19/20 July	Visits to **Loughton** (Sir Robert Wroth) and **Havering** (Royal)?[1;7;10] [*NB the King is said to have stayed at Loughton, but source [15] only mentions Luxborough*]
20-24 July	**Theobalds** (Sir Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury; K&Q; sermon preached before the King on 23 July) [1;2;5;7;15;17]
24-26 July	**Hatfield** (Royal; K&Q; Coronation Day: 25 July),[1;3;4;5;7;15] seemingly with visit to **Hertfordbury** (Sir Goddard Pemberton) [4;7]
26-28 July	**Farley Green, Luton** (Sir John Rotherham; K) [1;5;7;15] [*NB this part of the progress, until the stay at Bletsoe, does not appear to follow the gestes. The order set out here is that stated in source [15]*]
28-29 July	**Houghton Conquest Manor** (Conquestbury) (Sir Richard Conquest; K; James made visit to church at Houghton on 28 July) [1;4;5;6;7;12;15] [*NB royal children at Houghton Conquest on 28 July-1 Aug. [15]*]
29-30 July	**Ampthill Park** (Royal; K&Q) [15]
30 July-1 Aug.	**Hawnes** (or Haynes) (Sir Robert Newdigate; K&Q; sermon preached before the King on 30 July) [1;4;5;6;7;12;15;17] [*NB Queen*

	also at the house on 27-29 July [15]]
1-3 Aug.	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 3rd Baron St John; K&Q and children) [1;4;5;7;15]
3 Aug.	Visit to **Higham Park** (attached to Higham Ferrers Castle) [15]
3-6 Aug.	**Drayton** (Henry, 4th Baron Mordaunt; K&Q and children; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.; sermon preached before the King on 6 Aug.) [1;4;5;6;7;15;17]
6-9 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay; K&Q and children) [1;4;5;7;15]
Sep. [Aug.?]	Dinner house at **Burley-on-the-Hill** (Sir John Harington) [5]
9-12 Aug.	**Rockingham Castle** (Sir Edward Watson; K) [1;4;5;6;7;12;15]
12-13 Aug.	Via **Braybrooke Castle** (Sir Edward Griffin; 12 Aug.) to **Harrowden** (Edward, 4th Baron Vaux; K) [1;4;5;7;15]
13-16 Aug.	**Castle Ashby** (William, Lord Compton, K&Q and children) [1;3;4;5;7;15]
16-20 Aug.	**Grafton Lodge** (George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland; K), [1;3;4;5;7;15] with dinner at **Lord Garrett's lodge** near Grafton and at **Grafton Manor** (Royal; K&Q) [5]
20-21 Aug.	**Hanwell** (Sir Anthony Cope; K&Q and children) [1;4;5;7;15]
20 Aug.	Visit to **Wroxton Abbey** (Sir William Pope) [1;7] [visit took place on 21 Aug., according to source [1]]
21-27 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal; K, Q and Prince; sermon preached before the King on 27 Aug.) [1;3;5;7;15;17] *[NB gestes disarranged; they say 21-24 Aug. for Woodstock then Langley]*
Aug.	Dinner at **Cranburie Park** (Sir Francis Fortescue; K&Q) [5]
27-30 Aug.	**Oxford** (K&Q, who both stayed in Christ Church College; entertainments by the Earl of Dorset, Chancellor of the University, with speeches, orations, a comedy on 27 Aug., dinner at New College on 29 Aug., and a visit to the library on 30 Aug.) [1;2;3;4;5;7;15]
30-31 Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby; K and Prince) [1;4;5;15]
31 Aug.-3 Sep.	**Windsor** (Royal; K, Q and Prince; Danish Ambassador present) [1;2;5;6;7;15]
3-4 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; K) [5;15]
4-5 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne; K) [5;15]
	[*NB Visit also supposedly made to **Rotherfield Greys** (Greys Court) on 30-31 Aug., by K&Q, but this not mentioned in diets and probably disarranged* [7]]
5-10 Sep.	**Windsor** [1;3;5;6;7;15]
10-11 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [15]
11-12 Sep.	**Oatlands** [15]
12-16 Sep.	**Whitehall**, [15] with visit to **Luxborough**, Chigwell (Lady Hawkins) [5]
16-18 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [15]
18-20 Sep.	**Whitehall** [15]
20-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [1;3;6;15]
30 Sep.-1 Oct.	**Whitehall** [1;2;5;15]
2-8 Oct.	**Royston** [2;3;5;9;15]
8-21 Oct.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [3;9;10;15] [though mid-October **Windsor** and **Hampton Court?** [7]]
21-31 Oct.	**Royston**, [3;9;10;15] with trip to **Ware** on 30 Oct. [3]
31 Oct.- 25 Nov.	**Whitehall** (discovery of Gunpowder Plot in the early hours of

	5 Nov., with capture of Guy Fawkes and others; Parliament reconvenes on 5 Nov.; King visits and prorogues Parliament on 9 Nov.) [2;3;5;6;7;9;10;12;13;15;18]
25 Nov.	**Richmond** [2]
25 Nov.-1 Dec.	**Hampton Court** via **Nonsuch** [2;3;5;10;15] [yet late Nov. at **Royston**? [7]]
early Dec.	**Hinchingbrooke?** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [7]
1-3 Dec.	**Whitehall** [3;15]
3-7 Dec.	**Hampton Court** [15]
7-13 Dec.	**Whitehall** [5;10;15]
13-14 Dec.	**Waltham Abbey** (Abbey House; Edward, Baron Denny) [5;10;15]
14-16 Dec.	**Whitehall** [15]
16-17 Dec.	**Waltham Abbey** (Baron Denny) [5;10;15]
17-21 Dec.	**Enfield** [15]
21-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays) [1;3;5;6;7;15;17]

1606	
1-13 Jan.	**Whitehall** (marriage of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex and Frances Howard, daughter of Lord Suffolk, on 5 Jan., with performance of Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei*) [1;5;6;7;15]
13-15 Jan.	**Waltham Abbey** (Abbey House; Edward, Baron Denny) [5;15]
15-18 Jan.	**Enfield** [3;5;15]
18 Jan.-3 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Parliament reconvenes on 21 Jan. and is adjourned from 25 Jan. to 28 Jan.; trial of gunpowder plotters on 27 Jan.; execution of Guy Fawkes on 31 Jan.; Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [3;6;7;10;13;15;18]
3-8 Feb.	**Hampton Court** [13;15]
8-18 Feb.	**Whitehall** [13;15;17]
18-22 Feb.	**Hampton Court** [5;6;13;15]
22 Feb.-10 March	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 3-5 March) [6;7;15;17]
10-14 March	**Oatlands** [5;15]
14-19 March	**Whitehall** [5;7;15]
19-22 March	**Woking** (rumoured assassination of King) [1;2;5;7;15]
22 March-29 April	**Whitehall** (King greeted with fetes and fireworks; Accession Day: 24 March; visit incognito to **Guildhall** on 28 March for trial of Henry Garnet; visit to **Greenwich** on 29 March; sermon preached before the King at **Greenwich** on 6 April; Parliament adjourned from 18 April to 24 April; Easter: 20 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [1;2;5;7;9;12;15;17] [yet on 4 April at **Newmarket**? [3]]
29 April-1 May	**Royston** (via **Theobalds** and **Ware**) [3;5;15]
1-9 May	**Newmarket** (visits to Sir John Cotton's and the Lord Gerard's) [3;5;15]
9-10 May	**Royston** [3;15]
10-15 May	**Whitehall** [3;15]
15-22 May	**Greenwich**, with visit to **Windsor** on 20 May (installation as Knights of the Garter of the Earl of Salisbury and Viscount Bindon) [1;3;5;7;10;15]
22-29 May	**Whitehall** (Parliament prorogued 27 May) [15;18] [yet >23-27 May at **Greenwich**,[7] and 27 May> at **Whitehall**? [5;7]]
29 May-4 June	**Greenwich** [2;5;15]

4-6 June	**Woking** [5;15]
6-11 June	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 8 June; sermon preached) [15;17]
11-12 June	**Richmond** [5;15]
12-19 June	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June) [3;15]
19-21 June	**Richmond** [5;15]
21-25 June	**Greenwich** (birth and death of daughter, Sophia Stuart: 22-23 June) [2;3;15]
25-28 June	**Havering** [5;15]
28 June-1 July	**Greenwich** [15]
June	**Hounslow** (Mrs Crompton; K&Q) [5]
1-3 July	**Havering** [5;15]
3-5 July	**Theobalds** [5;15]
5-10 July	**Greenwich** [15]
July	Visit to **Luxborough**, Chigwell (Lady Hawkins) [5]
10-12 July	**Richmond** [5;15]
12-14 July	**Greenwich** [15]
14-17 July	**Oatlands** [1;5;15] [yet 16-17 July at **Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester)? [1;5]]
17 July	*Arrival of Christian IV of Denmark* [1;2;7]
17-24 July	**Greenwich** (visit to **Tilbury** on 18 July to meet Christian; sermon preached before the King and Christian at **Whitehall** on 20 July; visit to **Eltham** on 21 July) [1;3;7;15;17]
24-28 July	**Theobalds** (Sir Robert Cecil; King accompanied by Christian IV; performance of Ben Jonson's masque *Solomon and Queen of Sheba*: 24 July; Coronation Day: 25 July; sermon preached before the King and Christian on 27 July) [1;3;2;7;15;17]
28-31 July	**Greenwich** [1;7;15]
31 July	Triumph through London to **Somerset House** [1;2;7]
31 July-2 Aug.	**Whitehall** (visit to St Paul's Cathedral on 1 Aug.) [1;5;7;15]
2-6 Aug.	**Greenwich** (Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.) [1;7;15;17]
6 Aug.	Visit to **Richmond** [1;5;8]
6-7 Aug.	**Windsor** [15]
7-8 Aug.	**Hampton Court** (with Queen, Prince and King of Denmark) [1;5;8;15] [yet Aug. 7-8 at **Windsor**? [1;8]]
c. 8 Aug.	**Oatlands** [6;8]
8-9 Aug.	**Greenwich** [1;7;15]
early Aug.	**Nonsuch** [5]
9-11 Aug.	**Rochester** (Bishop William Barlow; sermon preached before King, Christian, Queen and Prince Henry at Rochester Cathedral on 10 Aug.; dinner on boat near **Chatham** on 10 Aug.; farewell to Christian at **Gravesend** on 11 Aug.) [1;7;13;15;17]
11-15 Aug.	**Greenwich** [5;15]
15-18 Aug.	**Oatlands**, [5;15] with visit to **Hampton Court** c. 16-17 Aug. [1;3;5;7]
18-21 Aug.	**Windsor** [15]
21 Aug.-13 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE**
21-23 Aug.	**Loseley Park** (Sir George More) [4;5;15]
23-27 Aug.	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester) [1;3;4;5;6;7;12;15]
27-28 Aug.	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [3;4;5;15]
c. 28 Aug.	(Visit to?) **Broadlands** ('Mrs Fleming's house': Frances St Barbe, née Fleming) [4;7]

Aug.	Visit to **Romsey** [5]
28 Aug.-1 Sep.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton; sermon preached before the King on 31 Aug.; entertainments staged, including an 'exercise of war' by the 'trained men of the Isle of Wight'; sickness of the Earl of Mar) [1;3;4;5;7;15;17]
1-2 Sep.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington) [4;5;15]
2-6 Sep.	**Ivychurch**, Alderbury (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [3;4;5;15]
6-8 Sep.	**Farley** (or Farleigh Wallop) (Sir Henry Wallop) [3;4;5;15]
Sep.	Visit to **Wilton** (dinner house; William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [5]
Sep.	(Visit to?) **Thruxton** (George Philpott) [4;5]
8-9 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [3;4;5;15] [*NB the intended visit to Windsor at about this date was put off due to a reported outbreak of disease in the area*]
9-11 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal) [3;4;5;15]
11-13 Sep.	**Woking** (Royal) [3;5;15] [yet 11 Sep. at **Hampton Court**? [7]]
	[*NB progress apparently also took in the following: visit to **Hownstowe** (Hurstbourne?; dinner house; Sir Robert Oxenbridge), in Sep.* [5]]
13-15 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [3;5;6;7;15]
15-18 Sep.	**Windsor** [1;3;5;6;7;15]
18-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2;5; 7;12;15;17] [yet on 19 Sep. at **Theobalds**? [10], and left Hampton Court on 27 Sep, according to [5]]
4-10 Oct.>	**Royston** (with Francis, the Count of Vaudémont) [3;5;7;9]
>16-20 Oct.	**Newmarket** [3;5;7;10]
20 Oct.	(Visit to?) **Royston** [3;7]
20 Oct.-10 Nov.	**Whitehall** (sermon preached before the King on 5 Nov., Gunpowder Plot anniversary) [1;2;5;7;9;12;15] [yet on 23 Oct. and 26 Oct. at **Royston**,[3] and left Whitehall on 7 Nov., according to [5]?]
10-16 Nov.	**Richmond** [5;7;9]
16-27 Nov.	**Whitehall** (Parliament reconvenes 18 Nov.; speech by King) [2;5;7;17;18]
27-30 Nov.	**Richmond** [5]
30 Nov.-1 Dec.	**Whitehall** [5]
1-7 Dec.	**Enfield** (probably Lord William Howard) [5;7]
7-12 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;5;7]
12-19 Dec.	**Enfield** (Parliament adjourned on 18 Dec.) [5]
19-21 Dec.	**Ware** (inn) [6;9]
21-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays, including *King Lear*) [1;2;5;7;17]

1607	
1-6 Jan.>	**Whitehall** (marriage of Lord James Hay and Honora Denny on 6 Jan., with performance of masque by Thomas Campion) [1;3;2;6;7;10;17]
>18 Jan.-1 Feb.	**Royston** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.), via **Ware** [3;5;7]
1-12 Feb.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays; Parliament reconvenes 10 Feb.) [1;2;5;7;18] [to **Woking** on 7 Feb.? [5]]

12-14 Feb.	**Woking** [5;6;9]
14-16 Feb.>	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 16-18 Feb.) [2;5]
>22 Feb.>	**Royston** [3]
***Feb*.**	**Hampton Court** to **Nonsuch** and back (2 days) [5]
>26 Feb.-1 March	**Whitehall** [2]
1-24 March	**Royston** [5;6] [yet 10 March at **Whitehall**? [2]]
24-29 March>	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned from 24 March to 26 March, and then from 31 March to 20 April; Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt) [1;2;5;7;17;18]
March	**Woking** [5]
>2-6 April	**Whitehall** (Easter: 5 April) [2;5;7;17] [yet 4 April at **Royston** and on 5 April to **Newmarket**? [3]]
6 April>	**Ware** [5]
>10 April>	**Thetford** [3]
c. 12 April>	**Royston** [5;7]
>16 April	**Newmarket** [5;7]
16-22 April	**Royston** (Parliament reconvenes 20 April and is adjourned from 21 April) [5;7;10;18]
22-26 April>	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April; Parliament reconvenes 27 April) [2;5;18]
>2-17 May>	**Whitehall** (King addresses the House of Commons on 2 May; Parliament adjourned from 13 to 15 May) [2;3;7;18]
May	**Whitehall** to **Oatlands**, **Hampton Court** and **Nonsuch**, and back to **Whitehall** (6 days) [5]
May	Visit with Prince de Joinville to **Oatlands**, **Nonsuch** and **Windsor** [5] [*NB same trip as above?*]
c. 20-24 May	**Theobalds** (formal handing over of the house by Robert Cecil to the King and Queen; entertainment by Ben Jonson: 22 May; Prince de Joinville visiting; Parliament adjourned from 20 May) [1;3;2;7;18]
24-30 May	**Whitehall** (Whitsuntide: 24 May; Parliament reconvenes 27 May; tilt for Prince de Joinville on 25 May and departure of Joinville on 31 May) [1;2;5;7;12;18]
31 May-3 June	**Greenwich** [2;5;7]
3-26 June	**Whitehall** (visit to Lord Mayor and Clothworkers on 12 June; court at **Greenwich**; King's birthday: 19 June; Parliament adjourned from 23 to 25 June) [1;2;5;7;10;18]
26-28 June	**Richmond** [5;7]
28 June	**Greenwich** [5;6;12]
29 June>	**Whitehall** [7]
June/early July	**Theobalds** [5]
>2 July>	**Greenwich** [6;12] (with visit to **Havering**? [5 days] [5])
>4-9 July>	**Whitehall** (Parliament prorogued by the King on 4 July) [5;7;12;18] [yet 6 July> at **Theobalds**?; K&Q [2]]
>16 July	**Theobalds** [5]
16-19 July	**Whitehall** (visit on 16 July to Merchant Taylors) [1;2;5;7;9;10]
July	**Theobalds** to **Havering** to **Theobalds** (5 days) [5]
July	**Theobalds** to **Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) to **Theobalds** (4 days) [5]
19 July	**Greenwich** [7]
19/20 July	**Oatlands** [1;5;7;9]
19-24 July>	**Windsor** [1;3;6;9;12]
>24 July>	**Oatlands** [10]

>27-29 July>	**Windsor** [2;3;5]
c. 2 Aug.-2 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, DORSET AND BERKSHIRE (King and Queen)**
>2-3 Aug.>	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester; K&Q) [3;4;5]
5-?11 Aug.	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester; K&Q),[1;4;5;6] with trip to **Romsey** (where sermon preached before the King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [3;17]
mid-Aug.?	**Abbotstone** (Lord St John/Marquess of Winchester; K) [4;5]
mid-Aug.?	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe; K) [4;5]
8-12 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton; sermon preached before the King on 9 Aug.) [1;3;4;5;6;7;17]
12 Aug.>	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [3]
Aug.	Visit to **Nunwell, Isle of Wight** (Sir William Oglander) [1;7]
Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington; K) [4;5]
14-23 Aug.	**Salisbury** (houses of Dean and Lawrence Hyde; K) [1;2;3;4;5;6;7;12]
Aug.	Visits to **Wilton** (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) and Mr Carrant's in **Cranborne Chase** (dinner houses) [5]
Aug.	**Andover** (The Bell Inn; K) [4;5]
Aug.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [4;5]
>1 Sep.>	**Bagshot** (Royal; K) [3;4;5]
Sep.?	**Easthampstead** (Royal; K) [4;5]
	[*NB progress apparently also took in the following: dinner at **Ashe** (Mr Stephenson) (near Farnham?)* [5]]
>2-9 Sep.	**Windsor** [1;2;5;6;7;10]
c. 9-10 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [5]
>10-16 Sep.	**Whitehall** (viewing of building of Banqueting House; death of Mary Stuart on 16 Sep.; plague in London) [2;5;6;7;8]
mid-Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5;7]
16-23 Sep.	**Theobalds** (audience of the Prince of Moldavia) [2;3;5;7;8]
23. Sep.-6 Oct.>	**Hampton Court** [1;2;5;6;7;12] (with visits to **Theobalds** and **Royston**) [5;7]]
>11-25 Oct.>	**Royston**,[2;3;6;7;12] with visit to London (**St James's**) on 4 Oct. [2]
>26 Oct.>	**Whitehall** [1;6;7;12]
>28-29 Oct.	**Theobalds** [2;5]
29 Oct.-7 Nov.>	**Whitehall** (entry to London on 29 Oct.; All Saints' Day: 1 Nov.; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [1;2;5;6;7;12;17]
>15 Nov.>	**Whitehall?** [12]
***Nov*.**	**Whitehall** to **Richmond** (4 days) [5]
>17 Nov.	**Hampton Court** [5;7]
>19-20 Nov.	**Royston** [3]
20 Nov.-11 Dec.	**Newmarket** [2;3;7] [yet 9 Dec. at **Royston**? [2]]
Nov. and Dec.	**Whitehall** to **Theobalds** to **Royston** and **Newmarket** and back to **Whitehall** (38 days) [5]
early Dec.	**Whitehall** and **Theobalds** [7]
11-15 Dec.	**Royston** [3]
15-20 Dec.	**Theobalds** [2;3;5]
20-31 Dec.>	**Whitehall** (performance of plays), [1;2;5;6;7;9;12;17] with visit to **Hampton Court** on c. 22-23 Dec. [2;7]

1608	
1-7 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays) [1;5;7;9]
7-9 Jan.	**Theobalds** [5;6;9]
9-11 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* on 10 Jan.) [2;5;9;12]
11 Jan.>	In the country (hunting) [2]
>17 Jan.-10 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; Shrovetide: 8-10 Feb.; marriage on 9 Feb. of John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, and Elizabeth Radcliffe, with masque by Ben Jonson) [1;2;5;6;7;9]
11 Feb.>	**Theobalds** [5;7]
>13-15 Feb.	**Whitehall** [7] [yet 12 Feb. left London for **Theobalds**? [5]]
15 Feb.>	**Theobalds** [7]
>20-22 Feb.>	**Royston** [3]
>25 Feb.-7 March.>	**Newmarket** (dinner with Sir Nicholas Bacon on 27 Feb.) [3;5;6;7;10] [yet 24-26 Feb. at **Whitehall**,[6;7] 26 Feb. and c. 2 March at **Theobalds**,[5;7] and c. 4 March at **Royston**? [5]]
>8-9 March	**Royston** [3]
9-11 March>	**Thetford** [3;5;6]
c. 12 March>	**Newmarket** [5;6]
c. 13 March>	**Theobalds** [2;3;5]
18 March-1 April	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt; Easter: 27 March) [1;2;5;6;7;10;12;17]
1 April>	**Royston** [2;5]
>8 April	**Newmarket** [5;7]
8-17 April	**Thetford** (sermon on 17 April) [3;5;6]
17 April>	**Newmarket** [7]
c. 18-22 April	**Royston** [5]
22 April-11 May>	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April; banquet with Robert Cecil at **Salisbury House** following his investiture as Lord Treasurer: 6 May) [2;3;5;6;7;12;13;Hatfield Archives]
c. 13-28 May	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 15 May), [1;3;5;6;7;17] with visit to **Salisbury House** on 18 May (accompanied by Queen and Prince Henry) [Hatfield Archives] and to **London** c. 20 May to watch procession of the Knights of the Garter [2]
May	**Whitehall** to **Richmond** and back (6 days) [5]
May	**Theobalds** [5]
28 May-4 June	**Oatlands** [5;6;12]
4-6 June	**Greenwich** [2;5]
6 June>	**Whitehall** [2]
>8 June>	**Greenwich** [3]
>10 June>	**Nonsuch?** [6]
>13 June>	**Whitehall** [5;6]
>19 June-1 July	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June), [2;5;7] with visit to **Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5]
c. 1 July	(Visit to?) **Oatlands** [5]
1-6 July>	**Windsor** [2;3;5;12]
>9 July	**Theobalds** [5]
9 July>	**Whitehall** [7]
>14 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) and **Havering** [5]
July	**Theobalds** to **Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) and back (4 days) [5]

July	**Theobalds** to **Havering** and back (6 days) [5]
14 July-3 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, BERKSHIRE AND SURREY (with Queen and Prince Henry)** [*NB progress affected by harvest failure*]
14-20 July	**Theobalds** (Royal), with visit to **Lamer Park** in Wheathampstead (19 July; Sir John Garrard), and brief visit to **Greenwich** to see silk manufactory [1;2;4;5;6;7;9;10]
c. 20-24 July	**Brocket Hall** (Sir Thomas Reade) [4]
24-25 July	**Toddington** (Joan, Lady Cheyne; K&Q; sermon preached before King and Queen on 24 July; Coronation Day: 25 July) [1;4;5;6;7;12;17]
July	Visit to dinner house at **Ampthill Lodge** (K) [5]
1-3 Aug., 16, 19 Aug.	**Grafton Manor** (Royal; steward: Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox; K) [1;4;5;7]
4 Aug.	(Visit to?) **Alderton** (Sir Thomas Haselrige) [1;4]
5-14 Aug.	**Holdenby** (Royal: Charles, Duke of York; K&Q; sermon preached before King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [1;2;4;5;6;12;17] [there from 3 Aug., according to [2]]
5 Aug.	Visit to **Bletsoe** (Oliver, 3rd Baron St John; K&Q) [1;4;5;7] *[NB source [5] lists the visit after Toddington, but source [1] gives this date]*
15 Aug.	**Northampton** (King and Queen make entry into town) [Lansdowne MSS, BL]
Aug.	**Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton II; K) [4;5]
mid-Aug.	**Hanwell** (Sir Anthony Cope) [4]
mid-Aug.	**Broughton Castle** (Richard Fiennes, 7th Lord Saye and Sele; K) [4;5]
mid-Aug.?	**Sudeley Castle** (Grey, 5th Lord Chandos) [4]
>20-23 Aug.>	**Woodstock** (Royal; K&Q) [3;4;5; Lansdowne MSS, BL]
Aug.	(Visit to?) **Ditchley** (Sir Henry Lee) [4]
late Aug.	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris; K&Q) [4;5]
late Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby; K&Q) [4;5]
late Aug.	**Easthampstead** (Royal; K) [4;5]
>27 Aug.	**Windsor** (Royal) [1;5;6;12]
27 Aug.-3 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal) and **Easthampstead** (Royal) [5]
	[*NB the progress apparently also took in the following: visit to **Sewly/Sawrye Lodge** (K), and dinner house there (Aug.),[5] dinner house at **Mr Andrew's** (Aug.),[5] visit to **Cornborough Lodge** (K; Aug.),[5] dinner house at **Sir Henry Neville's** (K; Aug.),[5] dinner houses at **Lord Compton's lodge** and house of **Mr Freeman** (July/Aug.)* [5]]
3-8 Sep.	**Windsor** [1;2;5;6;7;12]
8 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [2;5]
c. 9 Sep.>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5]
>14 Sep.>	**Theobalds** [2;5]
c. 18 Sep.>	**Havering** [5]
17 Sep.-1 Oct.	**Hampton Court** [1;2;3;5;6;7;12] [although at Hampton Court from 21 Sep., according to [5]]
Sep.	**Hampton Court** to **Bagshot** and back (6 days) [5]

1 Oct.>	**Whitehall** [1]
>8-9 Oct.>	**Royston** [2;3;6]
12-21 Oct.>	**Newmarket** [2;3;6;7;10]
c. 28 Oct.	**Royston** [7]
31 Oct.-16 Nov.>	**Whitehall** (All Saints' Day: 1 Nov.; Gunpowder plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;6;7;9;10;17]
>24 Nov.	**Thetford** [10]
24-26 Nov.	**Newmarket** [6]
27 Nov.-13 Dec.>	**Thetford**,[3;6;7;9;12] with visit to **Hinchingbrooke** on 2 Dec.? [3]
16-17 Dec.>	**Royston** [3]
>16-20 Dec.	**In the country** [2]
20-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays) [1;2;6;7;9]

1609	
1-9 Jan.	**Whitehall** [2;6;7;9;12]
9 Jan.>	**Theobalds** [2;9]
>12-23 Jan.>	**Royston** (King busy working on his book, *A Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes and States in Christendom*) [2;3;6;10]
>25 Jan.>	**Whitehall** [2;6;9]
>31 Jan.-1 Feb.	**Theobalds** [2]
1-2 Feb.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* on 2 Feb. [Candlemas]) [1;2]
2-4 Feb.>	**Theobalds** [7]
>c. 5 Feb.>	**Royston?** [2]
>7-12 Feb.>	**Whitehall** [6;7;9] [yet 10 Feb. at **Royston**? [3]]
>14-22 Feb.	**Royston** [2;3;6;12]
22 Feb.-4 March>	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 27 Feb.-1 March) [2;6;7;9;10]
>4-17 March>	**Hampton Court** (plague in London and Greenwich),[2;3] with visit to **Oatlands** (14-17 March) and hunting trip to **Marylebone Park** on 18 March [3]
>22-30 March>	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt) [1;2;6;7;9;10]
>7-12 April>	**Whitehall**, with visit on 11 April to **Durham House** for opening of Britain's Burse (with Jonson masque) [1;2;3;6;7;12]
>16-24 April>	**Whitehall** (Easter: 16 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [2;3;7;12;17;19]
>25 April>	**Theobalds** (King working on his book) [9]
>29-30 April>	**Whitehall** [7;17]
late April	**Royston** [9]
>6 May>	**Whitehall** [6;12]
8 May	Visit to **Woolwich** to see ship *Trade's Increase* [2;7]
>15 May>	**Greenwich** [1;6;12]
>17 May>	**Whitehall?** [6]
>23-31 May	**Greenwich** [3;7;10;19]
1-2 June>	**Whitehall** (Whitsuntide: 4 June) [2;7]
>5-19 June>	**Greenwich**, with visit to **Deptford** on 7 June (King's birthday: 19 June) [2;6;7;12;19]
>23-27 June	**Greenwich**, with visit to **Tower of London** on 23 June to see lion- and bear-baiting [1;2;7]
27 June-3 July	**Theobalds** [2]
3 July>	**Greenwich** [1;2;7]

>5-6 July>	**Whitehall** [1;6;7;10;19]
>10-17 July	**Greenwich** [2;3]
17-18 July	**Whitehall** (sermon preached before the King on 18 July) [1;2;6;7;10;17]
18 July-31 Aug.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, BERKSHIRE, HAMPSHIRE, THE ISLE OF WIGHT, WILTSHIRE AND DORSET (with Queen and Prince Henry)**
18-23 July	**Windsor** (Royal) [1;2;3;7]
23-26 July	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester; fire in the King's stable on 23 July; sermon preached before the King on 25 July, Coronation Day) [1;3;6;7;17]
26 July>	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [1;3;4;7]
late July	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [4]
>29 July>	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe) [3;4]
30 July-1 Aug.>	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton; sermon preached before the King in Beaulieu church on 30 July) [1;3;4;7;17]
2 Aug.	**Isle of Wight** (King and Prince) [3]
2-7 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (3rd Earl of Southampton; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.) [1;3;4;7;17]
early Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington) [1]
15 and 20 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury) [1;4;6;7]
17-19 Aug.	**Cranborne** (Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury) [1]
mid-Aug.?	**Tarrant** [1]
late Aug.	**Thruxton** (Sir George Philpott) [4]
late Aug.	**Andover** (the Bell Inn?) [4]
late Aug.	**Hurstbourne** (Sir Robert Oxenbridge) [4]
late Aug.?	**Basing House** (Marquess of Winchester) [4]
>31 Aug.?	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [4]
late Aug.?	**Bagshot** (Royal) [4]
31 Aug.-2 Sep.	**Windsor** [1;2;6] [at Windsor from 29 Aug., according to [2]]
2-8 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** (plague in London) [1;2;3;6;12]
>11 Sep.	**Theobalds** [2]
11 Sep.>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [2;3]
13-15 Sep.	**Havering** (King unwell) [3]
15-20 Sep.>	**Theobalds** (entertainment of Palatine Duke on 16 Sep.; sermon preached before the King on 17 Sep.) [2;3;7;10;17]
>24 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [2]
>26-27 Sep.	**Bagshot** [2;3]
27-28 Sep.	**Windsor** [3]
28-29 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [1;2;3;6;12]
>1 Oct.>	**Newmarket** [6] (hindered from hunting by frost) [yet left **Hampton Court** for Royston on 3 Oct.? [2]]
3-24 Oct.>	**Royston** [2;3;6;10;19] (with visit to **Whitehall** on 19 Oct.?[1;6]) [yet on 21-30 Oct. at **Hampton Court**? [2;7]]
>28 Oct.>	**Theobalds** [3]
30 Oct.-11 Nov.	**Whitehall** (Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;7;10]
11-12 Nov.>	**Theobalds** [2;6]
>17-22 Nov.	**Royston** (King unwell) [3;6;10]
22 Nov.>	**Whitehall** [2]

>27 Nov.>	**Theobalds** [7]
>c. 25-28 Nov.>	**Whitehall** [6]
>30 Nov.-16 Dec.	**Newmarket** [3;6;12]
16 Dec.>	**Royston** [6]
>18-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays; visit to see launching of ship at Deptford on 30 Dec.) [1;6;7;9;17]

1610	
1-19 Jan.>	**Whitehall** (Prince Henry's barriers on 6 Jan., with Jonson masque) [1;2;7;12] [yet on 16-18 Jan> at **Royston**? [3]]
>20 Jan.	**Theobalds** [7]
20-26 Jan.>	**Royston** [2;3;6;7;10]
>28 Jan.-27 Feb.>	**Whitehall** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; Parliament reopens 9 Feb., is adjourned 10 Feb. and reconvenes 14 Feb.; Shrovetide: 19-21 Feb.) [2;6;7;12;18] [in London from 1 Feb., according to [2]]
>2-4 March>	**Whitehall** [2;6;7;12; 17]
>19-21 March>	**Whitehall** (King addresses Parliament on 21 March) [2;6;7;12]
>23 March	**Hampton Court** [2]
23-26 March>	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt) [1;2;6;7;12]
>1 April	**Royston** [6]
1-24 April	**Whitehall** (Palm Sunday: 1 April; trip to Theobalds averted due to plague; Parliament adjourned 3 April; dinner at **Greenwich** on 5 April; Easter: 8 April; Parliament reconvenes 16 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [2;3;6;9;17;18]
24 April>	**Thetford** [2;6;7;9;10]
>30 April-1 May	**Newmarket** [3]
1-9 May	**Thetford** [2;3;6;7;9;10]
9-11 May	**Royston** (9 May: death of King Henri IV of France) [2;3]
11-27 May>	**Whitehall** (mourning for death of French King; Parliament adjourned 16 May, reassembled 18 May and adjourned 26 May; Whitsuntide: 27 May) [2;3;7;9;17;18]
>30 May?	**Greenwich** [2]
>30 May-6 June>	**Whitehall** (Parliament reconvenes 30 May; investiture on 4 June of Henry as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester; plays for the Queen on 5 June; tilt and water triumph on 6 June) [1;2;5;6;7;12;17;18]
c. 9 June	To the country? [2]
>13-20 June>	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June, with visit to **Woolwich**) [1;2;6]
>24-25 June>	**Whitehall** [7;10]
>30 June	**Greenwich** [5]
>4 July>	**Greenwich** [7]
>8 July	**Oatlands** [5;7]
8-19 July>	**Whitehall** (with visit to **Woolwich** on 19 July) [1;7]
c. 20 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [2]
21-24 July	**Whitehall** (Parliament prorogued by King on 23 July) [2;17;18]
24 July-8 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE (with Queen and Prince Henry)** [*NB progress delayed due to*

	prolonged session of Parliament] [8]
c. 24 July	**St Albans** [4;5]
late July	**Wrest** (Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent) [4]
late July	**Toddington** (Joan, Lady Cheyne) [4;5]
late July?	**Henwick Hall**, Podington (Sir Anthony Tyrringham) [4;5]
>29 July>	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 3rd Baron St John) [1;4;5;6]
late July/early Aug.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [4]
late July/early Aug.	**Somersham** (Royal; keeper: Sir John Cutts) [4;5]
5, 6, 11-13, 19 Aug.	**Holdenby** (Royal: Charles, Duke of York; sermon preached before the King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [1;2;4;5;6;7]
2, 6 Aug.	Visits to **Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Antony Mildmay) [4;5;17]
7, 9 Aug.	Visits to **Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton II) [5]
13-14 Aug.>	**Castle Ashby** (William, Lord Compton) [1;2;4;5;6;7]
mid-Aug.	**Drayton** (Lord Mordaunt/Lady Hunsdon?) [4;5]
19 Aug.>	**Grafton Manor** (Royal; steward: Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox) [1;4;5;6]
mid-Aug.	**Canons Ashby** (Sir Erasmus Dryden) [4;5]
mid-Aug.	**Hanwell** (Sir Anthony Cope) [4;5]
mid-Aug.	**Broughton Castle** (Richard Fiennes, 7th Lord Saye and Sele) [4;5]
22-25 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal) [1;2;3;5;6;7;12]
>27 Aug.>	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris; sermon preached in the hall) [3;4;5;17]
>28 Aug.>	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby; K&Q) [1;4;5;7]
>30 Aug.>	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [3;4;5]
2 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne; sermon preached before the King) [1;3;4;6;17]
>8 Sep.?	**Bagshot** (Royal) [4;5]
8-11 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [1;2;3;6]
>20 Sep.>	**Theobalds** [3;7]
24 Sep.	Visit to **Woolwich** to see ship *Prince Royal* [2]
>25 Sep.	**Greenwich** (King falls ill) [2]
25 Sep.-8 Oct.	**Hampton Court** [2;3;6;12]
8-18 Oct.>	**Whitehall** (reconvening of Parliament on 16 Oct.) [1;2;5;18] [arrived at Whitehall on 11 Oct., according to [2]] [yet >17-19 Oct.> at **Royston**? [3]]
mid-Oct.	**Theobalds** and **Royston** [2;5]
>21-24 Oct.	**Royston** [6]
24 Oct.>	**Whitehall** [6;10]
>29 Oct.	**Royston** [3]
29 Oct.>	**Theobalds** [3]
>31 Oct.	**Royston** [2]
31 Oct.-1 Nov.>	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned 31 Oct.) [2;18]
>4 Nov.>	**Greenwich** (Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [17]
>12 Nov.>	**Whitehall** [5;6;10] [though >9 Nov., according to source [5]]
mid-Nov.	**Theobalds** [2;5]
>17 Nov.	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned 17 Nov.) [2;18]
>21 Nov.-4 Dec.>	**Royston** (Parliament reconvenes 21 Nov. and adjourned 24 Nov.; Parliament adjourned 29 Nov. and prorogued 6 Dec.) [3;5;6;18]
>6-7 Dec.>	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [3;5;6;10;18]

>10-16 Dec.>	**Royston** [3;6]
c. 17 Dec.>	**Theobalds** [3;6]
>19 Dec.	**Royston** [5;7]
19-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays; Parliament dissolved 31 Dec.) [1;5;7;12;17;18;19]

1611	
1-8 Jan.>	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Oberon, the Faery Prince* on 1 Jan.) [2;6;7] [to **Hampton Court** on 5 Jan.?[5]]
>10-12 Jan.	**Hampton Court** [5;7]
>13 Jan.	**Whitehall** [3;5]
13-18 Jan.	**Theobalds** [5;7]
18-19 Jan.	**Whitehall** [5]
19-30 Jan.	**Hampton Court** [2;5]
30 Jan.>	**Whitehall** [1;5]
>3-6 Feb.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* on 3 Feb.; Shrovetide: 4-6 Feb.) [1;5;7]
6 Feb.>	**Theobalds** [5]
>11 Feb.	**Whitehall** [2]
11-19 Feb.	**Royston** [2;5;6]
20-27 Feb.>	**Newmarket** [5;6;7]
>7-13 March	**Royston** [2;5;7;10]
14 March>	**Newmarket** [7]
15-25 March	**Whitehall** (Easter and Accession Day: 24 March) [2;5;7;17]
25 March-1 April>	**Theobalds** [2;5]
>4-20 April	**Royston** (drought) [2;5;6;12]
20-24 April>	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April) [2;5]
April	**Windsor** [5]
>27 April	**Whitehall** [5;7]
27 April-4 May	**Greenwich** [1;2;5;6;7;10]
4 May>	**Whitehall** [6]
early May	**Oatlands** [5]
>8-9 May	**Hampton Court** [5;7]
9 May>	**Whitehall** [5;7]
>12 May	**Greenwich** [2;5]
12-13 May	**Windsor** [5;7;17] (Whitsunday: 12 May; creation of Charles, Duke of York and others as Knights of the Garter) [2]
13-14 May>	**Greenwich** [5;6]
>17 May	**Whitehall** [5;6;12]
18-30 May>	**Greenwich** [2;6;12]
>31 May>	**Whitehall** [6;12]
May	**Theobalds** [5]
>4-10 June>	**Greenwich** [6;7;12]
>13-16 June	**Greenwich** [2;5]
16-22 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount; King's birthday: 19 June) [5]
>22 June	**Greenwich** [5]
22 June>	**Richmond** and **Whitehall** [5]
>26 June>	**Windsor** [1;5]
28-29 June	**Greenwich** [5]
29 June>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount), **Havering** and **Theobalds** [5]
30 June>	**Greenwich** (audience with Otto, Prince of Hesse) [Rye 1865]

2 July>	**Whitehall** [5;6]
>5 July>	**Greenwich?** [6]
5 July	Visit to **Hatfield House** (Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury) Hatfield Archives
>9 July?	**Hampton Court** (with visit to **Oatlands** on 8 July) [2;5]
8-19 July	**Windsor** (with visit to **Oatlands** on 19 July) [2;5;6]
18-21 July?	**Englefield** (Sir Edward Norris) [1;6]
21-24 July	**Windsor?** [2]
25 July-c. 3 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, THE ISLE OF WIGHT, WILTSHIRE, DORSET AND BERKSHIRE (with Queen and Prince Henry, for part of the way)** [*NB progress affected by drought*]
25-28 July	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester) [1;5;6]
c. 28 July-1 Aug.?	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [4;5]
Aug.	**Sydmonton** (Sir William Kingsmill) [4]
Aug.	**Hurstbourne** (Sir Robert Oxenbridge) [4]
Aug.	**Andover** [4;5]
Aug.	**Thruxton** (Sir George Philpott) [4;5]
3-13 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury; feast on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary; Prince Henry meets King here on 5 Aug.) [1;2;4;5;6;12]
Aug.	Visit to **Cranborne** (Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury) and dinner at **Wilton** (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [5]
mid-Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington; K) [4;5]
19, 21, 26 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton) [1;4;5;6]
22 Aug.	Visit to **Isle of Wight** [1;5;6]
late Aug.	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe; K) [4;5]
29 Aug.	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [1;4;5;7]
c. 30 Aug.	Visit to **Aldershot** to christen Sir Walter Tichborne's child [5]
31 Aug.	**Farnham Castle** (Bishop of Winchester) [1;5;6]
1 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal) [1;4;5;6]
Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;5]
3/4-7 Sep.	**Windsor** [2;5;6]
7-8 Sep.	**Oatlands** [2]
8-10 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [1;2;5;6;12]
11-12 Sep.>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5;6]
>19 Sep.>	**Theobalds** [5;6]
21-28 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2;5;7;10]
c. 28 Sep.>	**Whitehall** [5]
>29 Sep.-2 Oct.>	**Hampton Court** [2;3;5;7;10]
>6 Oct.	**Theobalds** [5;7;10]
6 Oct.>	**Royston** [5;6]
11 Oct.	**Whitehall** [2]
11-25 Oct.>	**Royston** [2;5;6]
late Oct.	**Newmarket** [7]
31 Oct.-12 Nov.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays, including Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 November) [1;2;5;6;7;9]
12-13 Nov.	**Royston** [5;6;9]

13-14 Nov.>	**Theobalds** [2;7]
>17 Nov.-5 Dec.>	**Newmarket** (sermon preached before the King and Prince Henry on 19 Nov.) [2;5;6;7;9;12;17]
7 Dec.	**Greenwich?** (to meet Queen) [2]
>7-16 Dec.	**Royston** [6;7]
16-22 Dec.>	**Theobalds** [2;6;7;9]
>23-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays) [1;2;6;7;9;17]

1612	
1-9 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Love Restored* on 6 Jan.) [2;10]
9 Jan.>	In the country (**Theobalds?**) [2;5]
>15 Jan.-9 Feb.>	**Royston** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [6;7;9]
c. 13 Feb.>	**Whitehall** [5;9]
14 Feb.	**Theobalds** [2]
>15 Feb.	**Royston** [5;7]
15 Feb.>	**Greenwich** [7] [or 15 Feb. at **Whitehall**? [19]]
19/20 Feb.>	**Whitehall** [2;5]
>28 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 24-26 Feb.) [5;9]
28 Feb.>	**Hampton Court** [5]
>4-8 March>	**Whitehall** (Earl of Salisbury ill; visited daily by the King, Queen and Prince Henry) [2;6;7;9]
>12 March>	**Hampton Court** [2]
>13 March	**Woking** [5]
13 March-10 April>	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March) [2;5;6;7;9;10] [yet at **Theobalds** 24-30 March and again >3 and >9> April? [5;7]]
>12-13 April	**Whitehall** (Easter: 12 April) [5;17]
13 April>	**Hampton Court** [5]
>18 April-1 May	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April; arrival in London of Henri de la Tour, Duke of Bouillon on 26 April; departure of the Earl of Salisbury for Bath on 27 April) [2;5;6;7;9] [yet 21-30 April at **Hampton Court**? [5]]
1 May>	**Hampton Court** [5]
>6 May	**Whitehall** [2]
6-7 May	**Hampton Court** [2;5]
7 May>	**Whitehall** [2;5]
>12-24 May	**Whitehall** (departure of Duke of Bouillon on 19 May; court in mourning for the death of the Queen of Denmark [on 8 April] and the death of the Earl of Salisbury [on 24 May]) [2;6;7;9;12]
24-29 May	**Eltham** [5;9]
May	**Theobalds** [5]
May	*Arrival of deputation from Palatinate to agree marriage with Princess Elizabeth*
29 May-1 June	**Whitehall** (Whitsuntide: 31 May) [5;7;17]
1-9 June	**Theobalds** (with trip to **Eltham**, hunting with the Prince of Modena) [2;5]
>11 June>	**Whitehall** [6;9]
13-15 June	**Eltham** [5;7;9]
15-16 June	**Whitehall** [9]
16-17 June	**Eltham** [1;6;7]
17-25 June>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount or Sir Edward Phelips; King's

	birthday: 19 June) [1;6;7;9]
c. 18 June	Visit to **Havering** [1;6;7;9]
>25 June>	**Greenwich** [9]
>30 June	**Greenwich** [5]
30 June>	**Whitehall**, **Richmond** and **Oatlands** [5]
June	Visit to **Kew** [5]
June	Visit to **Wimbledon** (Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter) [5]
4-5 July	**Hampton Court** [2]
5-9 July	**Windsor** [2;6;9]
9-10 July>	**Whitehall**, with visit to **Kensington** (Sir Walter Cope) around 9 July [1;2;6;9]
>12-20 July	**Theobalds** (with visit to **Havering**) [1;2;5;6;7;9;12]
20 July-c. 1 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, RUTLAND, LEICESTERSHIRE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE (with Prince Henry and Queen for some of the way)** [*NB end of progress disarranged*] [4;7]
20-21 July	**St Albans**, [1;2;4;5;7] with sermon preached at St Alban's Abbey on 21 July [17]
21-24 July	**Wrest** (Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent) [1;7]
late July	**Hawnes** (Sir Robert Newdigate) [4;5]
23 July	Dinner at **Ampthill Lodge** [1;5;13]
24-27 July	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 3rd Baron St John; Coronation Day: 25 July; sermon preached before the King on 26 July) [1;4;5;6;7;17]
27-30 July	**Castle Ashby** (William, Lord Compton) [1;4;5;6;7;13]
30 July-3 Aug.	**Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton II) [1;4;5;7]
3-6 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay; feast on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [1;2;4;5;7]
Aug.	(Visit to?) **Burghley House** (Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter) [4;5]
6-7 Aug.	**Brooke** (Sir Edward Noel) [1;7]
7-10 Aug.	**Belvoir Castle** (Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland; Prince joins King here on 8 Aug.; Venetian Ambassador present) [1;2;4;5;7]
10-11 Aug.	**Newark Castle** (Royal) [1;4;5;7]
11-14 Aug.	**Rufford Abbey** (Sir George Savile) [1;4;5;7]
Aug.	(Visit to?) **Welbeck Abbey** ('Sir Charles Cavendish's house') [5]
14-17 Aug.	**Newstead Abbey** (Sir John Byron) [1;4;5;7]
17-18 Aug.	**Nottingham** (Thurland Hall or House; Sir John Holles) [1;4;5;7]
18-21 Aug.	**Leicester** ('Lord's Place'; Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon) [1;4;5;7] [*NB intended visit to Loughborough, 18-19 Aug., did not take place [1;7]*]
21-22 Aug.	**Dingley Hall** (Sir Edward Griffin) [1;4;5;7]
22-c. 24 Aug.	**Holdenby** (Royal: Charles, Duke of York) [1;5;7]
c. 26-31 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal; entertained by Henry, Prince of Wales; King met by Queen here on 26 Aug.) [1;4;5;6;7;9;10] [*NB intended visits to **Grafton Manor** (24-27 Aug.; Duke of Lennox) and **Hanwell** (27-28 Aug.; Sir Anthony Cope) said to have been disarranged [1;4;5;7;10]*]
31 Aug., and 2-3 Sep.?	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris) [1;4;5;7]
c. 3 Sep.	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby) [1;4;5;7]

early Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4]
early Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal) [4;5] [*NB progress apparently also included: dinner at **Onye Park** (July)* [5]]
>1 Sep.?	**Windsor** [5]
1 Sep.>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount), **Havering** and **Theobalds** [5]
17 Sep.	**Theobalds** [letter in BL catalogue]
>21-24 Sep.	**Whitehall** [1;5;6;7]
24-26 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [5;10;19]
Sep.	**Nonsuch** [5]
>late Sep.	**Royston** [6]
>1-3 Oct.	**Theobalds** [15]
3-16 Oct.	**Royston** [6;15] [yet 10 Oct. at **Hampton Court**? [2]]
14 Oct.	*Arrival of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, at Gravesend* [2;Lewkenor bill in HMC Laing]
16-17 Oct.	**Theobalds** [7;9;15]
17 Oct.-6 Nov.	**Whitehall** (Elector Palatine arrives in London c. 18 Oct.; pageants; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;5; 6;7;9;15;17;19]
6 Nov.	*Death of Prince Henry at St James's Palace*
6-9 Nov.	**Theobalds** (King hears news about the Prince and falls ill) [2;5;6;9;15]
9-11 Nov.	**Kensington** (Sir Walter Cope; King apparently avoiding his own houses) [6;5;7;9;15]
11-17 Nov.	**Whitehall** (with visit to **Audley End** [Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk] on 15 Nov.) [5;9;15]
18-19 Nov.	**Theobalds** [2;6;9;15] [there 21-23 Nov., according to [2]]
19 Nov.-16 Dec.	**Royston** (Prince Henry's funeral on 7 Dec. at Westminster Abbey; King not in attendance) [6;7;9;10;13;15] [yet on 26 Nov. at **Theobalds** with the Elector Palatine? [2]]
16-17 Dec.	**Theobalds** [2;6;7;15]
17-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (performance of plays; betrothal of Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth at Banqueting House on 27 Dec.; visit to **Hampton Court** on 31 Dec.?) [1;2;6;7]

1613	
1-11 Jan.	**Whitehall** [6;15]
11-13 Jan.	**Theobalds** [5;15]
13-14 Jan.	**Royston** [5;6;15]
14-28 Jan.	**Newmarket** [5;6;7;12;15]
28-29 Jan.	**Royston** [15]
29-30 Jan.	**Theobalds** [15]
30 Jan.-5 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; court comes out of mourning for Prince Henry on 5 Feb.) [2;5;7;15]
5-6 Feb.	**Hampton Court** [5;15]
6-8 Feb.	**Windsor** (Elector Palatine made a Knight of the Garter on 7 Feb.) [2;5;6;15]
8-9 Feb.	**Hampton Court** [15]
9-22 Feb.	**Whitehall** (river triumph on 13 Feb.; marriage of Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth at Whitehall on 14 Feb.;

	masques; Shrovetide: 15-17 Feb.; banquet on 21 Feb.) [1;2;5;6;7;15;17]
22-23 Feb.	**Theobalds** [5;6;7;15]
23-24 Feb.	**Royston** [5;6;7;15]
24 Feb.-9 March	**Newmarket** (collapse of house's foundation; King unhurt) [2;5;6;15]
9-16 March	**Thetford** [5;7;10;15]
16-18 March	**Chieveche?** [15] [Chesterford??]
18-22 March	**Royston** [7;15]
22-23 March	**Theobalds** [7;15]
23 March-10 April	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt; Easter: 4 April; King leaves London on 10 April with Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth) [1;2;5;6;7;15;17]
10-13 April	**Greenwich** (with Elector and Elizabeth) [15]
13-14 April	**Rochester** (Bishop's House; K&Q; farewell to Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth) [7;15]
14-15 April	**Greenwich** [5;15]
15-24 April	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April) [5;15] [yet at **Rochester** on 20-21 April? [1;2;4;5;7]]
24 April	*Queen Anne sets out from Hampton Court on progress to Bath* [1;4;5]
24-26 April	**Hampton Court** [1;5;15]
25 April	*Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth set sail from Dover in the* Prince Royal
26-29 April	**Whitehall** [5;15]
29 April-1 May	**Theobalds** [5;15]
1-19 May	**Whitehall** [2;5;6;7;12;15;19] [sources apart from [15] state that the King remained at Whitehall until 23 May, and [2] mentions a visit to **Richmond** on c. 8-15 May]
19-26 May	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 23 May, with sermon at **Whitehall**) [1;2;5;15;17]
26-29 May	**Theobalds** [2;15]
29 May-14 June	**Greenwich** [1;2;5;6;15] [yet >June 5-13> at **Whitehall**? [6;12]]
14-15 June	**Hampton Court** [5;15]
15-16 June	**Windsor** (King meets Queen, returning from her progress to Bath) [5;15]
16-18 June	**Oatlands** [5;15]
18-21 June	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June) [5;15]
21-26 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5;15] [yet on 23 June at **Greenwich**? [6;7]]
June	Making ready lodge in **Putney Park** for the King to dine [5]
26 June-1 July	**Greenwich** [5;6;7;15]
1 July	**Hampton Court** [1;6]
1-5 July	**Oatlands** [1;5;6;7;15]
5-7 July	**Windsor** [5;15]
7-8 July	**Whitehall** [1;5;15]
8-9 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5;15]
9 July	Visit to **Havering?** [5]
9-16 July	**Theobalds** [2;5;6;7;13;15] [yet >July 8-12 at **Whitehall**? [1;5;6;7]]
16-17 July	**Whitehall** [5;6;15]
17-19 July	**Windsor** [1;5;6;7;15]

19 July-4 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN BERKSHIRE, SURREY, WILTSHIRE, DORSET AND HAMPSHIRE**
19-22 July	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester) [1;5;6;7;15]
22-23 July	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [1;4;5;6;7;15]
23-26 July	**Andover** (Coronation Day: 25 July) [1;4;5;6;7;15]
26-27 July	**Tottenham House** (Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford) [4;5;15]
27-29 July	**Lydiard** (Oliver St John) [1;4;5;6;15]
29-31 July	**Charlton Park** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk) [1;4;5;6;15]
c. 31 July	*Queen Anne sets out on progress to Bath (her second progress of the year)* [4;5]
31 July-2 Aug.	**Bromham** (Sir Henry Baynton) [4;5;15]
2-3 Aug.	**Amesbury** [4;5;15]
3-9 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury; feast at Bishop's Palace on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [1;4;5;15]
Aug.	Dinner house at **Wilton** (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [5]
9-11 Aug.	**Cranborne** (William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury) [4;5;15]
11-13 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Henry Cotton, Bishop of Salisbury) [2;15]
13-14 Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington) [4;5;15]
14-26 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton) [1;2;4;5;15]
26-27 Aug.	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe) [4;5;15]
27-28 Aug.	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [4;5;15]
28-30 Aug.	**Farnham Castle** (Bishop of Winchester), with dining house at **Ashe** [5;10;15]
30 Aug.-2 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [4;5;15]
2-4 Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;5] [*NB the progress apparently also took in the following: dining places at **Sir Humphrey May's house** and in **Braydon Forest** (July),[5] dining place in **Pewsham Forest** (Aug.),[5] and dining house in the **New Forest** (Sep.)* [5]]
4-8 Sep.	**Windsor** (King meets Queen, returning from her second progress to Bath) [2;5;15]
8-9 Sep.	**Whitehall** [1;5;6;15]
9-11 Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [5;12;15]
11-16 Sep.	**Havering** (death of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London on 15 Sep.) [5;15]
16-23 Sep.	**Theobalds** (visit of John Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, on 19-23 September) [5;15]
23-27 Sep.	**Whitehall** [5;15]
27-28 Sep.	**Windsor** [5;15]
28 Sep.-2 Oct.>	**Hampton Court** [1;2;3;5; 6;15]
>7-9 Oct.>	**Theobalds** [2;5;7]
>15 Oct.>	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [12]
>21-29 Oct.>	**Royston** [5;6;7;19]
>2-8 Nov.>	**Whitehall** (performance of plays; Viscount Rochester created Earl of Somerset in Banqueting House: 4 Nov.; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [1;2;5;6;7;12;17]
>11 Nov.>	**Theobalds** [5;6;7]

>13-25 Nov.>	**Royston** [5;6]
>29 Nov.	**Newmarket** [5;6]
30 Nov.>	**Whitehall** [7]
>2-9 Dec.>	**Royston** (King unwell) [6;7;12]
>15 Dec.>	**Theobalds** [7]
***Dec*.**	**Hampton Court** [5]
20-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (King present at the wedding of Robert Carr, 1st Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard in the chapel at Whitehall on 26 Dec., with masque by Thomas Campion; performance of Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque*: 29 Dec.) [1;2;5;6;7;17]

1614	
1-10 Jan.>	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque*: 3 Jan.) [1;2;5;7]
c. 9 Jan.	**Theobalds** [2]
>16 Jan.>	**Royston** [7]
>20 Jan.>	**Audley End** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk) [5;7]
1-7 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; wedding on 3 Feb. of Lord Roxburgh and Jean Drummond at **Somerset House**, with play; King and Queen present) [1;5;7;9;12]
7 Feb.>	**Theobalds** and **Royston** [5;9]
c. 9-19 Feb.>	**Newmarket**, with visit on 19 Feb. to a house of Sir Nicholas Bacon's, possibly **Barnham** [5;7]
20 Feb.>	**Royston** [5;7]
***Feb*.**	**Cambridge** [5]
>4 March>	**Theobalds** [5;7]
c. 7 March	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 7-9 March) [2;5]
>14 March	**Whitehall** [7]
14 March>	**Woking** [5;7]
>24-29 March>	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt) [1;7;10]
>1 April>	**Theobalds** [5;7]
>5-11 April>	**Whitehall** (King speaks at the opening of Parliament on 5 April and addresses Parliament in the Banqueting House on 9 April) [2;7;18]
>24 April-4 May>	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned from 20 April to 2 May; St George's Day: 23 April; Easter: 24 April; King addresses Parliament on 4 May) [2;5;7;17;18]
May	**Theobalds** [5;7]
>20-31 May>	**Whitehall** (with visit to **Somerset House** on 29 May) [2;7;10;19]
>4-8 June	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned 1 June, reconvenes 3 June and dissolved 7 June) [2;7;18]
8-13 June>	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 12 June; King's birthday: 19 June) [1;2;5;7;17]
June	**Greenwich** to **Theobalds** to **Greenwich** [5]
June	**Greenwich** to **Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) to **Greenwich** [5]
>21 June>	**Greenwich** [12] [or >21 June> at **Whitehall**? [1;7]]
29 June>	**Richmond** [1;7]
30 June>	**Greenwich** [2;5]
June/July	**Greenwich** to **Richmond** to **Oatlands** to **Windsor** to **Whitehall** [5]

10-11 July	**Whitehall** [7]
17-23 July	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, ESSEX, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, RUTLAND, LEICESTERSHIRE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE AND BERKSHIRE (broken by the visit of Christian IV, King of Denmark)**
17-18 July	**Theobalds** (Royal) [1;5;7]
18-19 July	**The Rye in Hatfield Broadoak** (Richard Francke) [1;4;5;7]
19-21 July	**Audley End** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk) [1;5;7;13]
21-22 July	**Royston** (Royal) [1;5;7;12]
22-23 July	**Hawnes** (Sir Robert Newdigate),[1;4;5;7] with visit to **St Albans** [5] [*NB it is probable that the planned visits to **Castle Ashby** (William, Lord Compton), **Royston** (Royal) and **Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) did not go ahead, due to the arrival of the King of Denmark* [4;5;7;10]]
21 July	*Arrival of Christian IV, King of Denmark, at Yarmouth; he stays one night at Brentwood (possibly at the Crown Inn)* [7]
22 July	*Christian IV reaches Somerset House* [2;7]
23-31 July	**Whitehall** [2;5;7;12] (with sermon preached at **Somerset House** before the King, Queen, Christian and Prince Charles, 24 July, and one before the King and Christian at Whitehall on 31 July; Coronation Day: 25 July; performance of plays) [1;17]
1 Aug.	Visits to **Woolwich, Rochester** and **Gravesend** for departure of Christian IV [1;2;5;7]
1 Aug.-c. 4 Sep.	**PROGRESS (resumed)**
1 Aug.	**Theobalds** (Royal) [1;2]
2 Aug.	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 3rd Baron St John) [4;5;7]
2-3 Aug.?	**Kirby Hall?** (Christopher Hatton II) [4;5]
3-4 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay; supposed first meeting of the King and George Villiers) [1;4;5;7]
4-6 Aug.	**Burley-on-the-Hill** (Sir John Harington, 2nd Baron; with sermon preached before the King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [1;4;5;7;17]
6-9 Aug.	**Belvoir Castle** (Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland) [1;4;5;7]
9-10 Aug.	**Newark Castle** (Royal) [1;4;5;7]
10-15 Aug.	**Rufford Abbey** (Sir George Savile) [1;4;5;7]
mid-Aug.	Dinner at **Welbeck Abbey** ('Sir Charles Cavendish's') [5]
15-17 Aug.	**Newstead Abbey** (Sir John Byron) [1;4;5;7]
17-18 Aug.	**Nottingham** (Thurland Hall; Sir John Holles) [1;4;5;7]
18-19 Aug.	**Leicester** ('Lord's Place'; Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon) [1;4;5;7]
19-20 Aug.	**Dingley Hall** (Sir Edward Griffin) [1;4;5;7]
20-22 Aug.	**Holdenby** (Royal) [1;7]
22-25 Aug.	**Grafton Manor** (Royal; steward: Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox) [1;4;5;7]
25-29 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal; sermon preached before the King on 28 Aug.) [1;5;7;17]
29 Aug.	Visit to **Oxford** [1]
29-30 Aug.	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris) [1;4;5;7]

30-31 Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby) [1;4;7]
early Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;5]
early Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [4;5]
>c. 4 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [4;5]
>4-5 Sep.>	**Windsor** [2;5]
c. 6 Sep.?	**Hampton Court** [5]
>11 Sep.	**Whitehall** [1]
11-13 Sep.>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [2;5;12]
>19-20 Sep.>	**Theobalds** [2;5]
24 Sep.	**Whitehall** (visit of only 4 hours) [2]
24-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2;5;12]
30 Sep.-3 Oct.	**Theobalds** [2;5;7;15]
3-29 Oct.	**Royston** [5;7;12;15] [yet on 7 Oct. at **Hampton Court**? [2]]
late Oct.	Visit to **Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell)? (after Royston) [5]
29-31 Oct.	**Theobalds** (King falls from his horse on 29 Oct.) [9;15]
31 Oct.-7 Nov.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* before the King on 1 Nov., All Saints' Day; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;7;10;15;17]
7-8 Nov.	**Theobalds** [15]
8-10 Nov.	**Royston** [15]
10 Nov.-10 Dec.	**Newmarket** [2;7;12;15]
10-14 Dec.	**Royston** [15]
14-19 Dec.	**Theobalds** [2;7;9;15]
19-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [1;2;7;15;17] [yet on 21 Dec. at **Hampton Court**? [7]]

1615	
1-12 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists* on 6 Jan. and 8 Jan.) [1;2;7;15;17] [yet 8 Jan.> at **Royston**? [7]]
12-13 Jan.	**Theobalds** [15]
13-21 Jan.	**Royston** [15]
21 Jan.-8 Feb.	**Newmarket** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [2;7;15]
8-13 Feb.	**Royston** [15]
13-15 Feb.	**Theobalds** [7;15]
15-27 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 20-22 Feb.) [2;7;10;15;17;19]
27 Feb.-3 March	**Theobalds** [7;15]
3-7 March	**Royston** [15]
7 March	(Visit to) **Thetford** [7]
7-11 March	**Cambridge** (with Prince Charles; performance of *Ignoramus*) [1;15]
11-20 March	**Newmarket** [7;10;15] (with visit to **Cambridge** on 13-15 March? [1])
20-21 March	**Royston** [7;15]
21-23 March	**Theobalds** [7;15]
23-27 March	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March, with tilt) [1;2;10;12;15]
27-29 March	**Hampton Court** [2;15]
29-31 March	**Woking** [15]
31 March-2 April>	**Hampton Court** [7;15]
early April	**Woking** [7]
>7-11 April>	**Whitehall** (Easter: 9 April) [2;7;17;19]

>17-24 April	**Whitehall** (visit with Prince Charles to see Queen Anne on 23 April, St George's Day) [2;7;12]
25 April>	**Theobalds** [7]
26 April>	**Newmarket** [7]
>11 May>	In the country [2]
13-15 May	**Cambridge** (Trinity College; sermon preached before the King in the college chapel: 14 May; re-performance of *Ignoramus*) [1;7;17]
>21-31 May>	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 28 May) [1;2;7;10;12;17]
>2-3 June>	**Theobalds** [7]
>10-22 June	**Greenwich**, with visit to **Gravesend** on 12 June (King's birthday: 19 June) [2;7;17]
22 June>	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [7]
>26 June>	**Greenwich** [7]
>30 June>	**Whitehall** [7]
>2 July	**Theobalds** [7]
2-5 July	**Oatlands** [1;2;7]
>13 July	**Havering** [7]
>13-19 July	**Theobalds** [2;7;12]
19-20 July	**Whitehall** [2;7]
20-22 July	**Windsor** [1;2;7]
22 July-c. 2 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN BERKSHIRE, SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE AND DORSET (with Queen for some of the way)** [*NB progress eased by fine weather*]
22 July	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [1;4;7]
23 July>	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [1;4]
24 July	*Queen Anne sets out from Windsor on progress to Bath* [1;7]
>26 July>	**Andover** [1;4]
>28 July-7 Aug.	**Salisbury** (sermon preached before the King at Salisbury Cathedral on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary; Bishop's Palace for feast on 5 Aug.) [1;2;4;7;17]
7 Aug.>	**Cranborne** (William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury) [2;4]
early Aug.	**Blandford** [4]
>13-15 Aug.>	**Lulworth Castle** (Thomas Howard, 3rd Viscount Howard of Bindon) [1;2;4;7]
mid-Aug.	**Somerby** [4]
mid-late Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton) [4]
>27 Aug.>	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe) [1;4;7]
>29 Aug.>	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [1;4;7]
>31 Aug.>	**Farnham Castle** (Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester) [1;7]
early Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4]
>2 Sep.>	**Windsor** (King meets with Prince and Queen, returning from her progress to Bath) [1;7] [yet on 2 Sep. at **Whitehall**? [1;2]]
>4 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2]
4-8 Sep.	**Windsor** [2;7]
8-14 Sep.>	**Whitehall** [2] (with visit on 11 Sep. to 'Urino' [?]) [2]
>15-25 Sep.>	**Theobalds** [7;12]
>29 Sep.	**Greenwich** [7]
30 Sep.-2 Oct.	**Theobalds** [2;15]

2-30 Oct.	**Royston** (arrest of the Earl of Somerset on 16 Oct.; visit to **Whitehall** on 18 Oct.) [1;2;7;10;12;15] [yet on 13 Oct. at **Newmarket**? [2]]
30-31 Oct.	**Theobalds** [15]
31 Oct.-7 Nov.	**Whitehall** (Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;7;15;17]
7 Nov.	Visit to **Royston** [2;7]
7-9 Nov.	**Theobalds** [12;15]
9-10 Nov.	**Royston** [15]
10 Nov.-16 Dec.	**Newmarket** (King ill with gout) [2;7;12;15] [yet 22 Nov. at **Royston** and 23 Nov. at **Theobalds** and **Whitehall**? [7]]
16-22 Dec.	**Royston** [15]
22-23 Dec.	**Theobalds** [15]
23-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (King unwell) [2;7;15;17]

1616	
1-19 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Golden Age Restored* on 1 Jan. and 6 Jan.; King recovering from illness by 4 Jan.) [1;2;7;15] (possibly with visit to **Royston** on 13. Jan) [7]
19-22 Jan.	**Theobalds** [7;15]
22-23 Jan.	**Royston** [15]
23 Jan.-11 March	**Newmarket** (King ill with gout; Candlemas: 2 Feb.; Shrovetide: 11-13 Feb.; sermon preached before the King on 13 Feb.) [2;7;10;15;17;19] (possibly with visit to **Royston** on c. 4-6 March to see play by Cambridge men [1])
11-14 March	**Royston** [15]
14-16 March	**Theobalds** [7;15]
16 March-3 April	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March; Easter: 31 March; visit to **Greenwich** on 18 March to see the Queen; visit to **Royston** on 27 March to see play by 'young Cantabrigians') [2;6;7;12;15;17;19]
3-4 April	**Theobalds** [15] [yet 3 April at **Newmarket**? [7]]
4-5 April	**Royston** [6;15] [yet 4-6> April at **Theobalds**? [6;7]]
5-6 April	**Chesterford** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk) [6;7;15]
6-9 April	**Newmarket** [2;6;15]
9-11 April	**Chesterford** (Earl of Suffolk) [15]
11-15 April	**Newmarket** [15]
15-17 April	**Chesterford** (Earl of Suffolk) [15]
17-18 April	**Royston** [15]
18-20 April	**Theobalds** [6;7;15]
20-21 April	**Whitehall** [2;15]
21-22 April	**Greenwich** [15]
22-24 April	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April; feast; George Villiers awarded the Order of the Garter: 24 April) [2;6;7;15]
24-25 April	**Theobalds** [7;15]
25 April	Visit to **Royston** [15]
25-27 April	**Thetford** [2;6;7;15]
27-30 April	**Newmarket** [6;7;15]
30 April-14 May	**Thetford** [7;15] [yet >4-14 May> at **Newmarket**? [7]]
14-15 May	**Royston** [15]
15-17 May	**Theobalds** [15]
17-28 May	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 19 May; visit of the Count of

	Schomberg; trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset on 24-25 May; trip to **Whitehall** on 26 May) [2;6;7;15;17]
28-29 May	**Theobalds** [15]
29 May-1 June	**Whitehall** [15]
1-3 June	**Greenwich** [15]
3-6 June	**Theobalds** [2;7;15]
6-12 June	**Greenwich** (with trip to the **City of London** to dine at Alderman Cockayne's in Broad Street: 8 June) [2;7;10;15]
12-15 June	**Theobalds** (with visit to **Hatfield** [William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury] on 15 June to serve as godfather at the christening of Lord Salisbury's son) [6;7;15] [yet 14 June at **Whitehall**? [6]]
15-19 June	**Greenwich** (King's birthday: 19 June) [2;7;15]
19-20 June	**Whitehall** (King sits for the first time in council at the Star Chamber on 20 June) [2;7;15]
20-22 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount) [7;10;15] (King dines and hunts at **Wimbledon** [Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter] on 21 June and dines at Alderman Cockayne's in the **City of London** on 22 June) [6;7]
22-29 June	**Greenwich** [6;7;15]
29 June-4 July	**Oatlands** [2;7;15]
4-9 July	**Windsor** [2;6;15]
9-10 July	**Whitehall** [2;6;7;15]
10 July	(Visit to?) **Theobalds** [7]
10-13 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount; audiences held on 11 July) [2;6;15]
13-19 July	**Theobalds** (audience of Spanish Ambassador on 17 July) [2;6;15]
19 July-5 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, RUTLAND, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, LEICESTERSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, BERKSHIRE AND SURREY**
19-20 July	**Royston** (Royal) [7;15]
20-23 July	**Hawnes** (Sir Robert Newdigate) [4;7;15]
23-26 July	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 3rd Baron St John; Coronation Day: 25 July) [4;6;7;12;15]
26-29 July	**Castle Ashby** (William, Lord Compton) [4;6;7;15]
29-31 July	**Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton II) [4;6;7;15]
late July	Visit to **Rockingham Castle** (Sir Lewis Watson) [5]
31 July-2 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay) [4;5;6;7;15]
c. 2 Aug.	Visit to **Burghley House** (Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter) [5]
2-6 Aug.	**Burley-on-the-Hill** (Lord Harington; sermon preached before the King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [4;6;7;15;17]
6-9 Aug.	**Belvoir Castle** (Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland) [4;7] [yet on 8-9 Aug. at **Newark Castle** (Royal)? [4;7]]
9-14 Aug.	**Rufford Abbey** (Sir George Savile) [4;7;15]
14-15 Aug.	**Nottingham** (Edward Talbot, 8th Earl of Shrewsbury) [4;7;15]
15-16 Aug.	**Leicester** ('Lord's Place'; Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon) [4;7;15]
16-17 Aug.	**Dingley Hall** (Sir Edward Griffin) [4;7;15]
17-19 Aug.	**Holdenby** (Royal) [7;15]
19-22 Aug.	**Grafton Manor** (Royal; steward: Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox) [4;7;15]

22-28 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal; King met by Queen here; sermon preached before the King on 27 Aug.; Buckingham created Baron Whaddon and Viscount Villiers: 27 Aug.), with visit to **Thornton Park** (Lord Danvers) [6;7;15;17]
28-29 Aug.	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris) [4;6;7;15]
29-30 Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Sir Edward Hoby) [4;6;7;15]
30-31 Aug.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;6;15]
31 Aug.-3 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron; with sermon preached before the King on 1 Sep.) [4;6;15;17]
3-5 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [4; 6;15]
5-10 Sep.	**Windsor** (audiences) [2;6;7;15]
10-11 Sep.	**Whitehall** [2;15]
11-13 Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Mountjoy Blount; King falls from his horse on 12 Sep.) [2;15]
13-16 Sep.	**Havering** [15]
16-24 Sep.	**Theobalds** (with visit to **Enfield** on 23 Sep.) [2;7;15]
24-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2;6;7;15]
30 Sep.	**Theobalds** [15]
1-2 Oct.	**Whitehall** (King serves as godfather at a christening at **Durham House** in London [the property of Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham and Archbishop of York] on 1 Oct.) [6;7]
2 Oct.>	**Theobalds** [7]
>4-11 Oct.>	**Royston** [6;7]
c. 14 Oct.>	**Whitehall** [2]
>19-22 Oct.>	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [7;10]
>25 Oct.>	**Royston** [2]
31 Oct.-11 Nov.	**Whitehall** (investiture of Charles as Prince of Wales on 4 Nov.; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;6;7;10;17;19]
11-14 Nov.	**Theobalds** [6;7]
14 Nov.>	**Royston** [7]
c. 18 Nov.-16 Dec.>	**Newmarket** [2;6;7]
>21 Dec.	**Theobalds** [7]
21-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;7;10;17;19]

1617	
1-18 Jan.>	**Whitehall** (George Villiers created Earl of Buckingham on 5 Jan.; performance of Ben Jonson's *The Vision of Delight* on 6 Jan.) [6;10;12]
14-18 Jan.	**Theobalds** [2;6]
18 Jan.>	**Whitehall** [2;6]
c. 18 Jan.>	**Hampton Court** (another performance of *The Vision of Delight* on 19 Jan., probably at **Whitehall**) [6]
>30 Jan.-1 Feb.	**Theobalds** (audience held on 30 Jan.) [2;6]
1-4 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; first audience of Baron du Tour, French Ambassador Extraordinary, on 4 Feb.) [2;6]
>9 Feb.>	**Newmarket** [10]
>11-18 Feb.>	**Whitehall** (visit to Star Chamber on 14 Feb.) [2;6;12]
>21 Feb.>	**Theobalds** [2]
>22 Feb.-14 March	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 3-5 March; the King dines at **Somerset House**, 'now called Denmark House', on 8 March)

	[2;6;10]
15 March-12 Sep.	**PROGRESS TO SCOTLAND (through Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Co. Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordhire and Berkshire** (with Buckingham, but without Queen and Prince Charles; the Prince accompanies the King as far as Huntingdon) [6]
16-17 March	**Theobalds** (Royal) [7;12]
17-19 March	**Royston** (Royal) [6;7]
19-21 March	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [2;4;6;7;10]
21-22 March	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Anthony Mildmay) [2;4;7]
22-26 March	**Burley-on-the-Hill** (Lucy Russell [née Harington], Duchess of Bedford; Accession Day: 24 March) [4;6;7;12]
26-27 March	**Belton House** (Sir Henry Packenham) [4;7]
27 March-5 April	**Lincoln** (Priory of St Katherine; sermon preached before the King at Lincoln Cathedral: 30 March, and another preached at St Katherine's Priory on 1 April) [2;4;6;7;17]
5-7 April	**Newark Castle** (Royal) [4;6;7]
7-8 April	**Worksop** (Edward Talbot, 8th Earl of Shrewsbury) [4;7;12]
8-9 April	**Doncaster** (Mr Gargrave) [4;7]
9-11 April	**New Hall, Pontefract** (Edward Talbot, 8th Earl of Shrewsbury) [4;7]
11-15 April	**York** (The Manor [former Abbey of St Mary]; sermon preached before the King at York Minster on 13 April, Palm Sunday), with hunting visit to **Sheriff Hutton** (14 April; Sir Arthur Ingram) [4;6;7;17]
15-16 April	**Ripon** (George Dawson),[4;7] with sermon preached before the King at **Sheriff Hutton Manor**, 15 April [17]
16-17 April	**Aske Hall** (Talbot Bowes) [4;7]
17-19 April	**Bishop Auckland** (Bishop James) [4;7]
19-23 April	**Durham** (Durham Castle; Bishop of Durham; Easter: 20 April, with sermon preached before the King at Durham Cathedral) [4;6;7;17]
23 April-5 May	**Newcastle** (Sir George Selby), with visit to **Heaton Hall** (1 May; Henry Babbington) [4;6;7]
5-6 May?	**Hexham** [4]
6-7 May	**Bothal Castle** (Sir Charles Cavendish) [4;6;7]
7-9 May	**Alnwick Abbey** (Francis Brandling) [4;7]
9-10 May	**Chillingham** (Sir Ralph/Sir William Grey) [4;7]
10-13 May	**Berwick-upon-Tweed** (King met by deputation from Scottish Privy Council on 11 May) [2;4;6;7;14] [*NB apparently, also a visit to **Carlisle** on 13 May, but it is impossible to fit this into the route taken* [4;7]]
13-15 May	**Dunglass Castle** (Alexander, 6th Lord Home; speech, etc) [7;14;Adamson 1618]
c. 14/15 May	Visit to **Cavers Tower**, **Roxburgh?** (Sir William Douglas) [7]
15-16 May	**Seton House** (George, 3rd Earl of Wintoun; speech, etc) [7;14;Adamson] 1618
16-19 May	Via **Leith** to **Edinburgh** (Holyrood; formal welcome; sermon preached before the King at St Giles's Church, 16 May)

	2;6;7;14;17;Adamson 1618
19-21 May	Via **Leith** and **Burntisland** ('Bruntyland') to **Falkland Palace** (Royal; poems, etc) 7;14;Adamson 1618;book of David Wedderburne
21-22 May	**Dundee** (Dudhope Castle; Sir James Scrymgeour) 14;book of David Wedderburne
22-30 May	**Kinnaird House** (Sir David Carnegie, 1st Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird; speech, etc) 6;7;14;Adamson 1618
30 May-c. 2 June	**Dundee** (formal entry into town) 6;7;14;Adamson 1618
c. 2-3 June	**Falkland Palace** (Royal) 14
3-11 June	**Edinburgh** (Holyrood; Whitsuntide: 8 June, with sermon preached before the King in the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, and another preached on 10 June) 2;3;6;7;14;17
11-14 June	**Dalkeith Palace** (William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton; speeches) 6;7;14;17;Adamson 1618
14-30 June	**Edinburgh** (Holyrood; opening of Scottish Parliament at the Tolbooth on 17 June, with procession; state visit to Edinburgh Castle on King's birthday, 19 June; entertainment by the Corporation of Edinburgh on 26 June; closing of Parliament on 28 June; meeting of the Privy Council of Scotland at Holyrood on 30 June) 2;6;7;14;17;Adamson 1618
30 June-5 July	Via **Linlithgow** (Royal) to **Stirling Castle** (Royal; speeches and poems) 6;7;14;Adamson 1618 [yet 4 July in **Edinburgh**? 2]
5-10 July	(Via **Falkland** to?) **Perth** (formal welcome) 7;14;Adamson 1618
11-18 July	Via **Falkland** to **St Andrews** (speeches, poems, etc; university disputations on 12 and 14 July; meeting of Court of High Commission on 13 July; sermon preached before the King, 13 July), 7;14;17;Adamson 1618 with visits to **Falkland Palace** (Royal; 12 July [audience of Venetian Secretary] and 16 July) 2;7;10;14
18-22 July	**Stirling Castle** (Royal; reception of deputation from University of Edinburgh on 19 July, with disputations) 6;7;14;Adamson 1618
21 July	Visit to **Alloa** (John Erskine, 2nd Earl of Mar) 14
22-24 July	**Glasgow** (formal welcome) 7;14;Adamson 1618
24-25 July>	**Paisley** (James, Earl of Abercorn; formal welcome) 7;14;Adamson 1618
>27-28 July	**Glasgow** (meeting of Scottish Privy Council on 27 July) 2;14
28-31 July	**Hamilton Palace** (James, 2nd Marquess of Hamilton; poem) 7;14;Adamson 1618
31 July-1 Aug.	**Sanquhar Castle** (William Crichton, 9th Lord Crichton of Sanquhar; poems) 7;14;Adamson 1618
1 Aug.	Visit to **Drumlanrig Castle** (Sir William Douglas; speech) 7;14;Adamson 1618
1-4 Aug.	Via **Lincluden** to **Dumfries** (formal entry; sermon preached before the King, 4 Aug.) 7;14;17;Adamson 1618
4 Aug.	Visit to **Annan** 14
4-6 Aug.	**Carlisle Castle** (Royal; governor: Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.) 2;7;14
6-8 Aug.	**Brougham Castle** (Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland; feast; masque) 4;6;7;Spence 1991
8 Aug.	Visit to **Appleby-in-Westmoreland Castle** (Francis, Earl of Cumberland) 7;Spence 1991
8-9 Aug.	**Wharton Hall** (Philip, 3rd Lord Wharton) 7
9-11 Aug.	**Kendal** 4;7

11-12 Aug.	**Hornby Castle** (Sir Conyers Darcy/Earl of Cumberland; sermon preached before the King in a church at Hornby on 12 Aug.) [4;6;7;17]
12-13 Aug.	**Ashton Hall** (Thomas, 1st Lord Gerard) [4;6;7;12]
13-15 Aug.	**Myerscough Lodge** (also known as Merstow/Meskin/Mosco) (Edward Tyldesley) [4;6;7;Assheton 1848]
15 Aug.	Visit to **Preston** (speeches, and banquet in town hall) [7;Assheton 1848]
15-18 Aug.	**Hoghton Tower** (Sir Richard Hoghton; speeches and entertainments; visit to alum mines on 16 Aug.; sermon preached before the King on 17 Aug.) [4;6;7;10;17; 19;Assheton 1848]
18-20 Aug.	**Lathom House** (William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby) [4;7;Assheton 1848]
20-22 Aug.?	**Bewsey Hall**, nr Great Sankey (Thomas Ireland) [4;7]
21/22 Aug.	Visit to **Rock Savage**, Clifton (Sir Thomas Savage) [7]
22-25 Aug.	**Vale Royal Abbey**, Whitegate (Mary, Lady Cholmondeley; sermon preached before the King on 24 Aug.), with, on 23 Aug., visit to **Chester** (speech by Mayor) via **Lea Hall** near Aldford (Sir George Calveley) [4;7;17]
25 Aug.	Visit to **Utkinton** (Sir John Done) [7]
25-26 Aug.	**Townsend**, **Nantwich** (Thomas Wilbraham; sermon preached before the King at Nantwich church on 26 Aug.) [4;7;10;17]
26-28 Aug.	**Gerards Bromley Hall** (Sir Thomas Gerard) [4;7]
28-30 Aug.	Via **Stafford** to **Tixall** (Sir Walter Aston) [4;6;7]
30 Aug.-1 Sep.	**Hoar Cross** (heiress to Thomas or John Cassey) [4;7]
1-2 Sep.	**Ashby-de-la-Zouch** (Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon) [4;7]
2-4 Sep.	**Coventry** (Whitefriars) [4;6;7]
4 Sep.	Visit to **Kenilworth Castle** (Royal) [7]
4-5 Sep.	**Warwick Castle** (Sir Fulke Greville) [4;7]
5-6 Sep.	**Compton Wynyates** (William, 2nd Lord Compton) [4;7]
6-10 Sep.	**Woodstock** (Royal; met there by the Queen and Prince Charles) [2;6;7]
10-11 Sep.	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris) [4;7]
11-12 Sep.	**Bisham Abbey** (Peregrine Hoby) [4;7]
13-15 Sep.	**Windsor** [2;6;7]
15-16 Sep.	**Whitehall** (met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, etc) [2;7]
16-23 Sep.	**Theobalds** (audiences) [2;7;13] [yet 21-23 Sep. at **Hampton Court**? [13]]
23-27 Sep.	**Windsor** [7;13]
27-29 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [7;13]
>1 Oct.	**Whitehall** [7;15]
2-3 Oct.	**Theobalds** [7;15]
3-21 Oct.	**Royston** [2;15;17;19]
21-25 Oct.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [6;7;15;19]
25-28 Oct.	**Royston** [15]
28-30 Oct.	**Theobalds** [6;15] [yet 28-30 Oct. at **Royston**? [6;7]]
30 Oct.-10 Nov.	**Whitehall** (Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;6;7;15;17] [yet >c. 4 Nov.> at **Royston** [6] and 8 Nov> at **Royston**? [2]]
10-12 Nov.	**Theobalds** [6;15]
12-14 Nov.	**Royston** [15]
14 Nov.-15 Dec.	**Newmarket** [10;15]

15-17 Dec.	**Royston** [15]
17-20 Dec.	**Theobalds** [6;15]
20-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;6;12;15]

1618	
1-8 Jan.	**Whitehall** (George Villiers created Marquess of Buckingham on 1 Jan.; feast staged by Buckingham for the King on 2 Jan. at the Cockpit in Whitehall; performance of Ben Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* [not a success] on 6 Jan.) [2;6;15]
8-10 Jan.	**Theobalds** (masque of *Tom Bedlam the Tinker*) [6;15]
10-12 Jan.	**Royston** [15]
12 Jan.-10 Feb.	**Newmarket** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [6;15;19]
10-12 Feb.	**Royston** [15;19]
12-14 Feb.	**Theobalds** [2;6;15]
14-24 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 16-18 Feb.; performance of Ben Jonson's *For the Honour of Wales*: 17 Feb.) [2;6;15]
24-27 Feb.	**Theobalds** [2;15]
27 Feb.-16 March	**Whitehall** (unwell) [2;6;12;15] [yet 11 March 'in the country' with gout? [2]]
16-19 March	**Hampton Court** [15]
19-20 March	**Woking** [15]
20-21 March	**Hampton Court** [15]
21-25 March	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March) [12;15;17]
25-28 March	**Theobalds** [6;15;19]
28 March-9 April	**Whitehall** (Easter: 5 April) [6;15;17;19]
9-11 April	**Theobalds** [6;15]
11-15 April	**Whitehall** [15]
15-18 April	**Theobalds** [15]
18-27 April	**Whitehall** (St George's Day celebrations, 24 April) [2;6;15]
27-28 April	**Theobalds** [6;12;15]
28 April-1 May	**Greenwich** [6;15]
1-2 May	**Theobalds** [15]
2-11 May	**Whitehall** [15]
11-13 May	**Theobalds** [15]
13-18 May	**Whitehall** [2;15;19]
18-20 May	**Theobalds** [15]
20-22 May	**Whitehall** [15]
22 May-16 June	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 24 May) [2;13;15;17]
16-18 June	**Theobalds** [15]
18-20 June	**Wanstead** (George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham, who stages a dinner in a wood planted as a palace on 18 June; King's birthday: 19 June) [2;15]
20-30 June	**Greenwich** [2;13;15;19]
30 June-4 July	**Oatlands** [15]
4-9 July	**Windsor** [12;15] [yet 7 July the King attended a banquet at **Burghley House** (Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter)? [2]]
9-10 July	**Whitehall** [15] [yet >9-10 July> at **Theobalds**? [6;10]]
July	Visits to **Gorhambury** (Sir Francis Bacon) and **Oxford** [6]
10-14 July	**Wanstead** (George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham) [7;15;19]
14-18 July	**Theobalds** [7;15]
18-20 July	**Whitehall** [7;12;15;19]

20 July	**Woking** [15;17]
20 July-5 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, DORSET AND BERKSHIRE (with Prince Charles)**
mid-July	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [4]
20-22 July	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [4;12;15]
21 July	Visit to **Halstead Court** (Sir Thomas Watson) [7]
22-24 July	**Andover** (inn?) [4;15]
24-27 July	**Tottenham House** (Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford; Coronation Day: 25 July; sermon preached before the King) [4;15;17]
27-28 July	**Lydiard** (Oliver St John; sermon preached before the King) [4;15;17]
28-31 July	**Charlton Park** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk) [4;15]
31 July-1 Aug.	**Bromham** (Sir Edward Baynton) [4;7;15]
1-10 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Sir Thomas Saddler [or Sadler]; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.) [4;7;15]
10-14 Aug.	**Cranborne** (William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury; sermon preached before the King) [2;4;7;15;17]
14-15 Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington) [4;15]
15-27 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton; King unwell) [4;6;7;15]
27-28 Aug.	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe) [4;15]
28-29 Aug.	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [4;7;15]
29-31 Aug.	**Farnham Castle** (Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester) [4;15]
31 Aug.-2 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne; sermon preached before the King) [4;7;15;17]
2-4 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keper: Sir Noel Caron) [4;15]
4-5 Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;15]
5-9 Sep.	**Windsor** (joined by the Queen and Prince) [2;6;15]
9-10 Sep.	**Whitehall** [2;15]
10-12 Sep.	**Wanstead** (George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham) [2;7;15]
12-15 Sep.	**Havering** (audience on 13 Sep.; sermon preached before the King) [2;15;17]
15-21 Sep.	**Theobalds** (sermon preached before the King) [15;17]
21-22 Sep.	**Whitehall** [15]
22 Sep.-1 Oct.	**Hampton Court** [2;6;7;10;13;15] [yet 23-27 Sep. at **Windsor** [7;13] and 27 Sep. visit to **Havering** on way to Theobalds? [7]]
1-3 Oct.	**Theobalds** [7;15]
3-20 Oct.	**Royston** [15]
20-27 Oct.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [15]
27-29 Oct.	**Royston** [15]
29-31 Oct.	**Theobalds** [15]
31 Oct.-10 Nov.	**Whitehall** (All Saints' Day: 1 Nov.; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;7;12;15;17]
10-12 Nov.	**Theobalds** [15]
12-14 Nov.	**Royston** [6;15]
14 Nov.-15 Dec.	**Newmarket** [2;6;13;15]
15-17 Dec.	**Royston** [15]
17-20 Dec.	**Theobalds** [15]

20-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;6;15;17]

1619	
1-8 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *Vision of Delight* on 6 Jan., with Prince, Buckingham, etc) [2;6;15]
8-9 Jan.	**Theobalds** [6;15]
9 Jan.>	**Royston** [15]
>19-29 Jan.>	**Newmarket** (with a visit to Sir Nicholas Bacon's at **Culford** 'to see his grandchild') [9;12;19] [*NB this stay at Newmarket is not recorded in source [15], which states that the period 9-30 Jan. was spent entirely at* ***Royston***]
>30 Jan.	**Royston** [15]
30-31 Jan.	**Theobalds** [2;15]
1-16 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; Shrovetide: 8-10 Feb.) [2;6;12;15]
16-17 Feb.	**Theobalds** [15]
17-19 Feb.	**Royston** [15;19]
19 Feb.-29 March	**Newmarket** (King unwell; 'death-bed speech'; Accession Day: 24 March; Easter: 28 March) [2;6;10;12;15] [yet on 18 March at **Theobalds**,[2] and on 28 March sermon preached before the King at **Royston**? [17]]
2 March	*Death of Queen Anne at Hampton Court (King absent)*
29 March-22 April	**Royston** [6;13;15] [yet >4 April> at **Theobalds**,[6] and 18-c. 20 April at **Ware**? [6;13]]
22 April-11 May	**Theobalds** (King unwell; St George's Day: 23 April; visit of French Amassador on 3 May) [2;6;13;15]
11-28 May	**Greenwich** (Queen's funeral on 13 May, but King not present; Whitsuntide: 16 May; hunting in **Eltham Park** on 22 May; sermon preached before the King in **Whitehall** on 23 May, Trinity Sunday; St George's Feast celebrated on 26 May) [2;6;10;12;13;15;17]
28-31 May	**Theobalds** [2;6;10;13;15;19]
31 May-2 June	**Whitehall** (entrance into London on 31 May) [6;10;13;15]
2-16 June	**Greenwich** [6;13;15; 19]
16-17 June	**Theobalds** [15]
17-18 June	**Whitehall** [2;15]
18-19 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; King's birthday: 19 June) [6;15]
19-21 June	**Greenwich** [3;15]
21-23 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [15]
23-30 June	**Greenwich** [2;12;15]
30 June-5 July	**Oatlands** (and **Woking**?) [6;15]
5 July	Visit to **Wimbledon** (Thomas Cecil, 1st Earl of Exeter) [13; HMC 3rd Report]
5-8 July	**Windsor** [6;10;15]
8-10 July	**Whitehall** [2;13;10]
10-13 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [6;13;15]
13-19 July	**Theobalds** (sermons preached before the King) [2;6;7;10;15;17]
19 July-3 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, RUTLAND, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, LEICESTERSHIRE, WARWICKSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, BERKSHIRE,**

	HAMPSHIRE AND SURREY (with Prince Charles)
19-20 July	**Royston** (Royal) [7;15]
20-22 July	**Hawnes** (Sir Robert Newdigate) [6;7;15]
22-24 July	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 4th Baron St John) [6;7;15]
24-27 July	**Castle Ashby** (William Compton, 1st Earl of Northampton; Coronation Day: 25 July; two sermons preached before the King), with visit to **Easton Maudit** (Sir Henry Yelverton) [6;7;15;17]
27-29 July	**Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton III) [6;15]
28 July	Visit to **Rockingham Castle** (Sir Lewis Watson) [7]
29 July-2 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Francis Fane; two sermons preached before the King) [5;7;12;15;17]
2-3 Aug.	**Burley-on-the-Hill** (Lucy Russell [née Harington], Duchess of Bedford; sermon preached before the King and Prince Charles) [7;15;17]
3-6 Aug.	**Belvoir Castle** (Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.; sermon preached before the King) [7;15;17;19]
6-11 Aug.	**Rufford Abbey** (Sir George Savile; audience with Venetian Secretary on 8 Aug.; two sermons preached before the King) [2;7;15;17;19]
10 Aug.	Visit to **Welbeck Abbey** (Sir William Cavendish) [7]
11-13 Aug.	**Nottingham** (probably Thurland Hall; Sir John Holles, Baron Haughton) [7;15]
13-14 Aug.	**Derby** [7;15]
14-18 Aug.	**Tutbury Castle** (Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster?; two sermons preached before the King, probably on 15 and 17 Aug.) [7;15;17]
18-19 Aug.	**Tamworth Castle** (Sir Humphrey Ferrers) [7;15]
19-20 Aug.	**Warwick Castle** (Sir Fulke Greville) [7;15]
20-21 Aug.	**Broughton Castle** (William Fiennes, 8th Lord Saye and Sele) [15]
21-26 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal; sermon preached before the King) [6;7;15;17]
23 Aug.	Visit to **Wroxton Abbey** (Sir William Pope) [7]
26-27 Aug.	**Rycote** (Francis, 2nd Baron Norris) [7;15]
27-28 Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Peregrine Hoby) [7;15]
28-30 Aug.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [15]
30 Aug.-1 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [15]
1-3 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [6;12;15]
3-7 Sep.	**Windsor** (audience with the new French Ambassador on 5 Sep.) [2;6;15]
7-9 Sep.	**Nonsuch** [15]
9-13 Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; entertainment of the French Ambassador on 11 Sep.; audiences) [2;6;13;15]
13-15 Sep.	**Havering** [15]
15-22 Sep.	**Theobalds** [6;15]
22-24 Sep.	**Whitehall** [2;6;15]
24-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2;15]
30 Sep.-1 Oct.	**Whitehall** [2;15]
1-6 Oct.	**Theobalds** (the Ambassador of Savoy dines with the King on 3 Oct.) [2;6;15;19]
6-15 Oct.	**Royston** [2;6;12;15]
15-23 Oct.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [15]

23-28 Oct.	**Royston** [15]
28-30 Oct.	**Theobalds** [15]
30 Oct.-9 Nov.	**Whitehall** (All Saints' Day: 1 Nov.; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.; visit on 8 Nov. to see Buckingham at **Greenwich** and to christen two ships) [2;15]
9-12 Nov.	**Theobalds** [12;15]
12-15 Nov.	**Royston** [12;15]
15 Nov.-15 Dec.	**Newmarket** [2;6;12;15;19]
15-18 Dec.	**Royston** [2;15]
18-23 Dec.	**Theobalds** (sermon preached before the King on 19 Dec.) [2;15;17]
23-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;6;12;15;17]

1620	
1-11 Jan.	**Whitehall** (performance of Ben Jonson's *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*: 7 Jan.) [2;6;15]
11-17 Jan.	**Theobalds** [2;15]
17-19 Jan.	**Royston** [15]
19 Jan.-19 Feb.	**Newmarket** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.; shroving at Sir John Croft's at **Saxham Parva**; audiences) [2;6;12;15] [yet 25 Jan. at **Theobalds**? [6]]
19-21 Feb.	**Royston** [2;15]
21-26 Feb.	**Theobalds** (reception of the Ambassador of the Princes of the Union on 25 Feb.; sermon preached before King and Prince Charles, 22 Feb.) [2;6;12;15;17]
26 Feb.-7 March	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 28 Feb.-1 March) [2;6;15;17]
7-10 March	**Theobalds** [2;15]
10-14 March	**Whitehall** [2;15]
14-18 March	**Hampton Court** [15]
18-27 March	**Whitehall** (Accession Day celebrations: 24 March; state visit to St Paul's Cathedral to hear sermon: 26 March) [2;6;12;15]
27 March-2 April	**Theobalds** [2;10;15]
2-4 April	**Whitehall** [15]
4-7 April	**Hampton Court** [15]
7-23 April	**Whitehall** (Easter: 16 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [2;10;15;19]
23-25 April	**Theobalds** [6;15]
25 April-9 May	**Greenwich** (St George's Feast celebrated 27 April; discussions about possible marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta) [2;6;15]
9-13 May	**Theobalds** [15]
13-16 May	**Greenwich** [6;15]
16-20 May	**Windsor** [15]
20-26 May	**Greenwich** [2;15]
26 May-2 June	**Theobalds** [2;6;12;15]
2-15 June	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 4 June) [2;15;17;19] [yet >11-12 June> at **Whitehall**? [6;10]]
15-19 June	**Theobalds** (King's birthday: 19 June) [15]
19-23 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [15]
23-30 June	**Greenwich** [12;15;19]
30 June-6 July	**Oatlands** [2;6;7;15]
6-8 July	**Windsor** [6;7;15]

8-10 July	**Whitehall** [15]
10-13 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; audience with the Venetian Ambassador on 12 July) [2;15]
13-18 July	**Theobalds** [6;7;10;12;15;19]
18-19 July	**Whitehall** [15]
19-20 July	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche?) [15]
20 July-c. 6 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, DORSET AND BERKSHIRE (with Prince Charles, and accompanied some of the way by Ambassador Dohna)** [2]
c. 20 July	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [4]
20-21 July	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester) [4;15]
21-24 July	**Andover** (sermon preached at the church before the King, probably on 23 July) [4;7;15;17]
24-26 July	**Tottenham House** (Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford; sermon preached before the King, probably on 25 July, Coronation Day) [4;7;15;17]
26-27 July	**Lydiard** (Oliver St John) [4;15]
27 July	Visit to **Salisbury**? [6;7]
27-29 July	**Charlton Park** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk) [4;6;7;12;15]
29 July-1 Aug.	**Bromham** (Sir Edward Baynton; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;15;17]
1-10 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Sir Thomas Saddler; audience of the Venetian Ambassador on 3 Aug.; masque on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [2;4;6;7;11;12;15]
early Aug.?	Visit to **Stonehenge** on way to/from **Wilton House**? (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [7]
10-14 Aug.	**Cranborne** (William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury) [4;15]
14-15 Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington) [4;15]
15-26 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton; sermon preached before the King) [2;4;6;15;17;19]
26-28 Aug.	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe) [4;15]
28-30 Aug.	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [4;15]
30 Aug.-1 Sep.	**Farnham Castle** (Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester) [4;6;7;15]
1-?6 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron; sermon preached before the King) [4;15;17]
4-5 Sep.	**Bramshill** (Edward, 11th Baron Zouche, who was not present) [6]
c. 5-6 Sep.	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche; masques) [11] [*NB the progress apparently also took in a visit to **Bedding** (Great Bedwyn?; July),*[4] *and a visit to **Thornbury** on 14 Aug.,*[6] *but it is impossible to fit the latter into the route taken* [6]]
6-10 Sep.	**Windsor** [6;15;19]
10-11 Sep.	**Whitehall** [15]
11-13 Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [6;15]
13-17 Sep.	**Havering** (audience with the Venetian Ambassador on 14 Sep.) [2;6;15]
17-22 Sep.	**Theobalds** [2;6;15]
22-30 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [2;6;15]

>2 Oct.>	**Theobalds** [2;3]
>9-13 Oct.>	**Royston** [2;19]
>27 Oct.>	**Royston** [2]
1-4 Nov.	**Whitehall** (All Saints' Day: 1 Nov.) [2;6]
4-6 Nov.>	**Theobalds** (Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;6;12]
>8 Nov.>	**Whitehall** [2]
c. 9 Nov.>	**Royston** [6]
>12 Nov.-19 Dec.>	**Newmarket** (King discontented due to trouble of the Palatine) [2;6;7]
>22 Dec.	**Theobalds** [6]
22-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (King ill with gout) [2;6;12;17;19]

1621	
1-12 Jan.	**Whitehall** (reception of the French Ambassador at Westminster Palace and entertainment at Whitehall and Hampton Court; performance of Ben Jonson's *News from the New World* on 6 Jan.; King unwell) [2;6]
12-21 Jan.>	**Theobalds** (King still unwell; audience of the Venetian Ambassador on 20 Jan.; sermon preached before the King on 21 Jan.) [2;6;17]
>26 Jan.>	**Newmarket** [19]
>30 Jan.-3 Feb.>	**Whitehall** (opening of Parliament on 30 Jan. [adjourned from 16 Jan.]; Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [2;6;12;18]
>c. 10 Feb.	**Theobalds** [6]
c. 10-16 Feb.	**Whitehall** (re-performance of Jonson's masque on 11 Feb.; masque by gentlemen of the Middle Temple on 13 Feb.; Shrovetide: 13-14 Feb.; sermon preached before the King on 16 Feb.) [2;6;13;17]
16 Feb.	**Theobalds** [2]
17-c. 23 Feb.	**Whitehall** (King gives speech to Parliament on 17 Feb.) [6;13]
>23 Feb-2 March>	**Theobalds** (King 'too lame to walk'; audience with the Venetian Ambassador on 1 March) [2;6]
>3-10 March>	**Whitehall** (King gives speech in Parliament on 10 March) [2;6;12]
>22-24 March>	**Theobalds** (audiences) [2;6]
>24 March>	**Whitehall?** (Accession Day celebrations: 24 March) [2]
>26-28 March	**Whitehall** (King gives speech in Parliament on 26 March; Parliament adjourned 27 March) [6;13;18]
28 March>	**Theobalds** [6]
>30-31 March>	**Whitehall** (Easter: 1 April) [12;17]
>5 April	**Theobalds** [13]
5-6 April>	**Whitehall** (court in mourning for Philip III of Spain, who died on 31 March) [2;13]
>c. 7 April	**Theobalds** [2;6]
>8-24 April>	**Whitehall** (Parliament reconvenes 17 April; King gives speeches to Parliament on 20 April and 24 April; St George's Day: 23 April) [2;6;12;19]
>29 April-3 May>	**Whitehall** (Parliament adjourned from 9 to 11 May) [2;13;18]
>16-20 May>	**Greenwich** (Parliament adjourned 18 May; Whitsunday: 20 May) [17;18;19]
>24 May>	**Windsor** (St George's Feast; Parliament reconvenes 24 May) [2;18;19]

>1 June>	**Greenwich** [2]
>2 June>	**Whitehall** (King gives speech in Parliament on 2 June; Parliament adjourned 4 June) [2;18]
>10-24 June>	**Greenwich**,[6;17;19] with trip to **Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) for the King's birthday (19 June; sermon preached before the King) [17]
>5 July>	**Windsor** [10;19]
>8 July>	**Oatlands** (sermon preached before the King on 8 July) [17]
>10 July>	**Whitehall** [12]
>11 July>	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [19]
>13-19 July	**Theobalds** [6;7;10;19]
19 July–c. 8 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, RUTLAND, LEICESTERSHIRE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, WARWICKSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, BERKSHIRE, HAMPSHIRE AND SURREY (with Prince Charles)**
19 July	**Royston** (Royal) [7]
19-20 July	**Theobalds** (Royal) [13]
21 July	**Ampthill** (Houghton House? Conquestbury?) [4;6;7]
c. 22-24 July	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 4th Baron St John; two sermons preached before the King, probably on 22 July and 24 July; Coronation Day: 25 July) [4;7;17]
>26 July>	**Castle Ashby** (William Compton, 1st Earl of Northampton; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;7;12;17]
late July	**Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton III) [4]
>3 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Francis Fane) [4]
3-4 Aug.	**Burley-on-the-Hill** (George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham; banquet; performance of Ben Jonson's *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies*: 3 Aug.) [2;7;11]
4-6 Aug.	**Belvoir Castle** (Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland; re-performance of the *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies*: 5 Aug.; sermon preached before the King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [4;7;11;17]
12 Aug.	**Rufford Abbey** (Sir George Savile) [4;6;10]
13-15 Aug.	**Nottingham** (probably Thurland Hall; Sir John Holles, Baron Haughton; sermon preached before the King on 14 Aug.) [4;7;17]
mid-Aug.	**Derby** [4]
>19 Aug.	**Tutbury Castle** (Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster?; sermon preached before the King) [4;7;17]
20-21 Aug.	**Whychnor Hall** (Sir Henry Griffiths) [7]
21 Aug.	**Tamworth Castle** (Sir Humphrey Ferrers; sermon preached before the King) [4;7;17]
22 Aug.	**Warwick Castle** (Sir Fulke Greville, 1st Baron Brooke) [4;7]
late Aug.	**Wroxton Abbey** (Sir William Pope) [4]
>26 Aug.>	**Woodstock** (Royal; sermon preached before the King) [4;7;17]
late Aug.	**Rycote** (Francis Norris, Earl of Berkshire) [4]
late Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Peregrine Hoby) [4]
30-31 Aug.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;6;7]
31 Aug.>	**Windsor** (Royal) [2]
early Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne; two sermons preached before the King) [4;17]
early Sep.	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche) [4]

>9-11 Sep.	**Windsor** (re-performance of Jonson masque) [7;11;13]
11 Sep.>	**Whitehall** [7;17]
>16 Sep.>	**Theobalds** [6;12]
late Sep.	Visit to **Deptford** see the launch of two ships (*Swiftsure* and *Bonaventure*) [2]
>23-29 Sep.>	**Hampton Court** [3;10;17]
>30 Sep.>	**Whitehall** [19]
>3 Oct.>	**Theobalds** [6]
>6-15> Oct.	**Royston** [6;12;19]
>30-31 Oct.	**Theobalds** [10;19]
31 Oct.>	**Whitehall** (audiences; Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [2;6;12]
>8 Nov.>	**Newmarket** [2]
>12 Nov.>	**Royston** [letter in BL catalogue]
>13 Nov.	**Whitehall** [2;6;12]
13 Nov.>	**Newmarket** (Parliament adjourned 14 Nov.) [7;18]
>c. 17 Nov.	**Royston** (Buckingham ill) [6]
17 Nov.-11 Dec.>	**Newmarket** (masque at Sir John Croft's near Bury; Parliament reconvenes 20 Nov.; visit by delegation from House of Commons on 11 Dec.) [2;6;10;18;19]
>16 Dec.>	**Royston** [6;10]
>17-c. 21 Dec.	**Theobalds** (Parliament adjourned 19 Dec.) [2;6;18]
21 Dec.	**Newmarket** [letter in BL catalogue]
c. 22-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;6]

1622	
1-9 Jan.	**Whitehall** (King is godfather at the christening of the son of Lionel Cranfield at **Chelsea House**, 4 Jan.; performance of Ben Jonson's *Masque of the Augurs* on 6 Jan.; Parliament adjourned 6 Jan.) [2;6;9;12;18]
9-19 Jan.>	**Theobalds** (King falls from his horse) [2;6;9;13;19]
>25-27 Jan.>	**Newmarket** [2;6;9;12;19]
>2 Feb.>	**Theobalds** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [13]
>6-21 Feb.>	**Newmarket** (sermon preached on 13 Feb., Ash Wednesday) [2;6;9;12;19]
>23 Feb.>	**Royston** (King unwell) [2;6]
>2-15 March>	**Theobalds** (King unwell; visit of the States Ambassadors on 4 March; Shrovetide: 4-6 March) [2;6;9;19]
>22 March>	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March) [2]
late March	**Hampton Court** [9]
>29 March-1 April	**Whitehall**, with visit on 28 March to **Wallingford House**, Whitehall (George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham), following the birth of Buckingham's daughter [2;6;19]
>1-2 April	**Hampton Court** [15]
2-5 April	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche) [15]
5-6 April	**Hampton Court** [15]
6-8 April	**Whitehall** [2;9;15]
8-13 April	**Theobalds**, with visit to **Whitehall** for audience on 10 April [2;9;15;19]
13 April-7 May	**Whitehall** (tilting postponed due to King's illness; banquet on

	14 April for Imperial Ambassador; Easter: 21 April; St George's Day: 23 April; supper with Lionel Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, at **Chelsea House** on 1 May; second half of Christmas masque on 5 May) [2;6;9;10;15;17;19]
7-11 May	**Greenwich** [9;15]
11-14 May	**Whitehall** [6;9;15]
14-18 May	**Theobalds** [6;12;15;19]
18-23 May	**Whitehall** [15]
23-24 May	**Greenwich** [15]
24-28 May	**Theobalds** [2;6;10;12;15;19]
28 May-5 June	**Greenwich** [15]
5-6 June	**Whitehall** [15]
6-12 June	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 9 June) [2;6;9;15;19]
12-15 June	**Theobalds** [15]
15-17 June	**Greenwich** [6;9;15]
17-18 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [15]
18-20 June	**Theobalds** (King's birthday: 19 June) [15]
20-22 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [15]
22-25 June	**Greenwich** [15]
25 June	Visit to **Cobham Hall** (Lady Kildare) [2;9;15]
25-26 June	**Rochester** (to see ships at Chatham) [2;7;9]
26-29 June	**Greenwich** [6;15]
29 June-1 July	**Nonsuch** (sermon preached before the King) [6;15;17]
1-6 July	**Oatlands** [6;7;15]
6-11 July	**Windsor** (sermon preached before the King and the Landgrave of Hesse, 9 July) [7;10;15;17;19]
11-12 July	**Whitehall** [15]
12 July-26 Aug.	**PROGRESS IN BERKSHIRE, HAMPSHIRE AND SURREY (with Prince Charles)** [*NB progress affected by harvest failure*]
12-15 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; audience of Venetian Ambassador on 14 July) [2;7;15;19]
15 July	Visit to **Hearts** in Woodford Row (Sir Humphry Handforth) [7]
15-16 July	**Havering** (Royal) [15]
16-25 July	**Theobalds** (Royal; Coronation Day: 25 July; sermons preached before the King) [7;12;15;17]
25-26 July	**Whitehall** (Royal; King present at review arranged by the Marquess of Buckingham on 26 July) [2;6;7;15]
26-31 July	**Oatlands** (Royal; sermon preached before the King, 28 July), with visit to **Guildford** (27 July) [7;12;15;17] [though 28 July at **Theobalds**?[19]]
31 July-7 Aug.	**Windsor** (Royal; entertainment of Spanish Ambassador; sermon preached before the King, 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary) [6;7;10;12;15;17]
7-10 Aug.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4;7;10;15]
10-15 Aug.	**Farnham Castle** (Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester; two sermons preached before the King) [4;6;7;15;17]
12 Aug.	Visit to **Holt**, near Winchester [7]
15-17 Aug.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [4;7;10;15]
17-19 Aug.	**Bramshill** (Edward, Lord Zouche) [4;15]
19-22 Aug.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron; sermon preached before the King) [4;15;17;19]

22-26 Aug.	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche) [4;15]
26 Aug.-5 Sep.	**Windsor** (audiences) [2;7;15]
5-6 Sep.	**Whitehall** [15]
6-10 Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; sermons preached before the King) [15;17]
10-13 Sep.	**Havering** (sermon preached before the King) [10;15;17]
13-23 Sep.	**Theobalds** (sermons preached before the King) [15;17]
23-26 Sep.	**Whitehall** [13;15] [yet on 25 Sep. via **Havering** to **New Hall in Boreham** (George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham)? [6;13]]
26 Sep.-5 Oct.	**Hampton Court** [2;6;10;13;15]
5-9 Oct.>	**Theobalds** (sermon preached before the King, 9 Oct.) [6; 17]
>11-21 Oct.>	**Royston** (visit of States Commissioners) [6;7;10;13;19]
>24-28 Oct.>	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell) [6;10]
>5-7 Nov.	**Theobalds** (Gunpowder Plot anniversary: 5 Nov.) [6;12]
>9 Nov.>	**Royston?** [6]
>16 Nov.-11 Dec.>	**Newmarket** (King unwell; writes book on his motto, Beati Pacifici) [2;6;7;10;12;19]
21-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (feasting and dancing; masques) [2;6;9;12;17]

1623	
1-28 Jan.>	**Whitehall** (King unwell; feasting; performance of Ben Jonson's masque *Time Vindicated to Himself and to his Honours* on 19 Jan.) [2;6;9;12;19]
>31 Jan.-1 Feb.	**Theobalds** [2;6;9]
1-12 Feb.	**Whitehall** (King unwell; Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [2;6;9;12]
12-18 Feb.	**Theobalds** (King takes leave of Prince Charles on 17 Feb.) [2;6;12]
18-21 Feb.	**Royston** [6]
21 Feb.-26 March	**Newmarket** (Shrovetide: 24-26 Feb.; audiences; Accession Day: 24 March), with visit by King to **Cambridge** on 12 March [2;6;9;10;12;19] [yet 6 March at **Theobalds**,[19] and 23 March at Whitehall? [10;HMC4thReport]]
22 Feb.	*Prince Charles and the Marquess of Buckingham leave England (in secret) for France and Spain [2;9]*
26-28 March>	**Royston** [6;19]
>29 March-5 April	**Theobalds** (visit by ambassadors) [2;6;10;15;19]
5-16 April	**Whitehall** (Easter: 13 April) [2;6;9;10;12;15;17]
16-21 April	**Hampton Court** [9;15]
21-28 April	**Windsor** (St George's Day: 23 April; feast) [2;3;6;9;10;12;15;19]
28-29 April	**Hampton Court** [6;9;15]
29 April-1 May	**Whitehall** [9;15]
1-3 May	**Theobalds** [6;9;15]
3-7 May	**Greenwich** [2;6;9;15;17;19]
7-10 May	**Theobalds** [6;15;19]
10-19 May	**Greenwich** (George Villiers created 1st Duke of Buckingham: 18 May, during his time in Spain) [3;6;9;10;15] (with visit to **Theobalds** on 15 May? [3])
19-21 May	**Theobalds** [6;15]
21-27 May	**Greenwich** [6;15]

27-30 May	**Theobalds** [6;15]
30 May-10 June	**Greenwich** (Whitsuntide: 1 June; visit to **London** on 4 June to see Duchess of Buckingham) [2;6;9;12;15]
10-11 June	**Nonsuch** [6;15]
11-16 June	**Oatlands** (sermon preached before the King) [6;15;17] [yet c. 13-17 June at **Greenwich**? [2;6;9;10;12]]
16-17 June	**Whitehall** [15]
17-18 June	**Theobalds** [6;15]
18-23 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; King's birthday: 19 June) [6;10;15;19] [with visit to **Greenwich** on 21 June? [9]]
23-20 June	**Greenwich** [2;6;9;15]
30 June-5 July	**Oatlands** [6;15]
5-9 July	**Windsor** [6;9;15]
9-13 July	**Whitehall** [9;15]
c. 13-14 July	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; audiences) [2;6;9;15] [yet 10 July>, according to [6] and [9]?]
14-19 July	**Theobalds** (sermon preached before the King), with visit to **New Hall in Boreham** on 16 July [6;7;9;15;17]
19-21 July	**Whitehall** (Spanish marriage treaty agreed; banquet on 20 July in Banqueting House) [2;6;7;9;15]
21 July	**Houghton Lodge** [10]
21 July-6 Sep.	**PROGRESS IN SURREY, WILTSHIRE, DORSET, HAMPSHIRE, SURREY AND BERKSHIRE** [*NB progress affected by political situation and the absence of Prince Charles, who was in Spain*]
21-22 July	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [4;15]
22-23 July	**Basing House** (William Paulet, 4th Marquess of Winchester), with dinner at **Harford Bridge** [4;6;15]
23-26 July	**Andover** (Coronation Day: 25 July) [4;6;7;9;15]
25 July	Visit to **Hanworth?** (Sir Robert Killigrew) [6]
26-28 July	**Tottenham House** (William Seymour, 2nd Earl of Hertford; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;15;17]
28-31 July	**Bromham** (Sir Edward Baynton; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;7;10;15;17]
31 July-9 Aug.	**Salisbury** (Sir Thomas Saddler; sermon preached before the King on 5 Aug., Gowrie anniversary; Spanish Ambassadors present for celebrations) [2;4;6;7;9;15;17;19]
7 Aug.	Visit to **Wilton** (William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke) [7]
9-14 Aug.	**Cranborne** (William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;7;9;10;15;17;19]
14-15 Aug.	**Breamore** (Sir William Dodington) [4;15]
15-27 Aug.	**Beaulieu** (Henry Wriothelesly, 3rd Earl of Southampton; four sermons preached at Beaulieu church before the King), with visits to **Cranborne** (19. Aug.; 2nd Earl of Salisbury) and **Portsmouth** (20 Aug.) [4;6;7;9;15;17]
27-28 Aug.	**Broadlands** (Henry St Barbe) [4;15]
28-29 Aug.	**Tichborne** (Sir Benjamin Tichborne) [4;7;15]
29 Aug.-1 Sep.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;7;15;17]
1-3 Sep.	**Easthampstead** (Royal; sermon preached before the King) [4;6;7;15;17]
3-6 Sep.	**Bagshot** (Royal; keeper: Sir Noel Caron) [6;15]

6-10 Sep.	**Windsor** [6;7;15]
10-11 Sep.	**Whitehall** [2;15]
11-13 Sep.	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [6;7;15]
13-16 Sep.	**Havering** [6;15]
16-22 Sep.	**Theobalds** (audience; sermon preached before the King, 21 Sep.) [2;6;7;10;12;15;17;19]
18 Sep.	*Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham set sail from Spain for England* [2]
22-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [2;6;7;12;15;17]
30 Sep.-2 Oct.	**Whitehall** [2;15]
2-4 Oct.	**Theobalds** (King unwell) [6;7;15]
5 Oct.	*Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham arrive at Plymouth* [2;9]
4-18 Oct.	**Royston** (reunion with Charles and Buckingham on 6 Oct.; audiences) [2;6;9;15]
18 Oct.-4 Nov.	**Hinchingbrooke** (Sir Oliver Cromwell; King unwell and detained at the house by flooding) [2;6;9;15]
4-7 Nov.	**Royston** [6;15] [yet a sermon was apparently preached before the King at **Whitehall** on 5 Nov., Gunpowder Plot anniversary [17]]
7-12 Nov.	**Theobalds** (King unwell) [2;6;15]
12-20 Nov.	**Whitehall** (audiences; masque for the Spanish Ambassadors and feast at York House on 18 Nov.) [2;6;9;10;15]
20-25 Nov.	**Theobalds** [6;9;15]
25-28 Nov.	**Whitehall** (plans for Spanish match broken off) [6;15] [yet 26 Nov. at **Newmarket**? [10]]
28 Nov.-6 Dec.	**Theobalds** (visit by the Spanish Ambassadors c. 5 Dec.) [6;9;15;19]
6-9 Dec.	**Whitehall** [9;15]
9-13 Dec.	**Theobalds** [15]
13-18 Dec.	**Whitehall** [9;15]
18-24 Dec.	**Theobalds** [6;9;15]
24-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** [2;6;9;12;15]

1624	
1-12 Jan.	**Whitehall** (King unwell; Twelfth Night masque, Ben Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, postponed and later put off altogether) [6;7;9;15]
12-15 Jan.	**Theobalds** [9;10;15]
15-17 Jan.	**Royston** [6;9;15]
17 Jan.-5 Feb.	**Newmarket** (Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [2;6;9;10;15;19]
5-7 Feb.	**Royston** [15]
7-9 Feb.	**Theobalds** [6;15]
9-23 Feb.	**Whitehall** (Shrovetide: 9-11 Feb.; death of Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, on 16 Feb.; opening of Parliament on 19 Feb. [postponed from 12 Feb. due to the death of the Duke]; the King makes another visit to Parliament on 20 Feb.) [2;6;9;15;18;19] [though 17 Feb. at **Newmarket**? [19]]
23-28 Feb.	**Hampton Court** [15]
28 Feb.-1 March	**Whitehall** [15]

1-6 March	**Theobalds** (visit on 5 March of parliamentary representatives and Archbishop of Canterbury) [2;6;15]
6-8 March	**Whitehall** [6;12;15]
8-9 March	**Hampton Court** [15]
9-12 March	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche) [6;15]
12-13 March	**Hampton Court** [15]
13-15 March	**Whitehall** [2;6;15]
15-20 March	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche) [15;19]
20-30 March	**Whitehall** (Accession Day: 24 March; Parliament adjourned 25 March; Easter: 28 March; treaties with Spain broken; audiences; King unwell) [2;6;15;17;18]
30 March-10 April	**Theobalds** (Parliament reconvenes 1 April) [2;6;9;15;18;19]
10 April>	**Whitehall** [6]
>14-23 April	**Theobalds** (visit of Ernest, Count of Mansfeld, on 18 April) [2;6]
23-26 April	**Whitehall** (St George's Day: 23 April) [2;6]
26-29 April>	**Windsor** (St George's Feast) [2;6;9]
>2-4 May	**Theobalds** (visit of Lords of the Council on 2 May) [2;6;12]
5 May	**Whitehall** (King gives speech to the Lords in the Banqueting House on 5 May, and Parliament is adjourned until 7 May) [6;18]
>11 May>	**Theobalds** [HMC 4th report]
6-23 May>	**Greenwich** (Parliament adjourned from 15 to 19 May; Whitsuntide: 16 May), with visit to see the Duke of Buckingham (unwell) at **Wallingford House**, Whitehall [2;6;9;12;18;19]
>25-27 May>	**Whitehall** (Buckingham recovering; the King visits him on 27 May) [2;6]
28 May>	**Greenwich** (with Buckingham) [2;6]
>29 May	**Whitehall** (Parliament prorogued by King on 29 May) [2;6;9;18]
30-31 May	Visit to the Earl of Arundel's at **Highgate**, 'to hunt the stag in St John's Wood' [2;9]
31 May-6 June>	**Theobalds** [6;9]
c. 7-18 June	**Greenwich** [2;6]
19-23 June	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay; King's birthday: 19 June) [6;9]
23-30 June>	**Whitehall** [6]
1-3 July	**Oatlands** [6;9]
3-7 July	**Windsor** (first audience of the French Ambassador, Marquis d'Effiat, on 4 July) [2;6;9;19]
8-12 July>	**Wanstead** (Sir Henry Mildmay) [6;7;12] [yet 10 July at **Royston**? [19]]
>14-18 July	**Theobalds** [6;7;12]
18 July-30 Aug.	**PROGRESS IN HERTFORDSHIRE, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, RUTLAND, LEICESTERSHIRE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, WARWICKSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, BERKSHIRE AND HAMPSHIRE (with Prince Charles, and accompanied some of the way by the French Ambassador, Marquis d'Effiat)** [*NB progress eased by fine weather*]
18-19 July	**Royston** (Royal) [6;7;19]
20 July	**Houghton Lodge** (possibly Houghton House?) [4;6;7]
21 July	**Houghton Park** (Conquestbury; Sir Edmund Conquest) [6;7]
21-24 July	**Bletsoe** (Oliver, 4th Baron St John) [4;6;7;9;10]

24-27 July	**Castle Ashby** (William Compton, 1st Earl of Northampton; Coronation Day: 25 July) [4;6;7]
28-30 July	**Kirby Hall** (Christopher Hatton III; sudden death of Esmé Stewart, 3rd Duke of Lennox, at the house on 30 July) [2;4;6;7;9;19]
31 July-2 Aug.	**Apethorpe Hall** (Sir Francis Fane) [4; 6]
3-5 Aug.	**Burley-on-the-Hill** (George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Gowrie anniversary: 5 Aug.; feast; masque by Maynard) [2;6;7;11]
5-11 Aug.	**Belvoir Castle** (Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland) [4;6;7]
8 Aug.	(Visit to?) **Newark Castle** (Royal) [7]
10 Aug.	(Visit to?) **Welbeck Abbey** (Sir William Cavendish, 1st Viscount Mansfield) [7]
11-13 Aug.	**Rufford Abbey** (Sir George Savile) [4;6;7]
13-15 Aug.	**Nottingham** (probably Thurland Hall, 1st Earl of Clare) [4;6;7;12]
15-16 Aug.	**Derby** [4;6;7]
16-18 Aug.	**Tutbury Castle** (Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster?) [4;6;7]
18-20 Aug.	**Tamworth Castle** (Sir Humphrey Ferrers), with visits to **Whychnor Hall** (Sir Henry Griffiths; 19 Aug.) and **Bastwell Hall** (possibly Berkswell [Sir Edward Marow] or Balsall [Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester]; 20 Aug.) [4;7]
20-21 Aug.	**Warwick Castle** (Sir Fulke Greville, 1st Baron Brooke) [7;11]
22-23 Aug.	**Hanwell** (Sir William Cope) [4;6;7;9]
24-27 Aug.	**Woodstock** (Royal; King met by the French Ambassador; sermon preached before the King, 24 Aug.) [6;17]
27-28 Aug.	**Rycote** (Elizabeth, Baroness Norris) [4;6]
28-29 Aug.	**Bisham Abbey** (Peregrine Hoby) [4;6]
29 Aug.	Visit to **Shotover Lodge** (Sir Timothy Tyrrell) [7]
c. 29 Aug.	**Easthampstead** (Royal) [4]
c. 30 Aug.	**Aldershot** (Sir Walter Tichborne) [4]
30 Aug.-6 Sep.	**Windsor** [6;9] [though source [9] says arrived at Windsor on 4 Sep.]
6 Sep.>	**Woking** (Sir Edward Zouche) [4;6;7]
>8 Sep.>	**Windsor** [6]
>12-15 Sep.>	**Havering** [6]
>17-23 Sep.>	**Theobalds** (audiences; sermon preached before the King, 19 Sep.) [2;6;17;19]
>29-30 Sep.	**Hampton Court** [6;12]
30 Sep.-1 Oct.	**Whitehall** (Buckingham unwell) [2;6;12]
1-10 Oct.	**Theobalds** [6;15] [yet 4 Oct. at **Whitehall**,[9] and 4-7 Oct. at **Royston**? [19]]
10 Oct.-7 Nov.	**Royston** [2;6;9;12;15;19] [yet a sermon was apparently preached before the King at **Whitehall** on 5 Nov., Gunpowder Plot anniversary [17]]
7 Nov.-12 Dec.	**Newmarket** (visit by the French Ambassador, Ville-aux-Cleres, c. 4 Dec.; French match agreed by treaty on 12 Dec.) [2;6;9;15;19]
12-19 Dec.	**Cambridge** (Trinity College; French Ambassadors present; French marriage contract signed; King ill with gout; sermon preached before the King, 13 Dec.) [2;6;9;12;15;17]
19-25 Dec.	**Royston** (King unwell) [15]
25-31 Dec.	**Whitehall** (King unwell) [2;6;9;12;15] [yet arrived at Whitehall on 23 Dec.[2] or 24 Dec.? [19]]

1625	
1-16 Jan.	**Whitehall** (King unwell; performance of Ben Jonson's *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union* on 9 Jan.) [2;6;9;15] [yet 12 Jan. at **Theobalds**? [19]]
16 Jan.-27 Feb.	**Newmarket** (audiences; Candlemas: 2 Feb.) [2;6;12;15;19] [yet 23-25 Feb. at **Chesterford Park** (Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk)? [6]]
27 Feb.-6 March	**Royston** (Shrovetide: 1-3 March; visit by French Ambassador) [6;15]
6-27 March	**Theobalds** (sermon preached on Accession Day: 24 March) [2;6;9;12;15;17]
27 March	**DEATH OF KING JAMES I at Theobalds** (Parliament dissolved) [2;6;9;18]
4 April	*The King's body is moved to Somerset House to lie in state* [6]

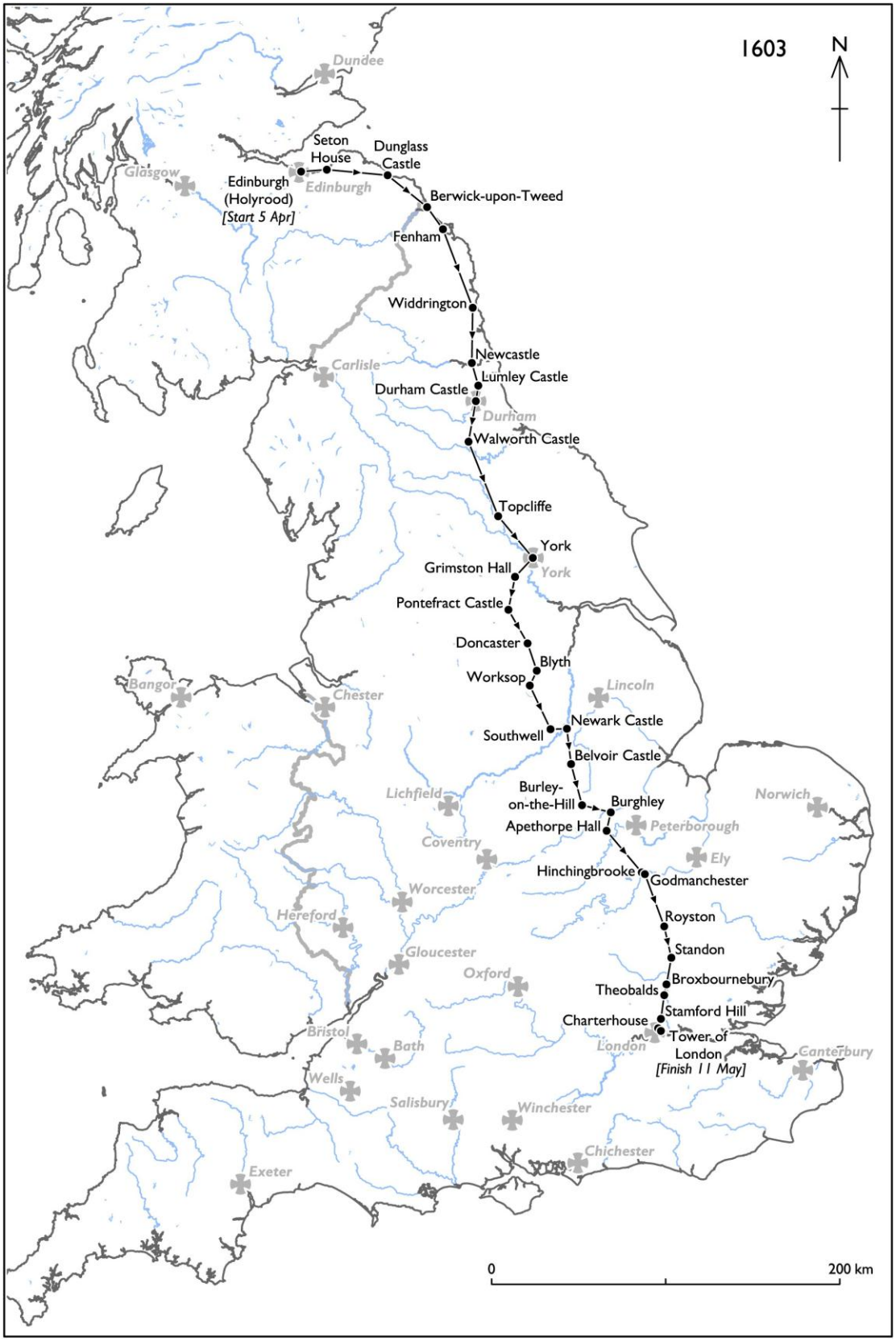
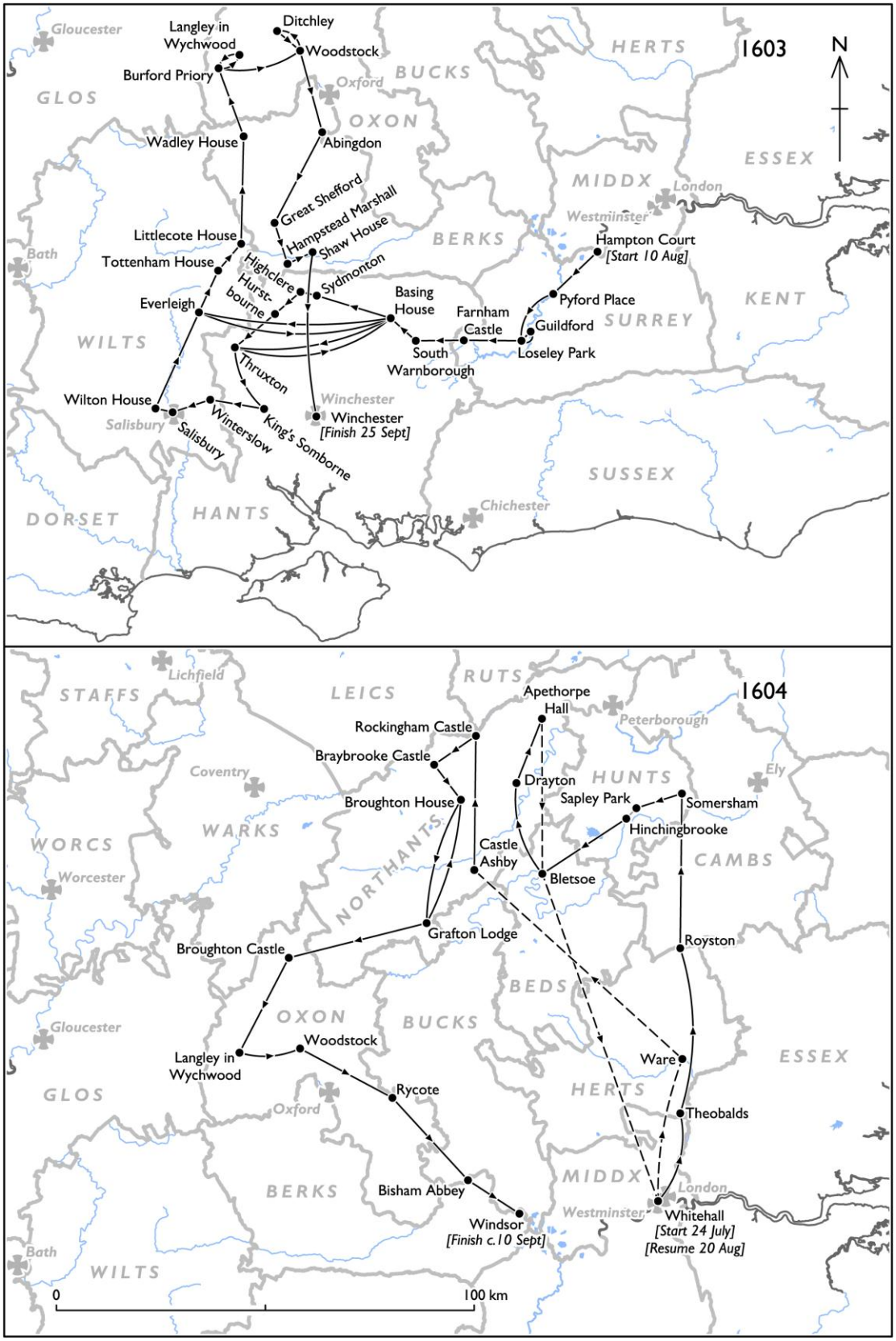
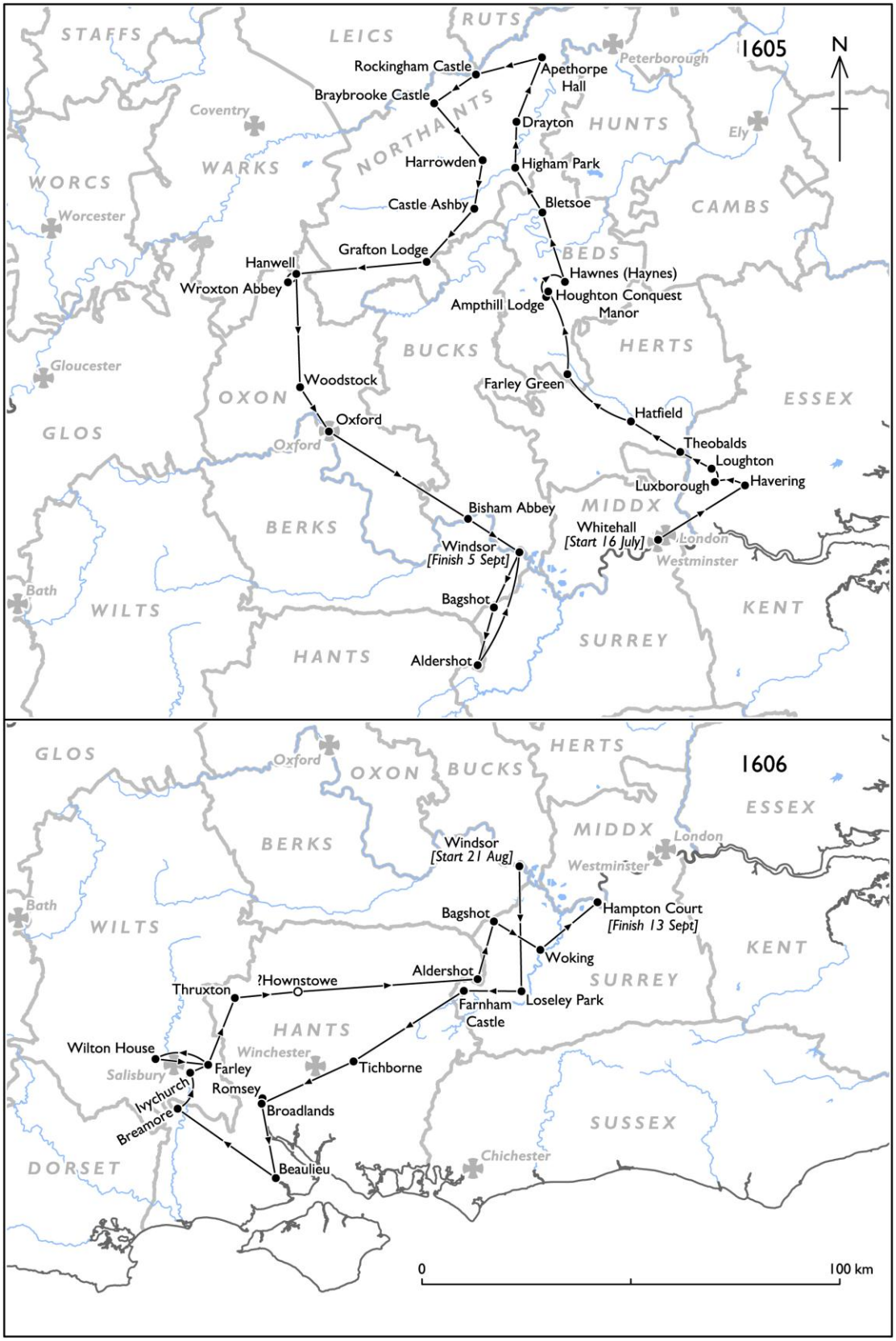


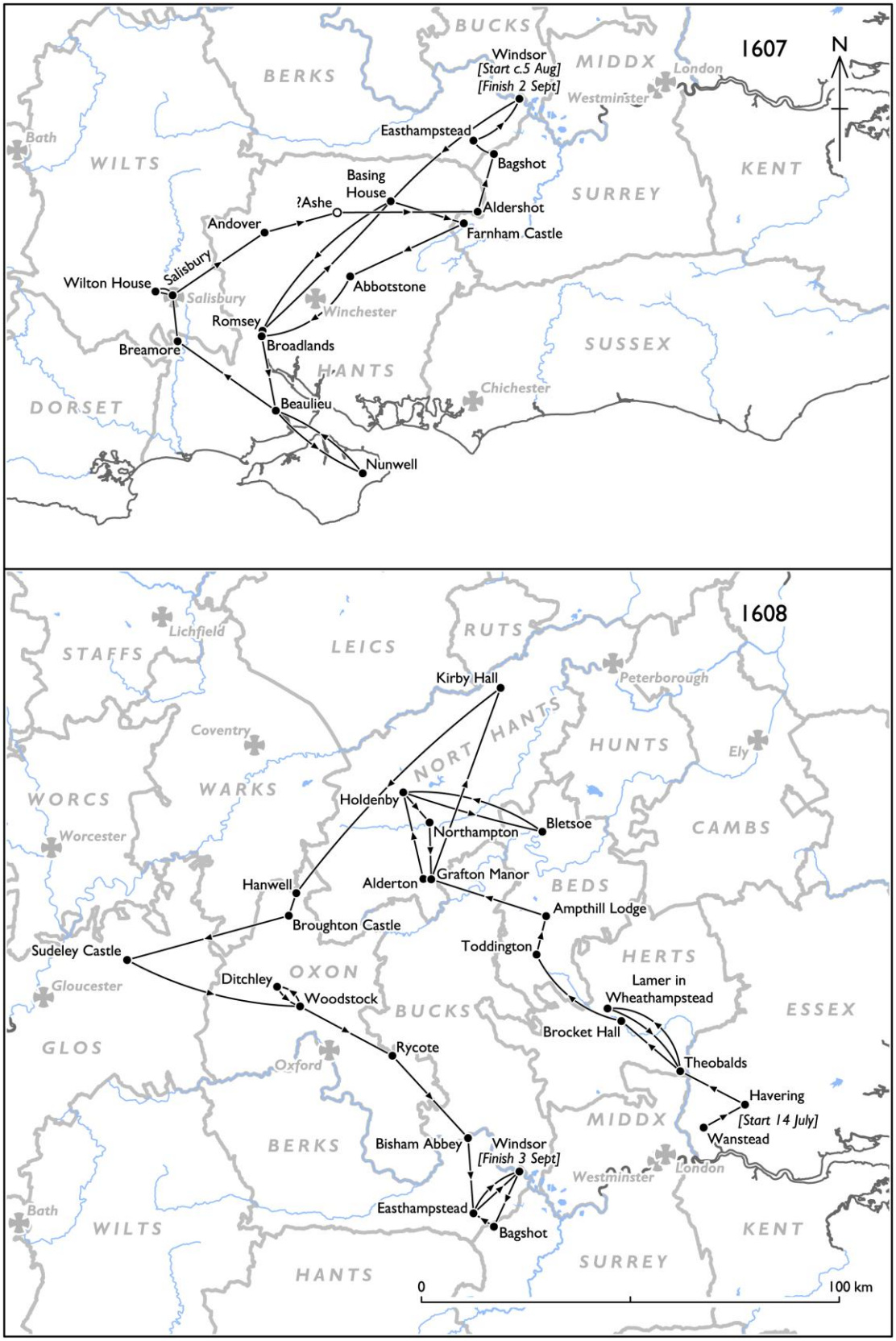
Fig. 1
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1603
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



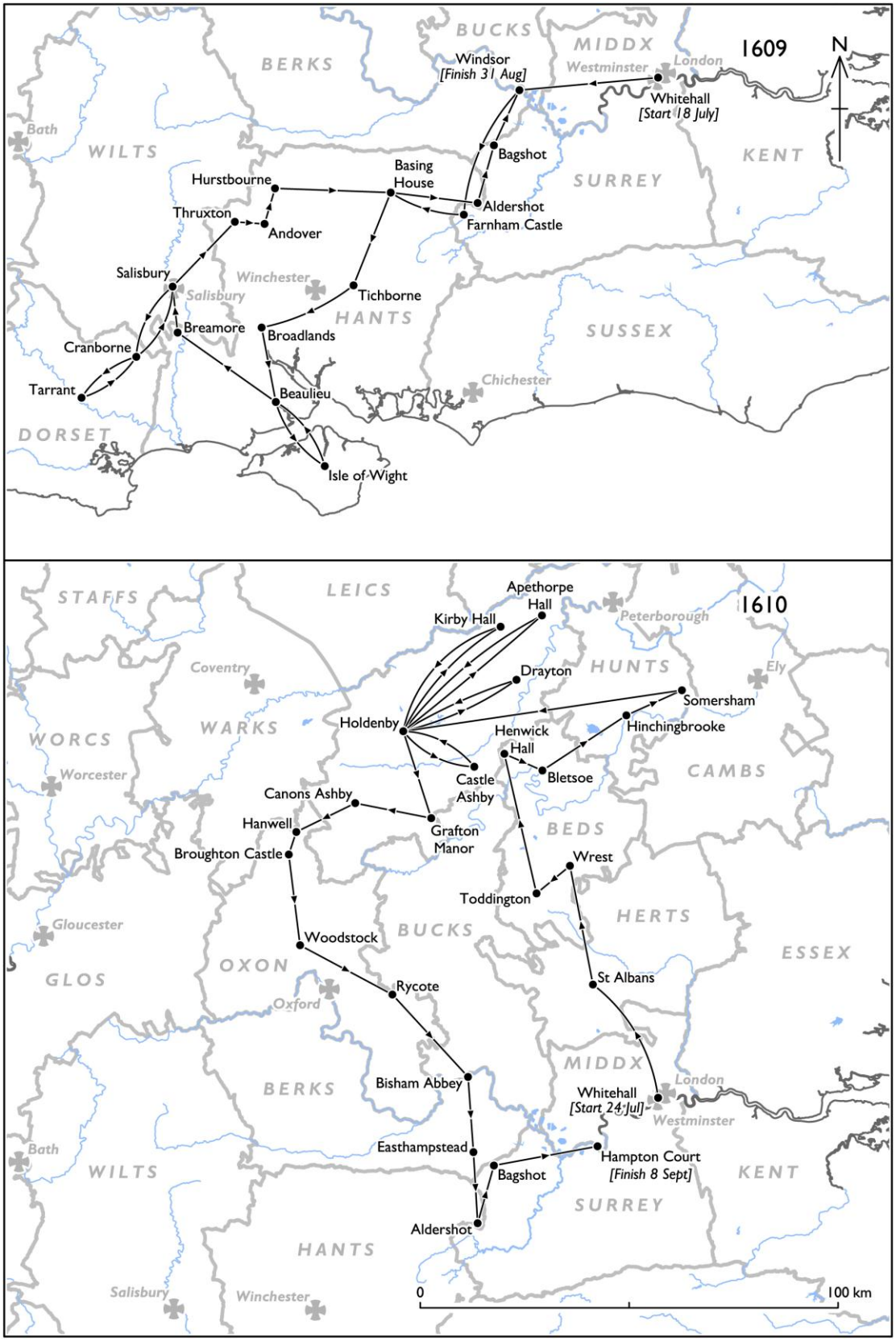
Figs 2 and 3
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1603 and 1604
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



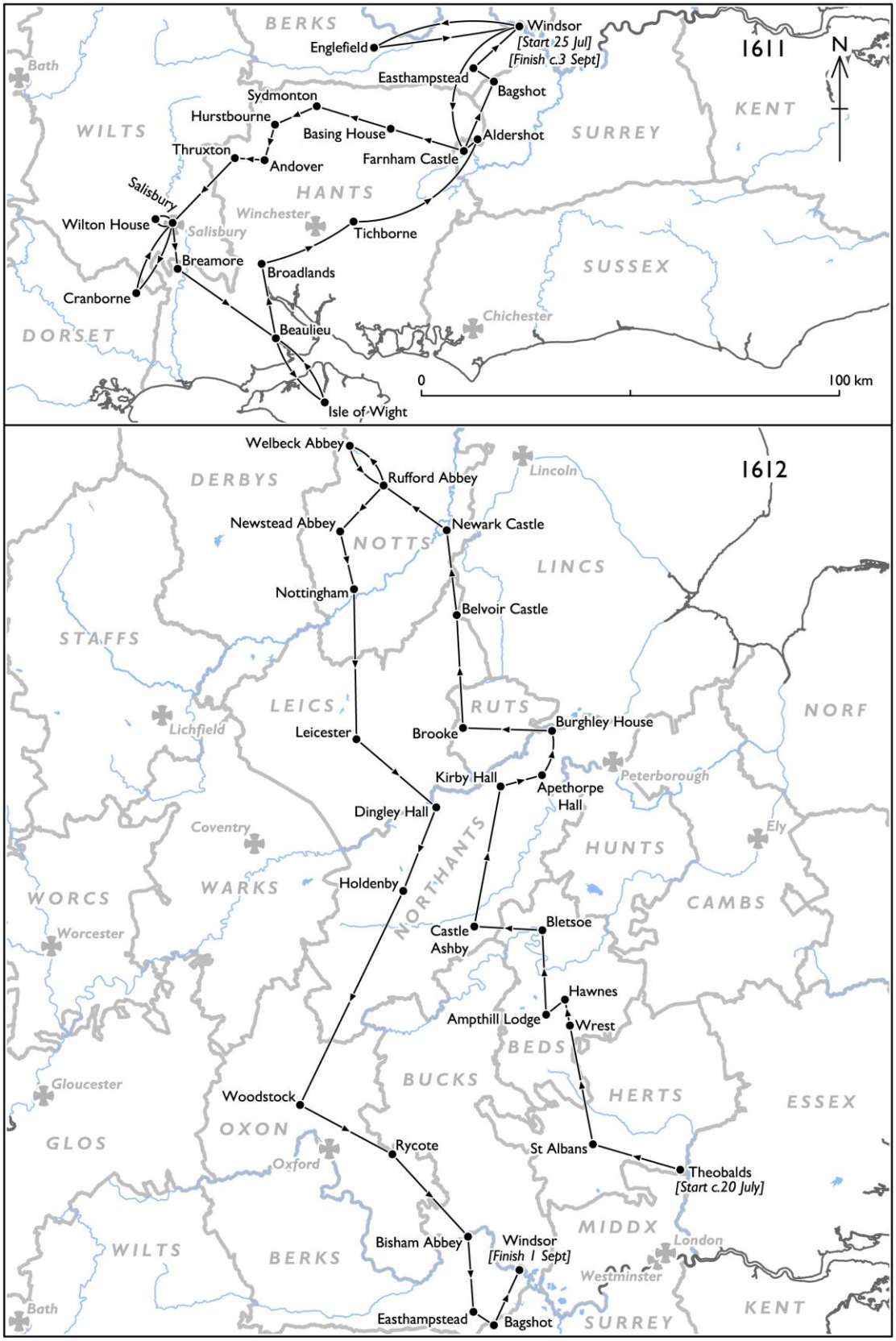
Figs 4 and 5
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1605 and 1606
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



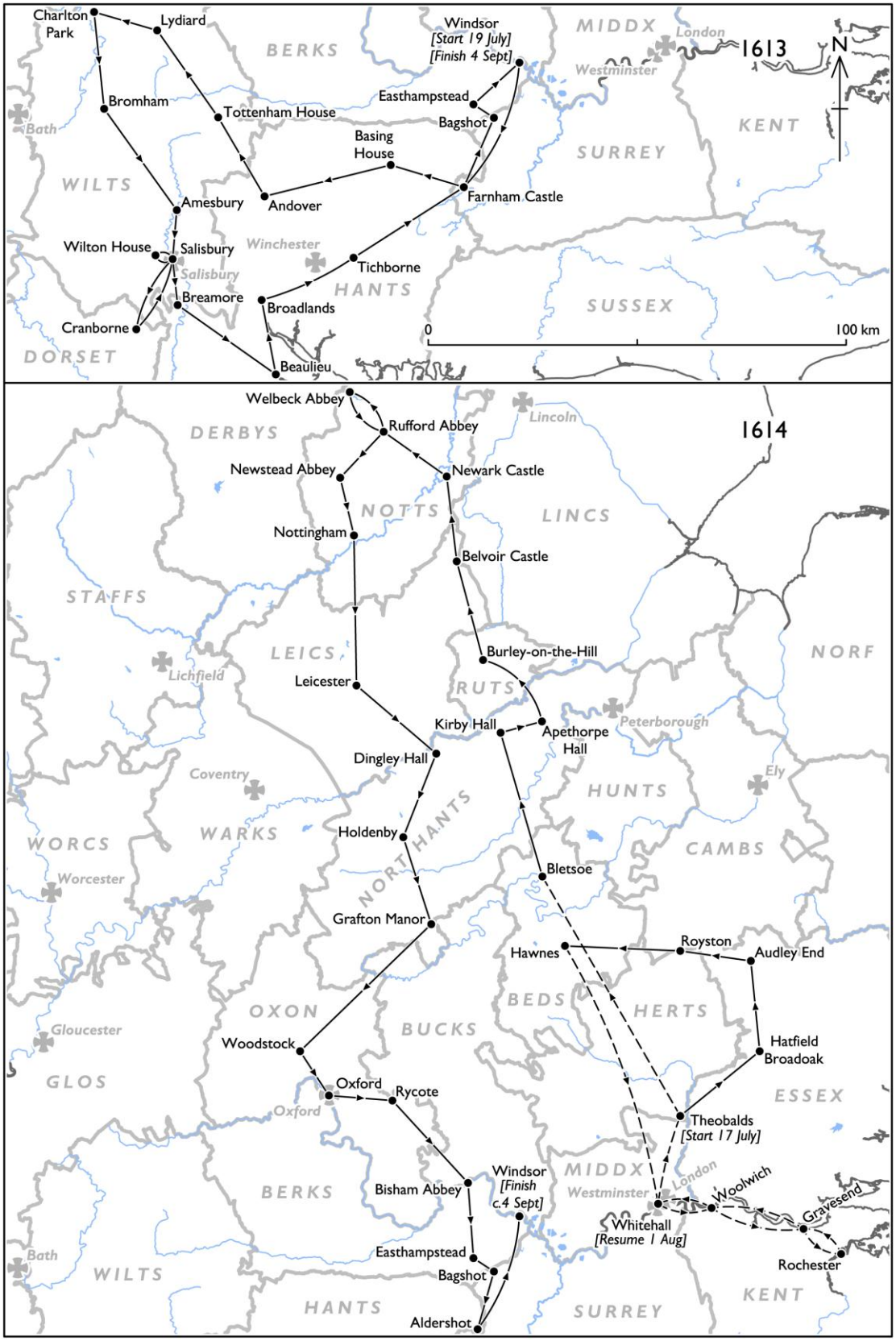
Figs 6 and 7
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1607 and 1608
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



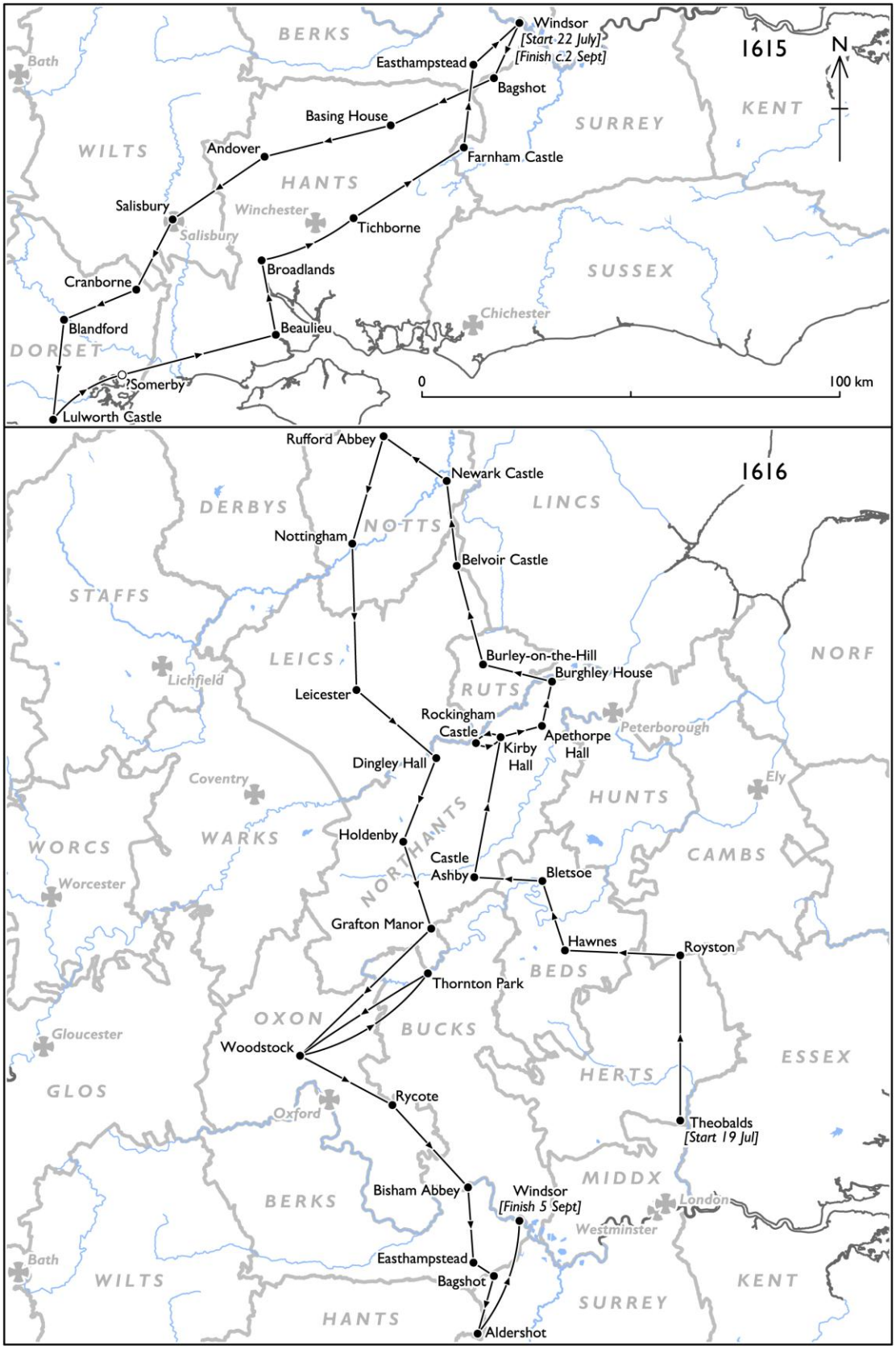
Figs 8 and 9
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1609 and 1610
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



Figs 10 and 11
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1611 and 1612
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



Figs 12 and 13
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1613 and 1614
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



Figs 14 and 15
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1615 and 1616
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]

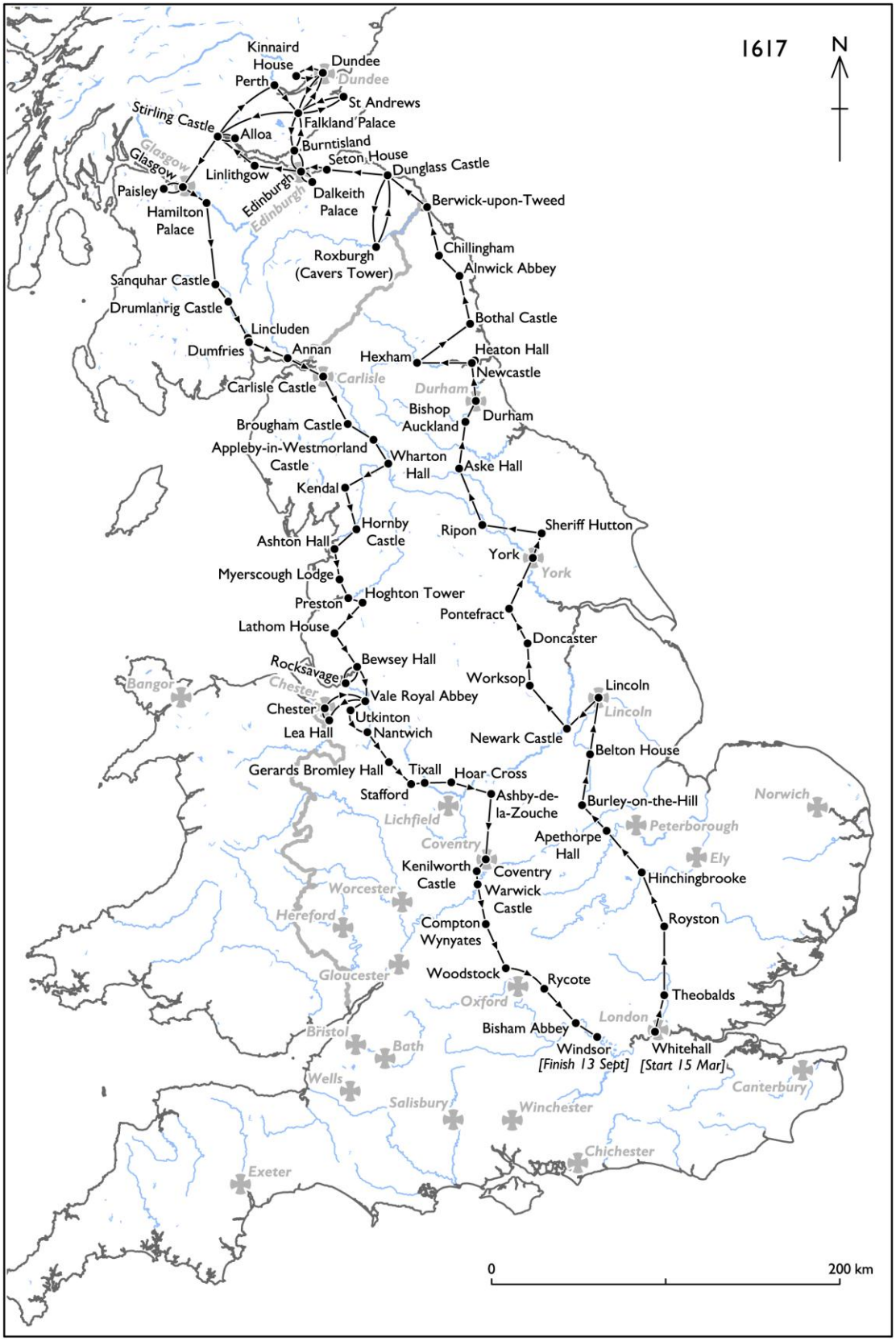
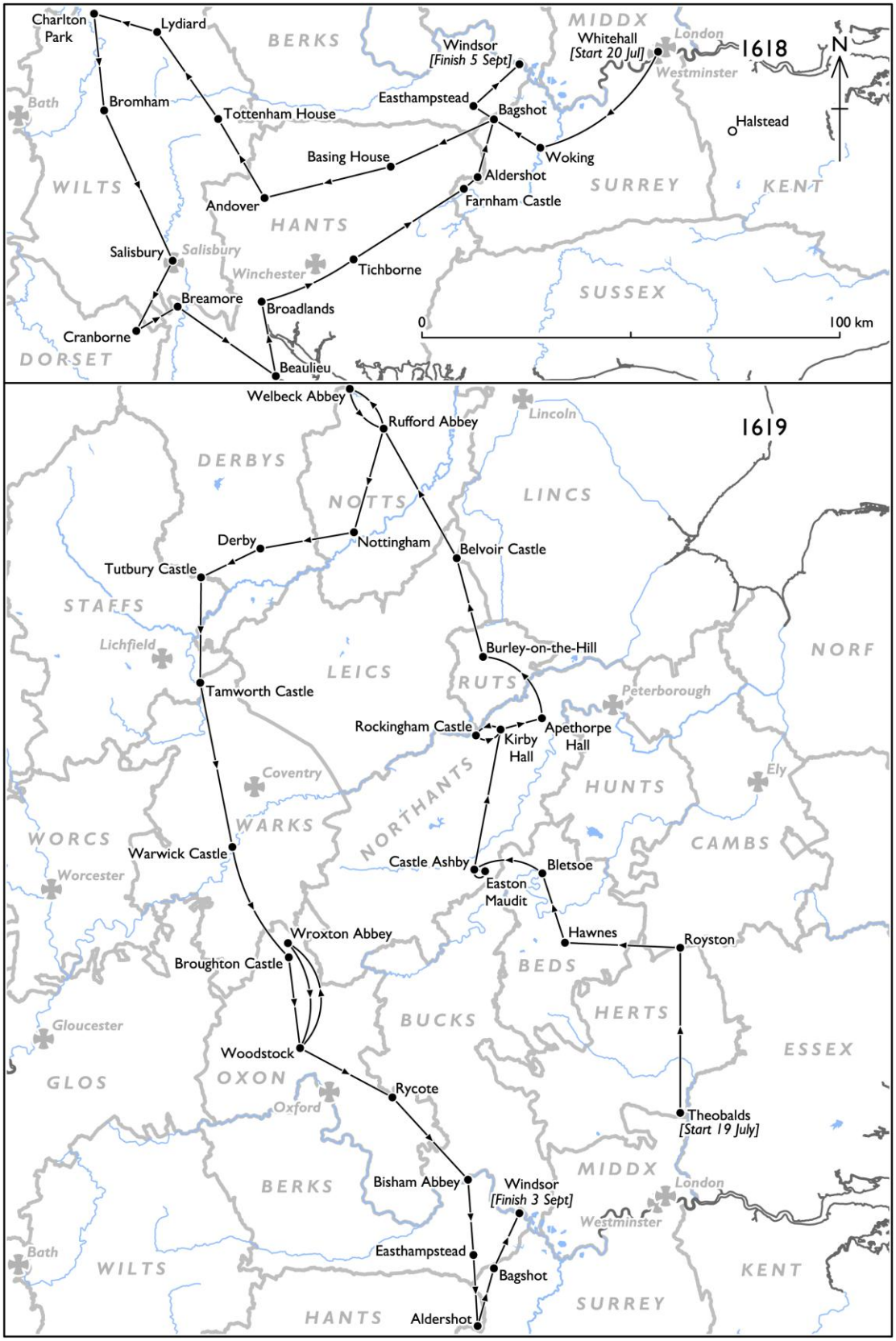
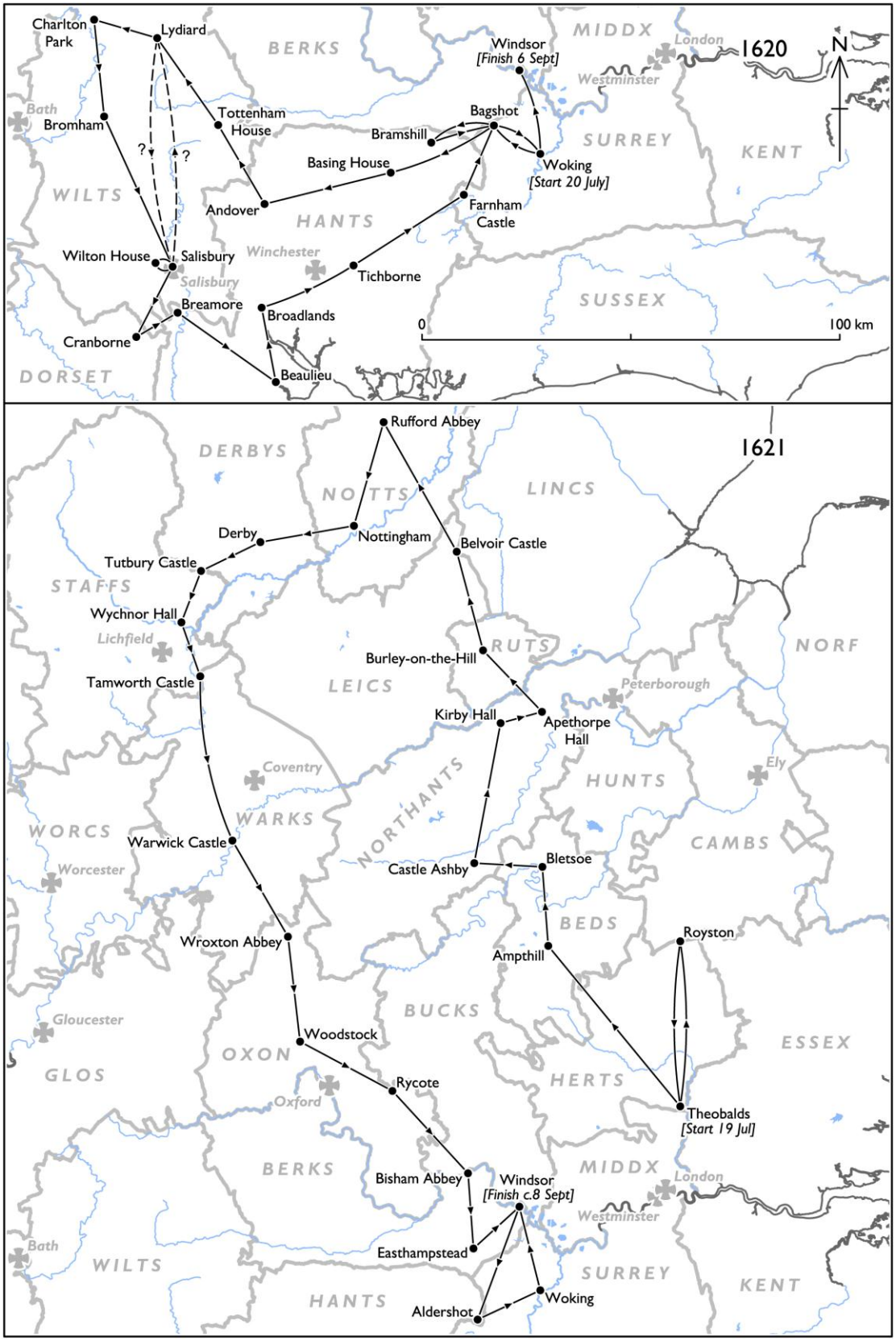


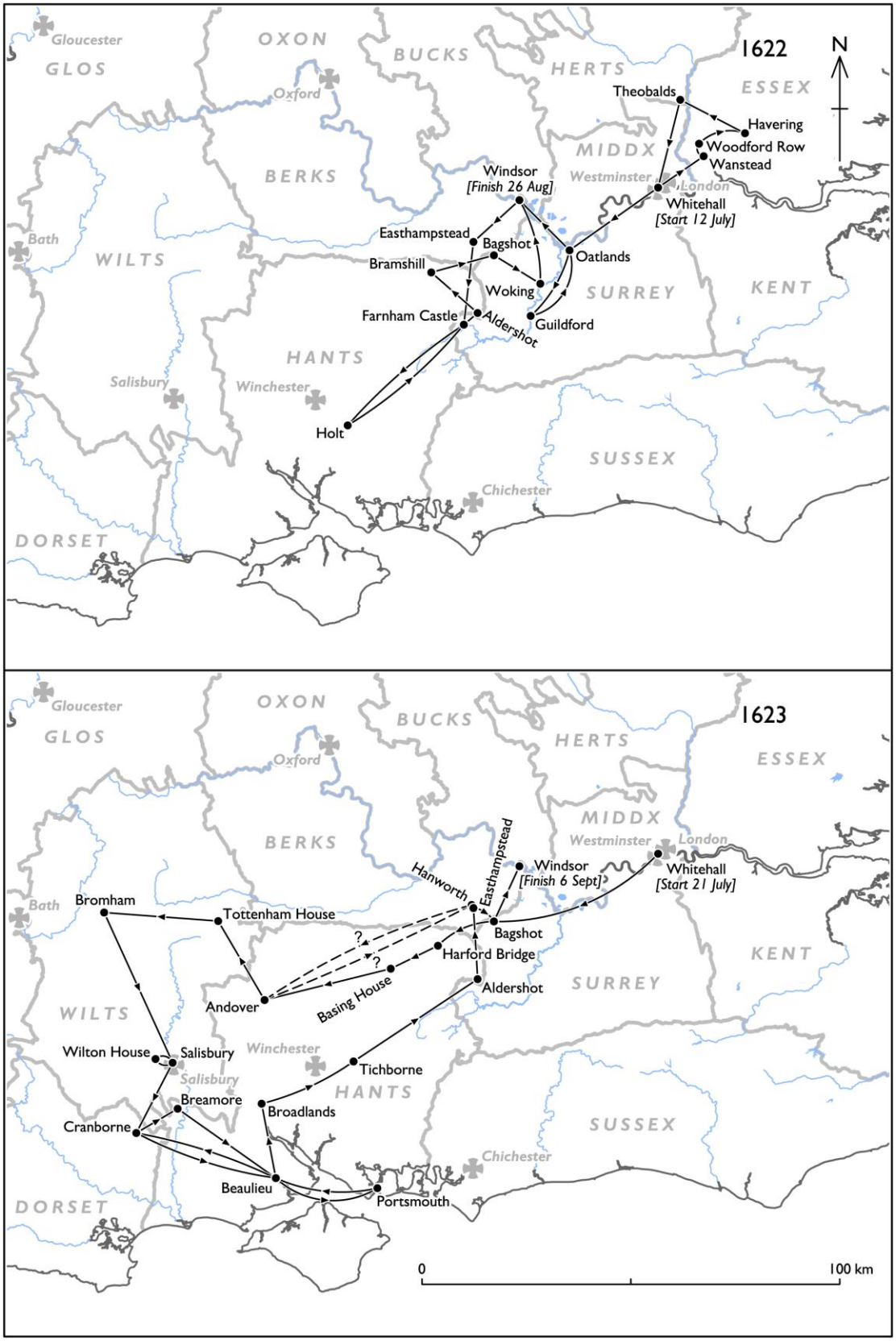
Fig. 16
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1617
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



Figs 17 and 18
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1618 and 1619
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



Figs 19 and 20
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1620 and 1621
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]



Figs 21 and 22
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1622 and 1623
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]

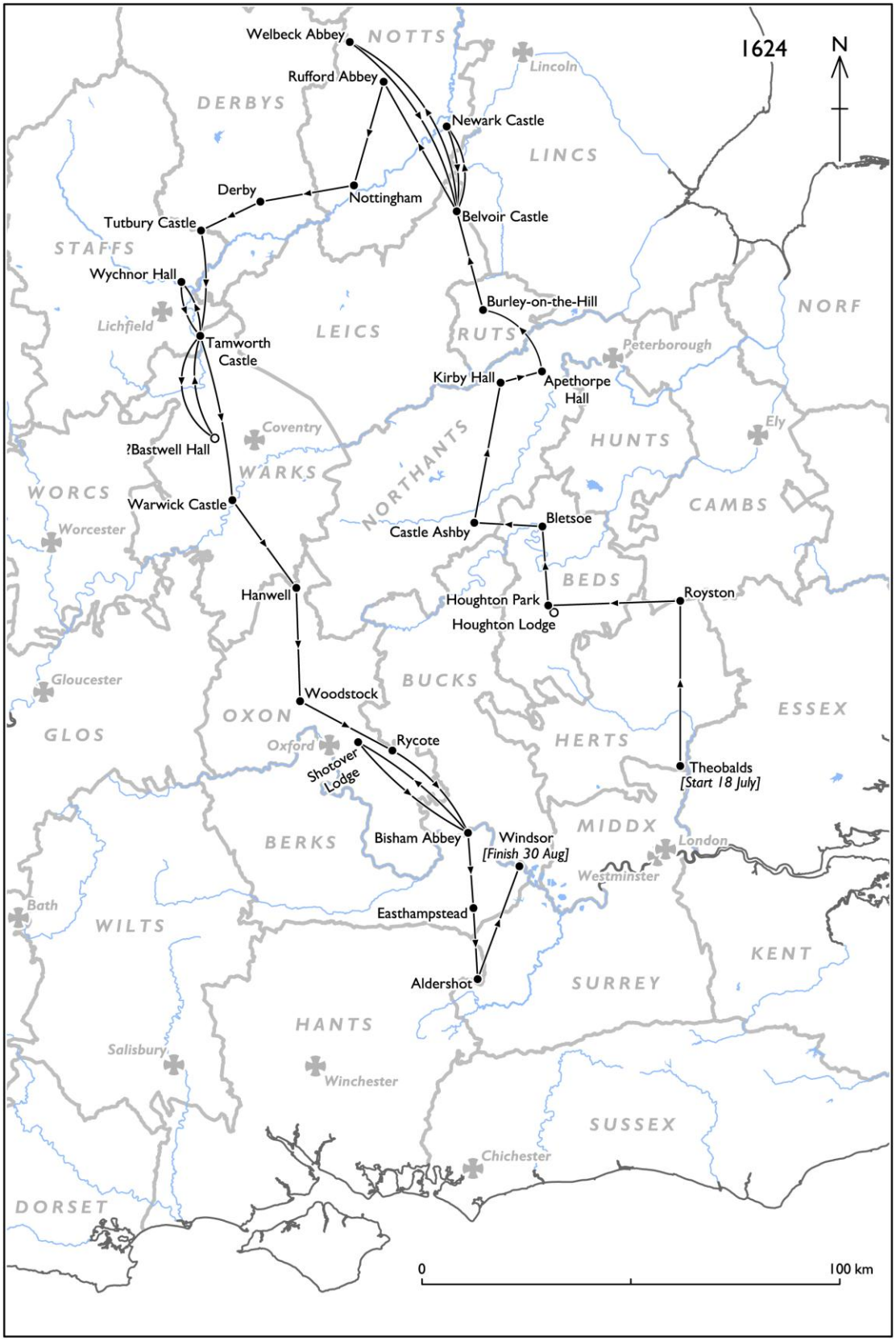


Fig. 23
Maps of the progresses of James I: 1624
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on the itinerary in Appendix 2*]

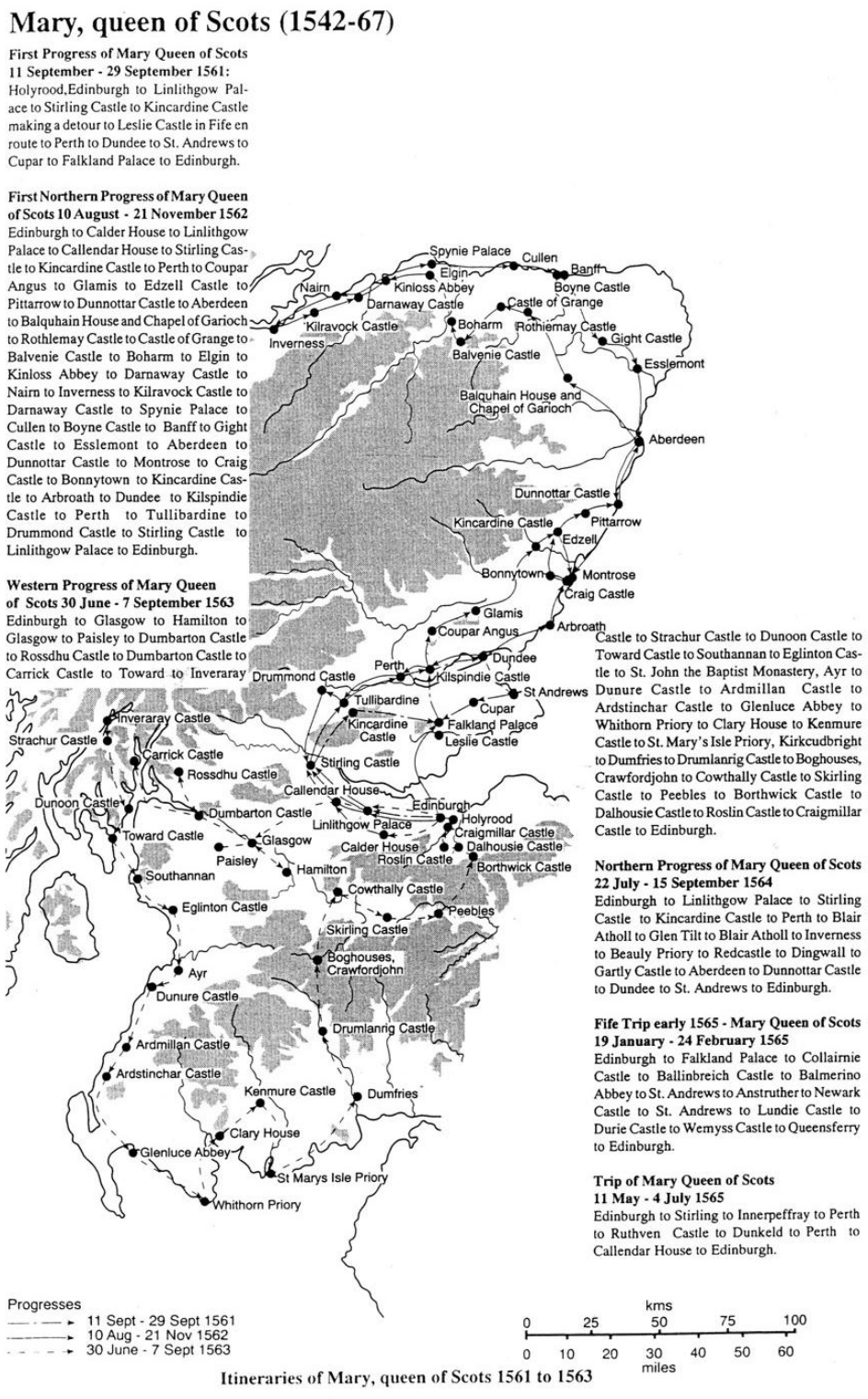


Fig. 24
Maps of the progresses of Mary, Queen of Scots, 1561-63, and itineraries of 1561-65
[*source: ed. Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen,* Atlas of Scottish History to 1707 *(1996)*]

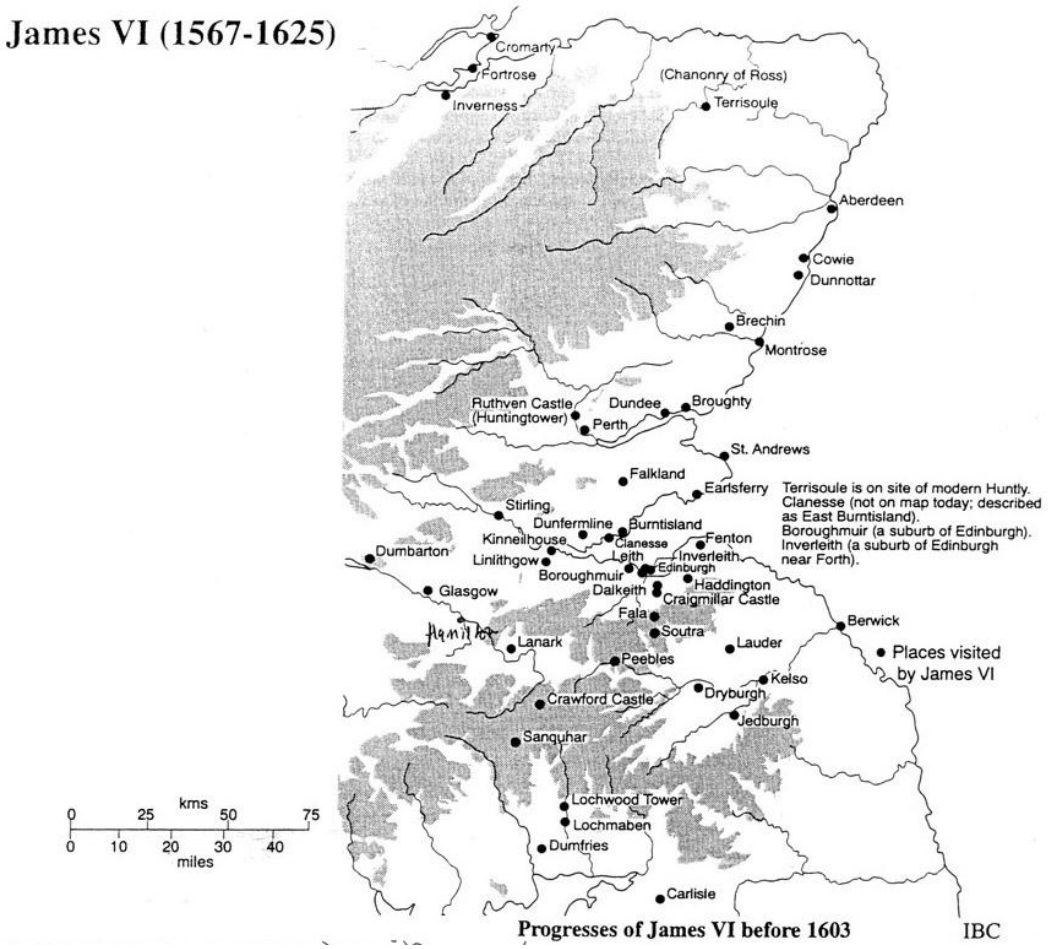


Fig. 25
Progress destinations of James VI in Scotland, pre-1603
[*source: ed. Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen,*
Atlas of Scottish History to 1707 *(1996)*]

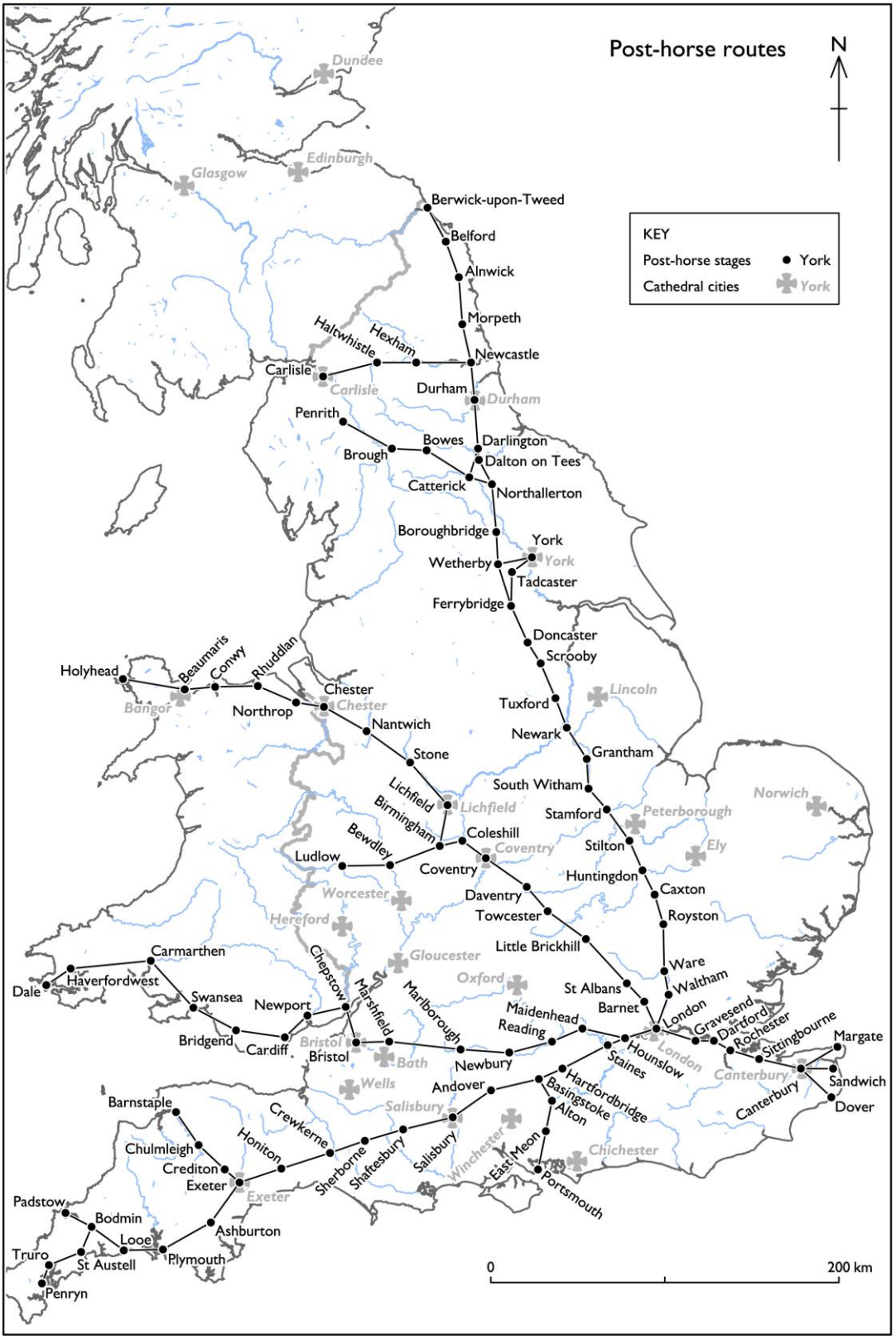


Fig. 26
English ‘standing’ post network in the early seventeenth century
[*drawn by Eddie Lyons of English Heritage, based on map in Mark Brayshay’s ‘Royal post-horse routes in England and Wales’,* Journal of Historical Geography, *vol. 17, no. 4 (1991)*]

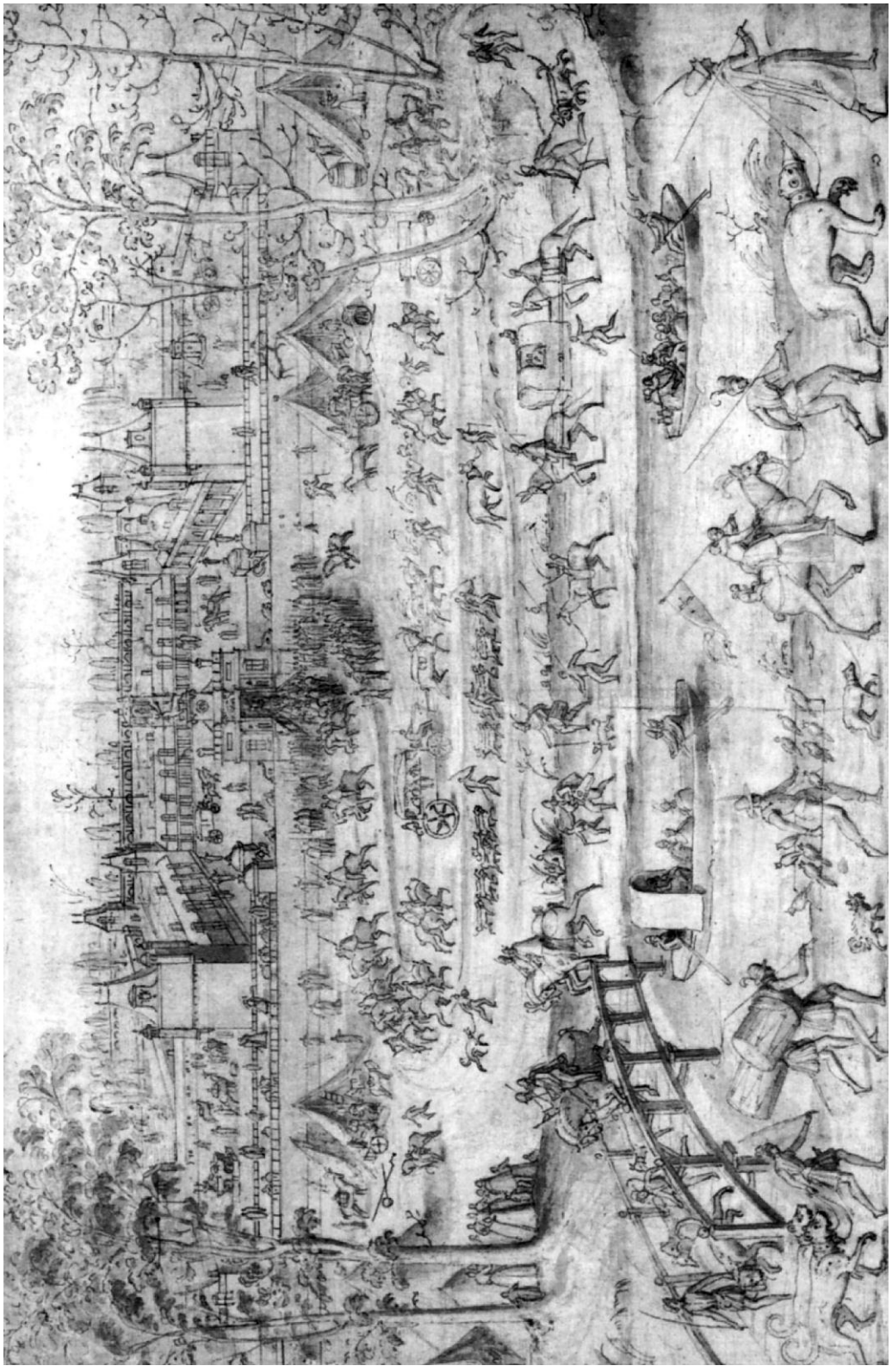
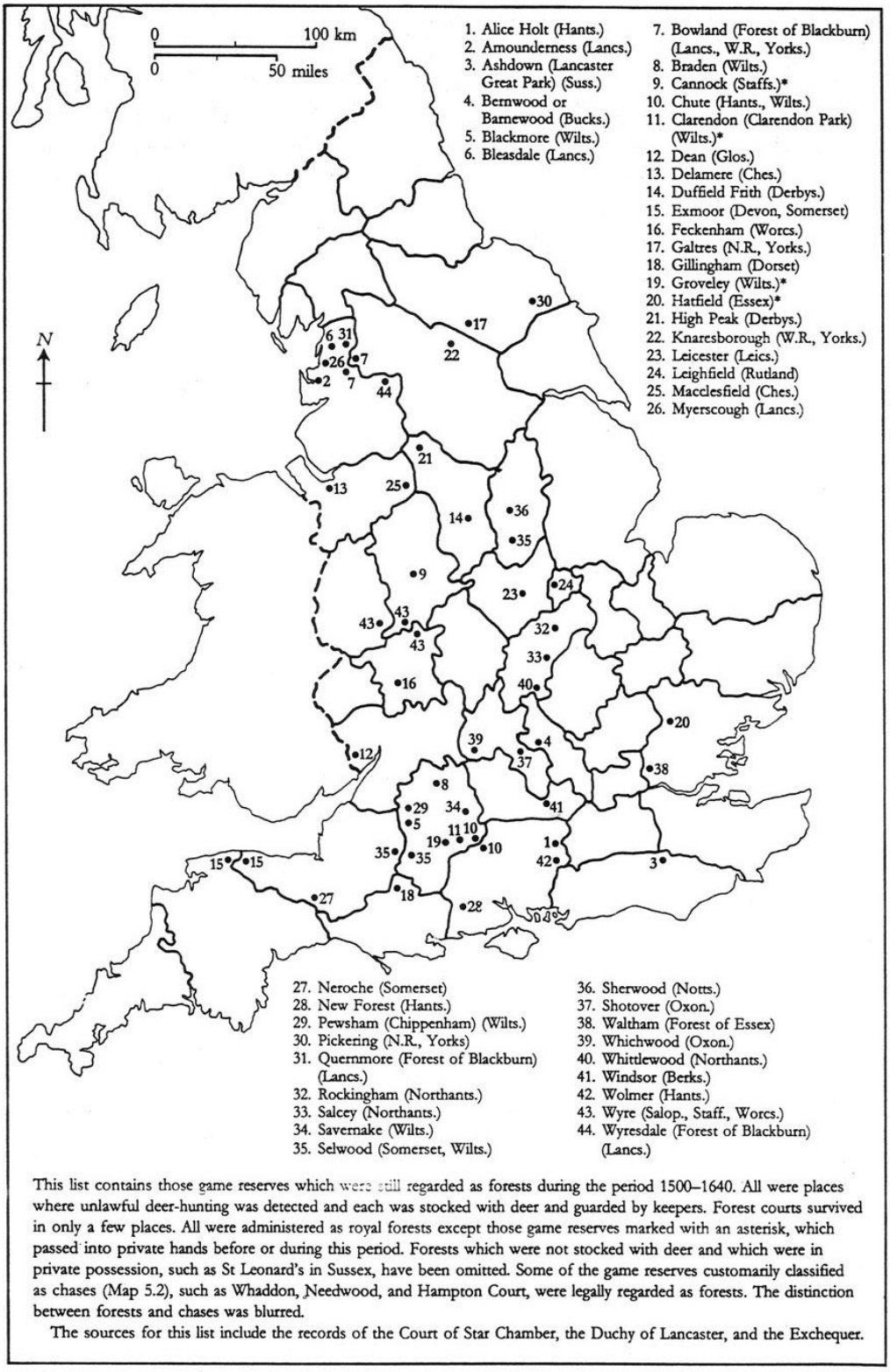


Fig. 27
The French royal court visiting the Château d'Anet, in a mid-sixteenth-century view by Antoine Caron. In France, as in England, everything required for life at court was carried.
[*source: Monique Chatenet*, La Cour de France au XVI^{e} siècle: Vie Sociale et Architecture *(2002), from the original in the Louvre*]



This list contains those game reserves which were still regarded as forests during the period 1500–1640. All were places where unlawful deer-hunting was detected and each was stocked with deer and guarded by keepers. Forest courts survived in only a few places. All were administered as royal forests except those game reserves marked with an asterisk, which passed into private hands before or during this period. Forests which were not stocked with deer and which were in private possession, such as St Leonard's in Sussex, have been omitted. Some of the game reserves customarily classified as chases (Map 5.2), such as Whaddon, Needwood, and Hampton Court, were legally regarded as forests. The distinction between forests and chases was blurred.

The sources for this list include the records of the Court of Star Chamber, the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Exchequer.

Fig. 28

Map showing the location of English forests in the period 1500-1640 [*source: Roger B. Manning*, Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640 *(1993)*]

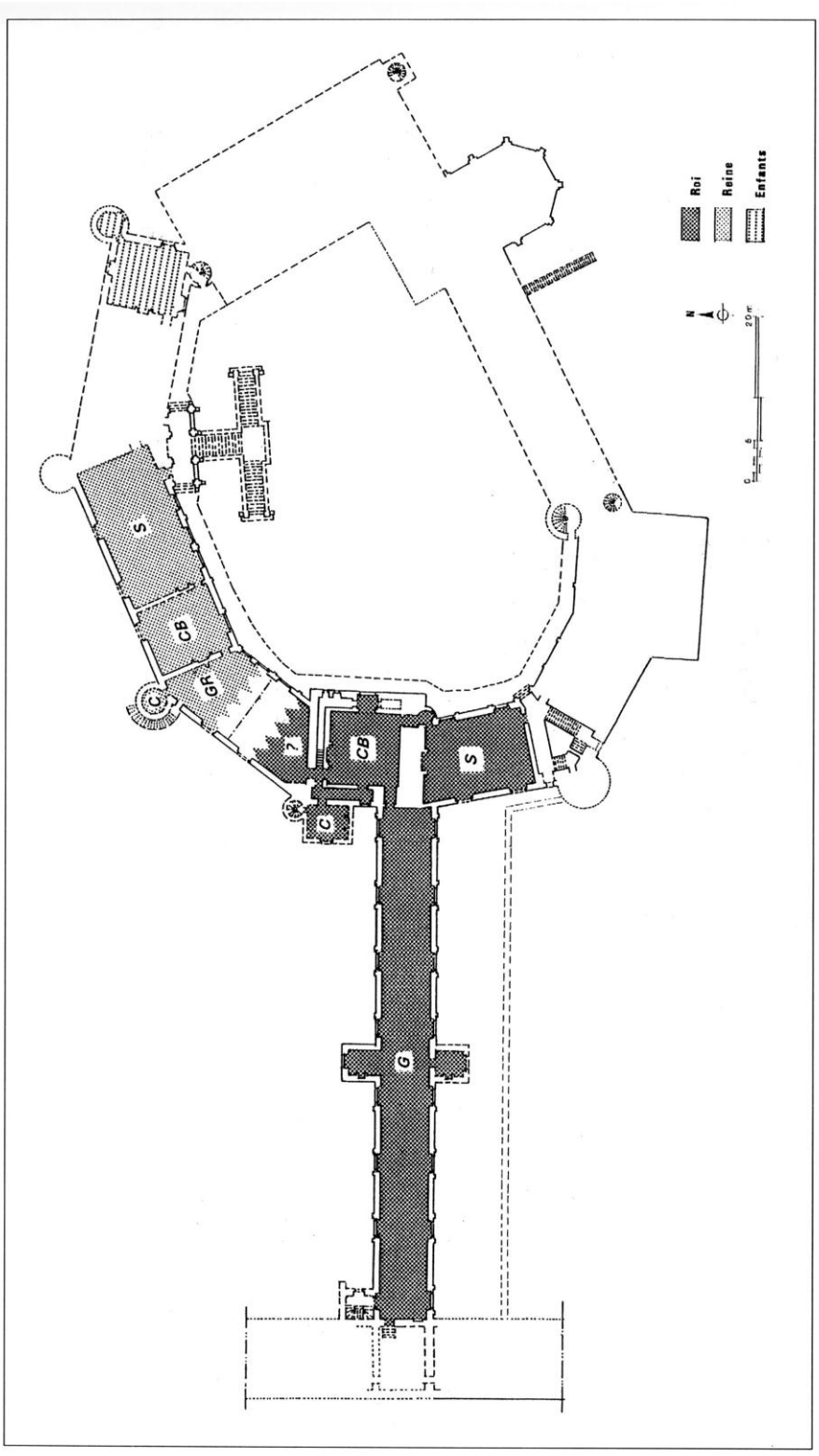


Fig. 29
Plan of Fontainebleau, showing the suite occupied by François I, with the gallery created in the 1530s (opening off the King's bedchamber). The key is as follows: CB: chambre; C: cabinet; GR: garderobe; S: salle; G galerie.
[*source: Françoise Boudon and Jean Blécon*, Le Château de Fontainebleau de François I^{er} à Henri IV *(1998)*]

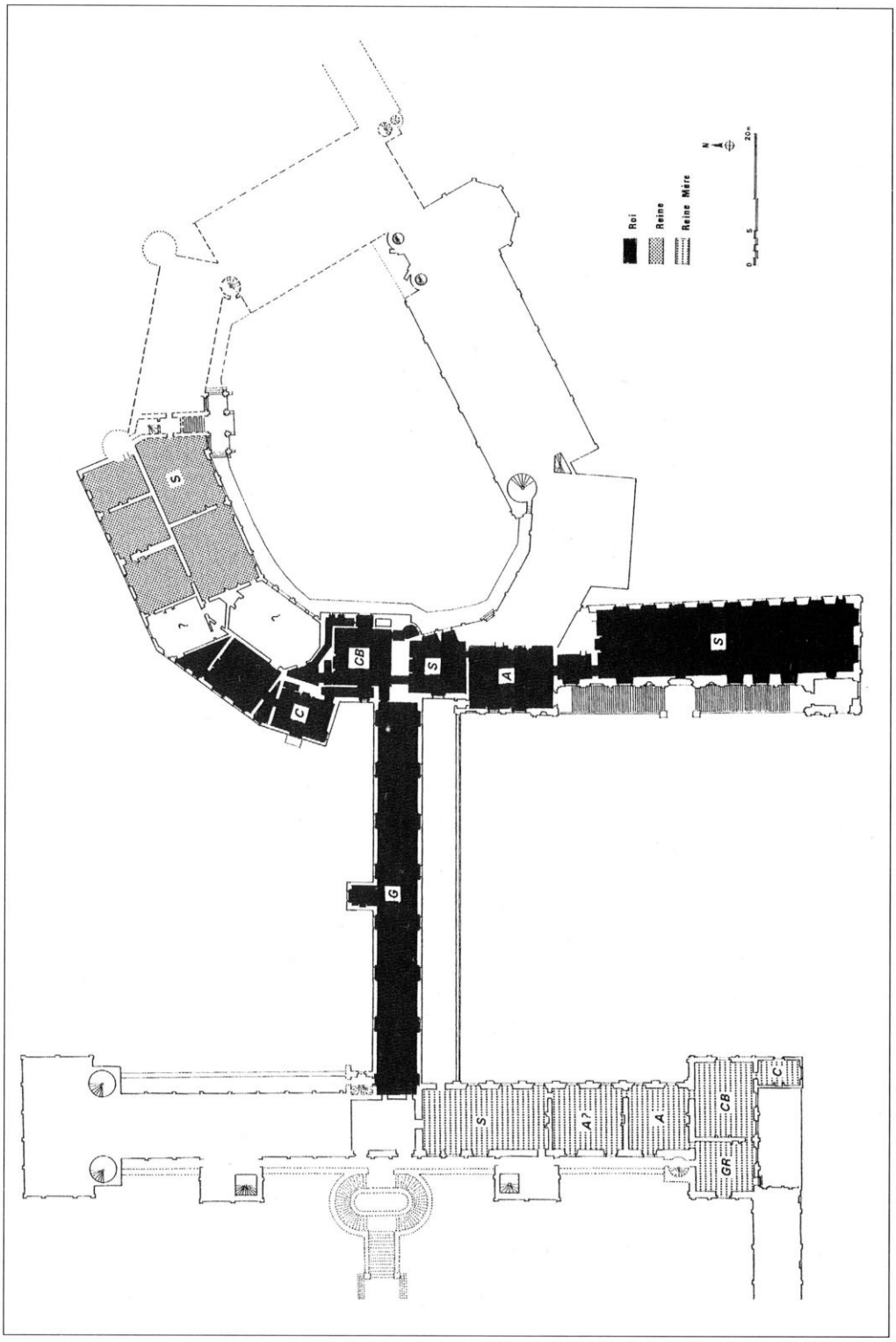


Fig. 30
Plan of Fontainebleau, showing the logis des Poêles on the far left (built in 1550s and 1560s) and (in black) the extended sequence of rooms in the wing known as the Belle Cheminée (completed by 1570). The key is as follows: CB: chambre; C: cabinet; GR: garderobe; A: antichambre; S: salle; G galerie. [*source: Françoise Boudon and Jean Blécon*, Le Château de Fontainebleau de François Ier à Henri IV *(1998)*]

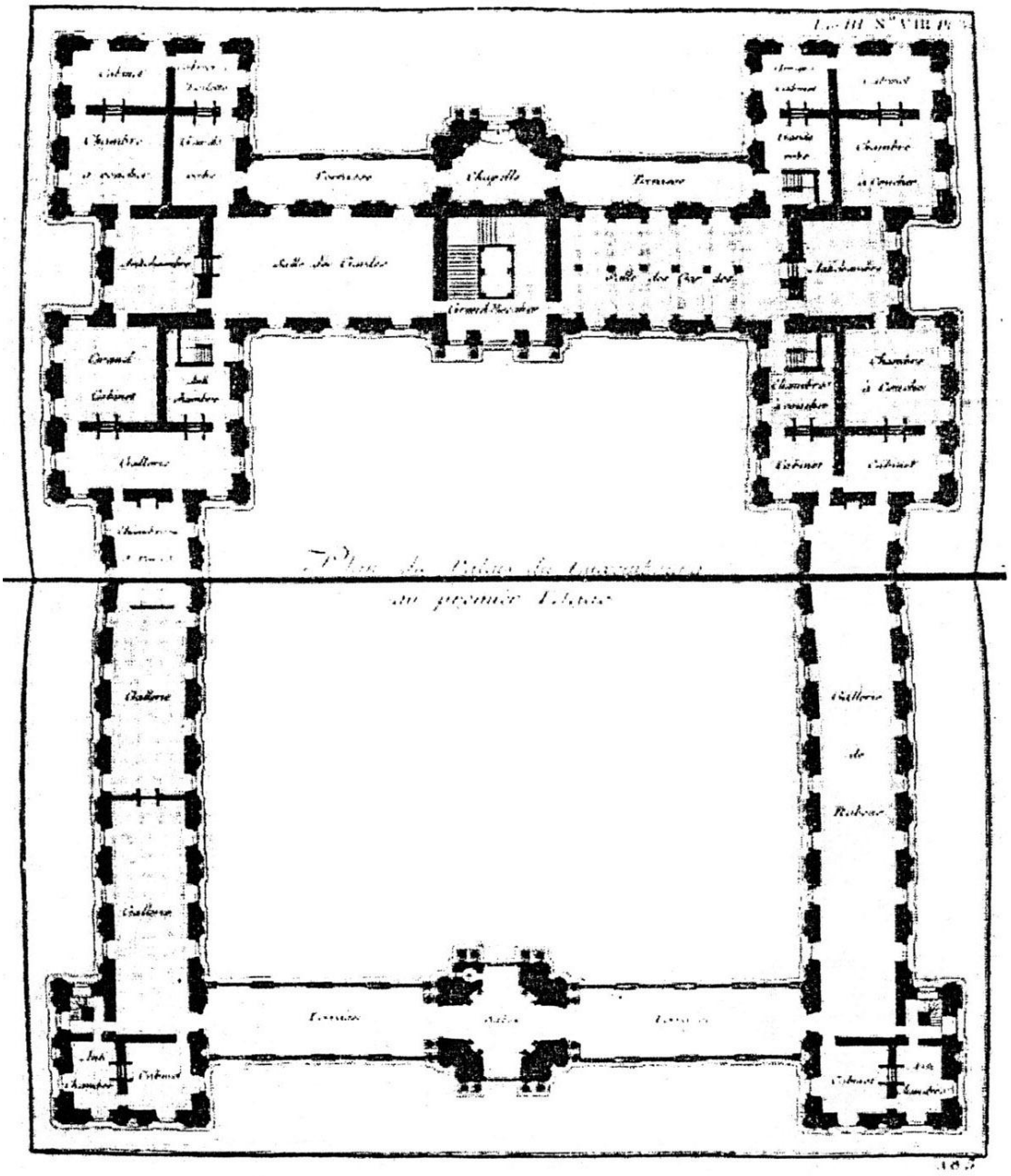


Fig. 31

Eighteenth-century plan of the first floor of the Palais du Luxembourg, designed by Salomon de Brosse and begun in 1615 for Queen Marie de Médicis. The parallel apartments are thought to have been built for the Queen (on the right) and, in memoriam, Henri IV (on the left). On each side, the bedchambers and cabinets were contained within pavilions.

[*source: J. F. Blondel's* Architecture Françoise *(1752-3), reproduced in Sara Galletti's 'L'appartement de Marie de Mèdicis au palais du Luxembourg', in* Marie de Mèdicis, un gouvernement par les arts *(2003)*]

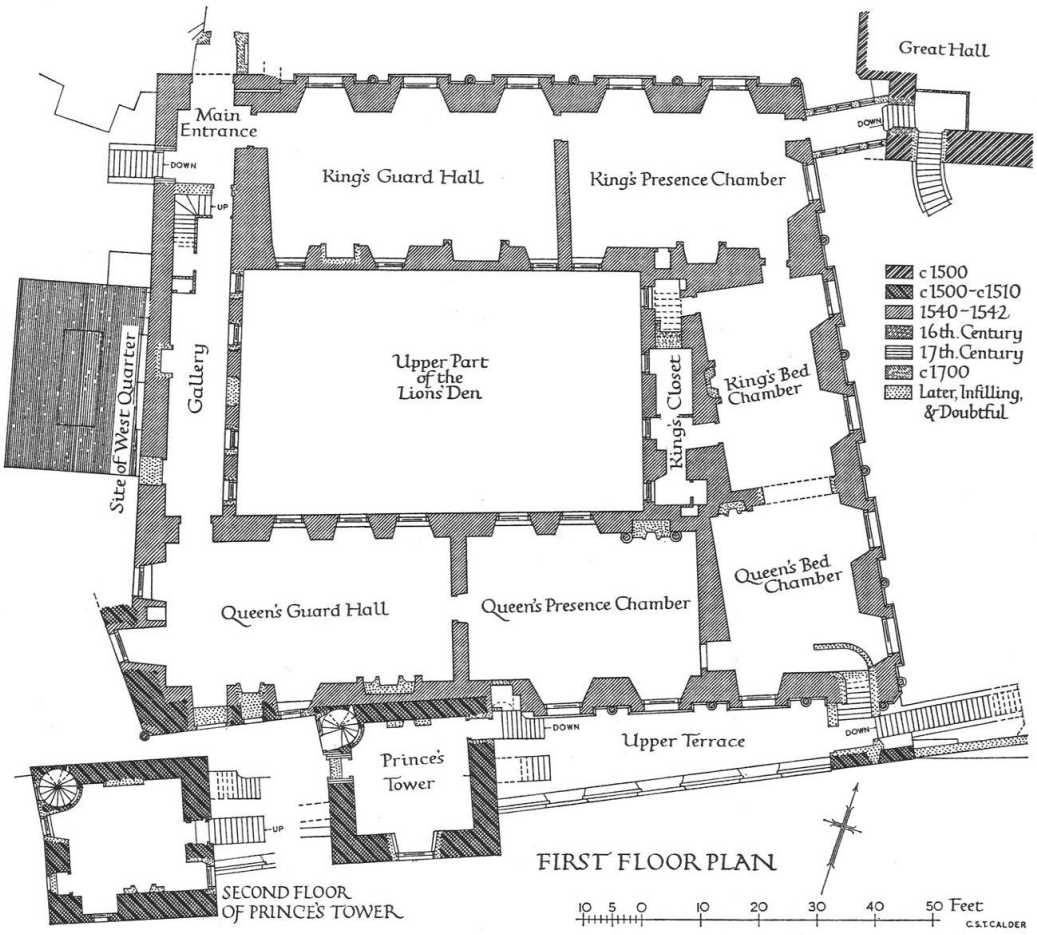


Fig. 32
Plan of the palace block at Stirling Castle, built by James V in c. 1538-42. It was the childhood home of James VI.
[*source: RCAHMS,* Stirlingshire*, vol. 1 (1963)*]

Fig. 33
Exterior of the chapel royal at Stirling Castle, built by James VI in time for the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594
[*source: Richard Fawcett,* Stirling Castle *(1999, 2004 reprint*)]

Fig. 34
Exterior of Kronborg Castle, rebuilt by Frederik II in 1574-85 and altered again by Christian IV after a fire of 1629. It was here that James VI was based during his trip to Denmark in 1590.
[*source: Vibeke Woldbye and Lars Holst,* Kronborg: The Castle and the Royal Apartments *(2001)*]

Fig. 35
Aerial view of Frederiksborg Palace, built by Christian IV in 1602-20. The U-shaped palace block, with closing screen on the south, is at the centre of the view; the privy passage, linking the king's rooms to the audience chamber, is visible on the left, as is the tiltyard.
[*source: ed. Søren Mentz,* A Short Guide to Frederiksborg Museum *(2003)*]

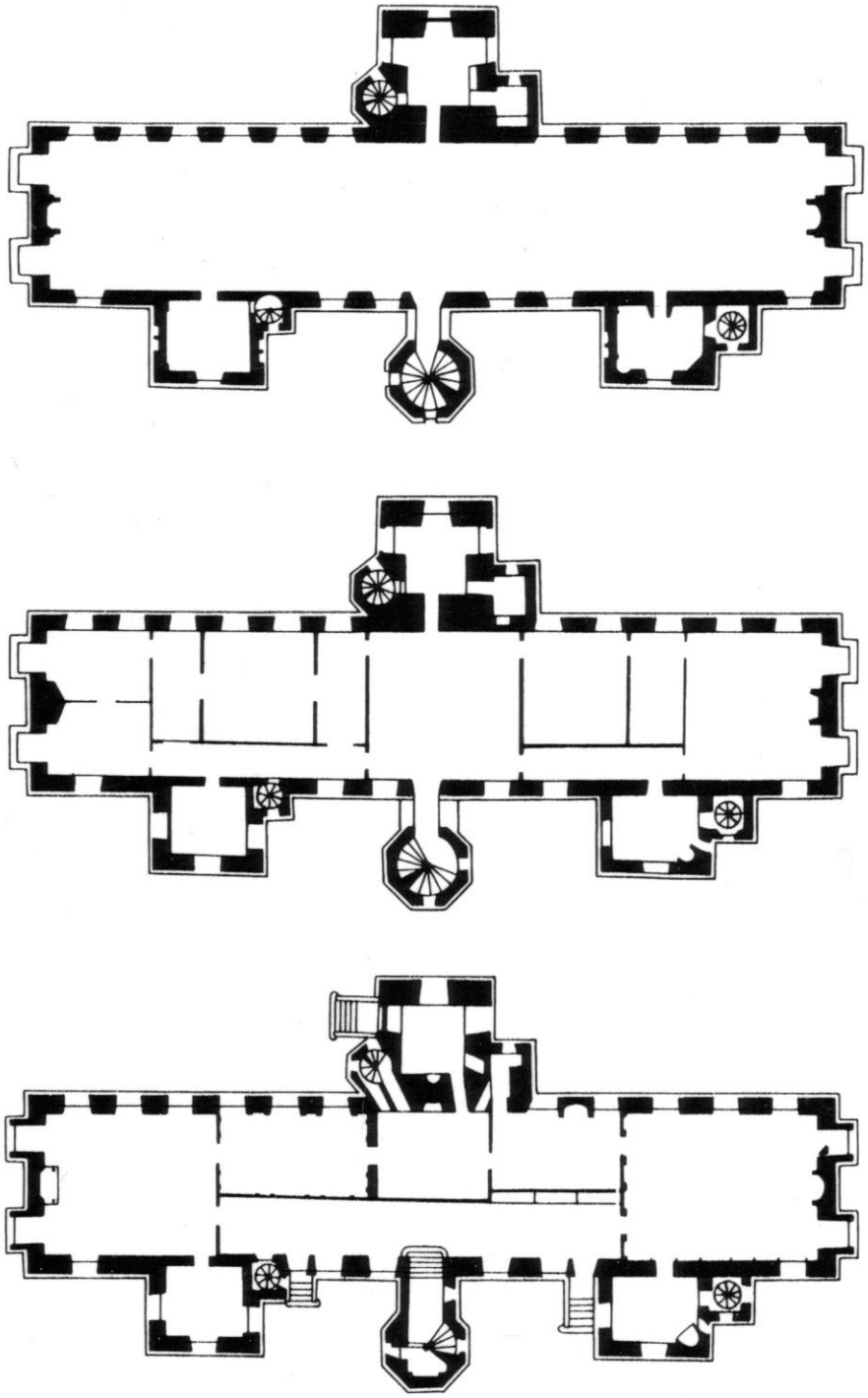


Fig. 36
Plans of Rosenborg Palace as it exists today. The building was begun by Christian IV in 1606 and completed in 1634. The ground floor (the lowest of the three plans) contained the private rooms of the king (on the right) and the queen (on the left). The public rooms of state were on the middle and top floors.
[*source: Jørgen Hein,* Rosenborg *(2003*)]

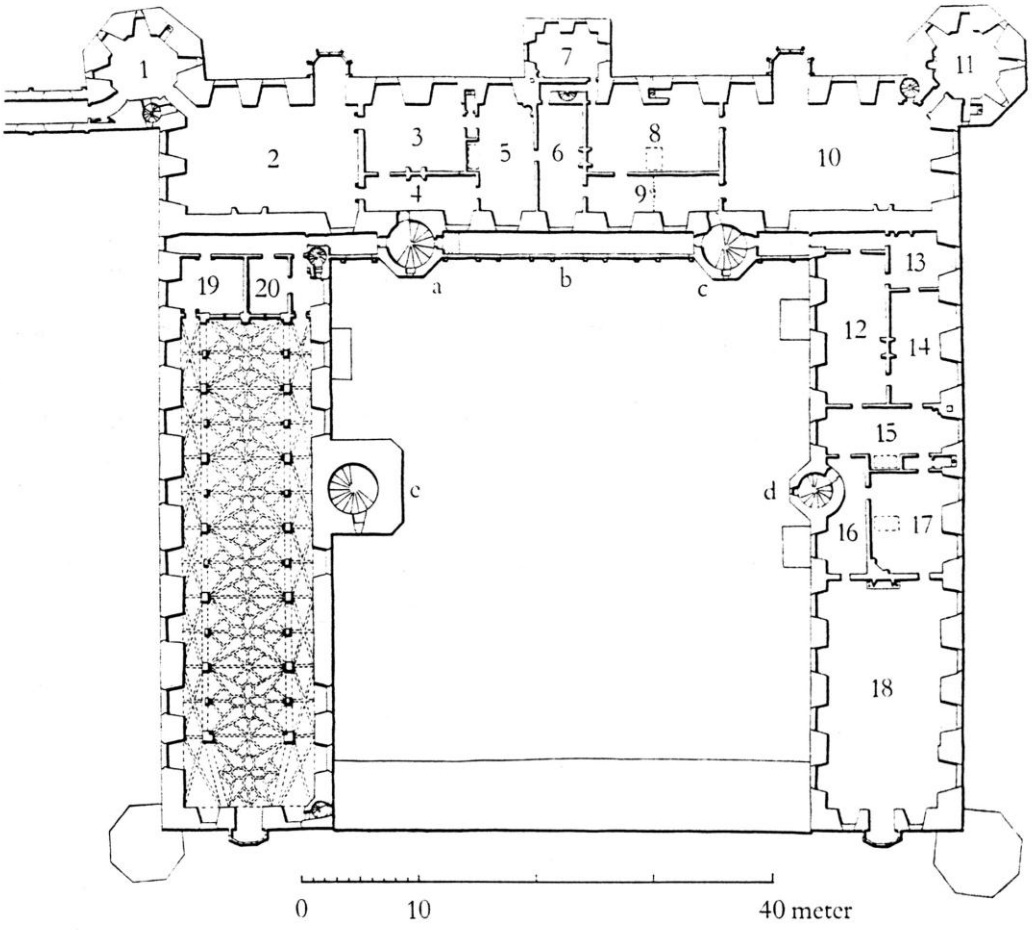


Fig. 37
Reconstructed plan of the first floor of Frederiskborg Palace. The private rooms of the king and queen were in the central block: room no. 2 was the king's summer parlour (with privy passage on the left) and room no. 10 was the queen's winter parlour, with their innermost chambers in between. The left wing contains the upper part of the chapel and the right wing was lodgings, probably used by guests or the royal children.
[*source: Harald Langberg*, Danmarks Bygningskultur
en Historisk Oversight *(1955*)]

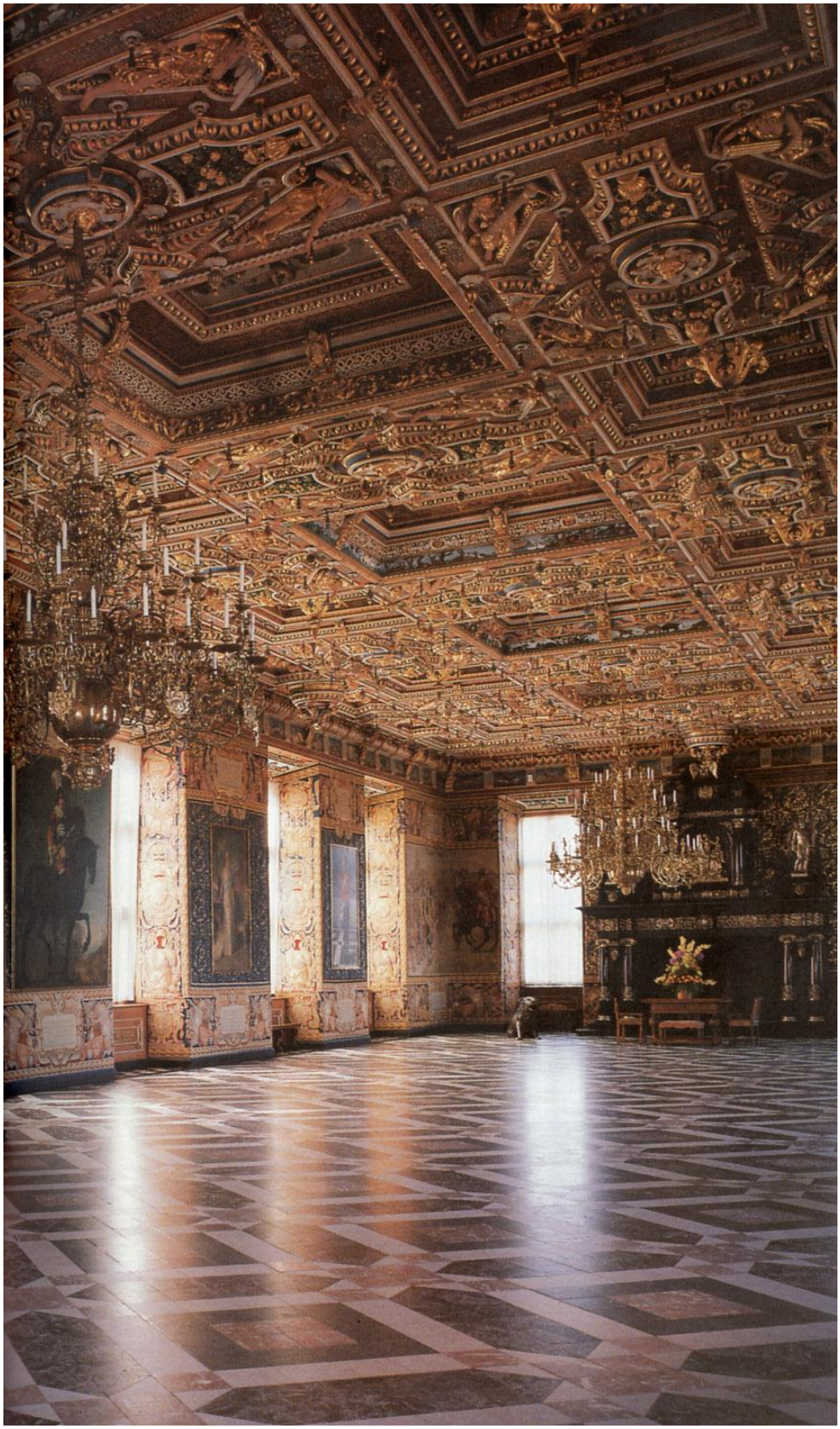


Fig. 38
Interior of the second-floor great hall (ballroom) at Frederiksborg Palace, recreated to the original seventeenth-century design after a fire of 1859
[*source: ed. Søren Mentz,* A Short Guide to Frederiksborg Museum *(2003)*]

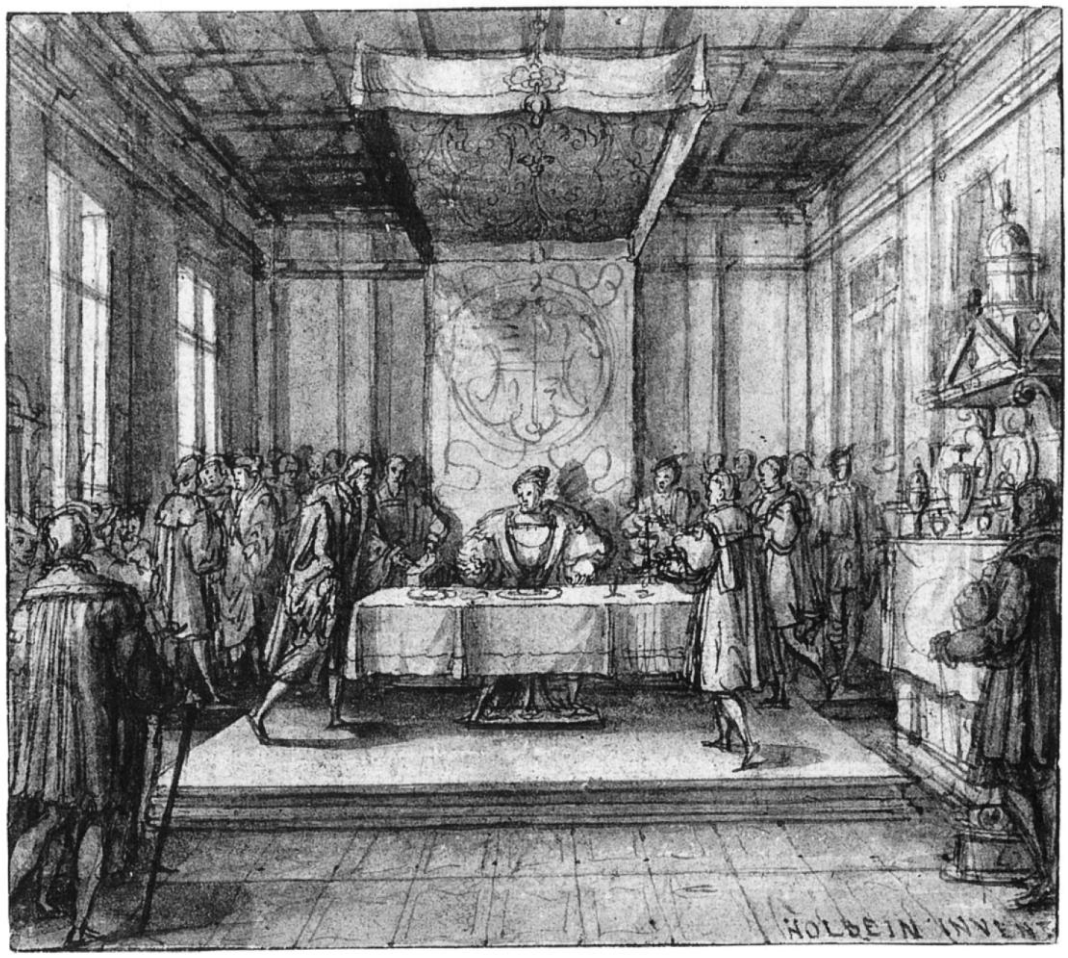


Fig. 39
A drawing, probably dating from the late sixteenth century, showing Henry VIII dining in the privy chamber, served by his gentlemen. The King is seated on a dais, beneath a canopy; a buffet is shown on the right of the room.
[*source: Simon Thurley,* The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547 *(1993), from the original in the British Museum*]

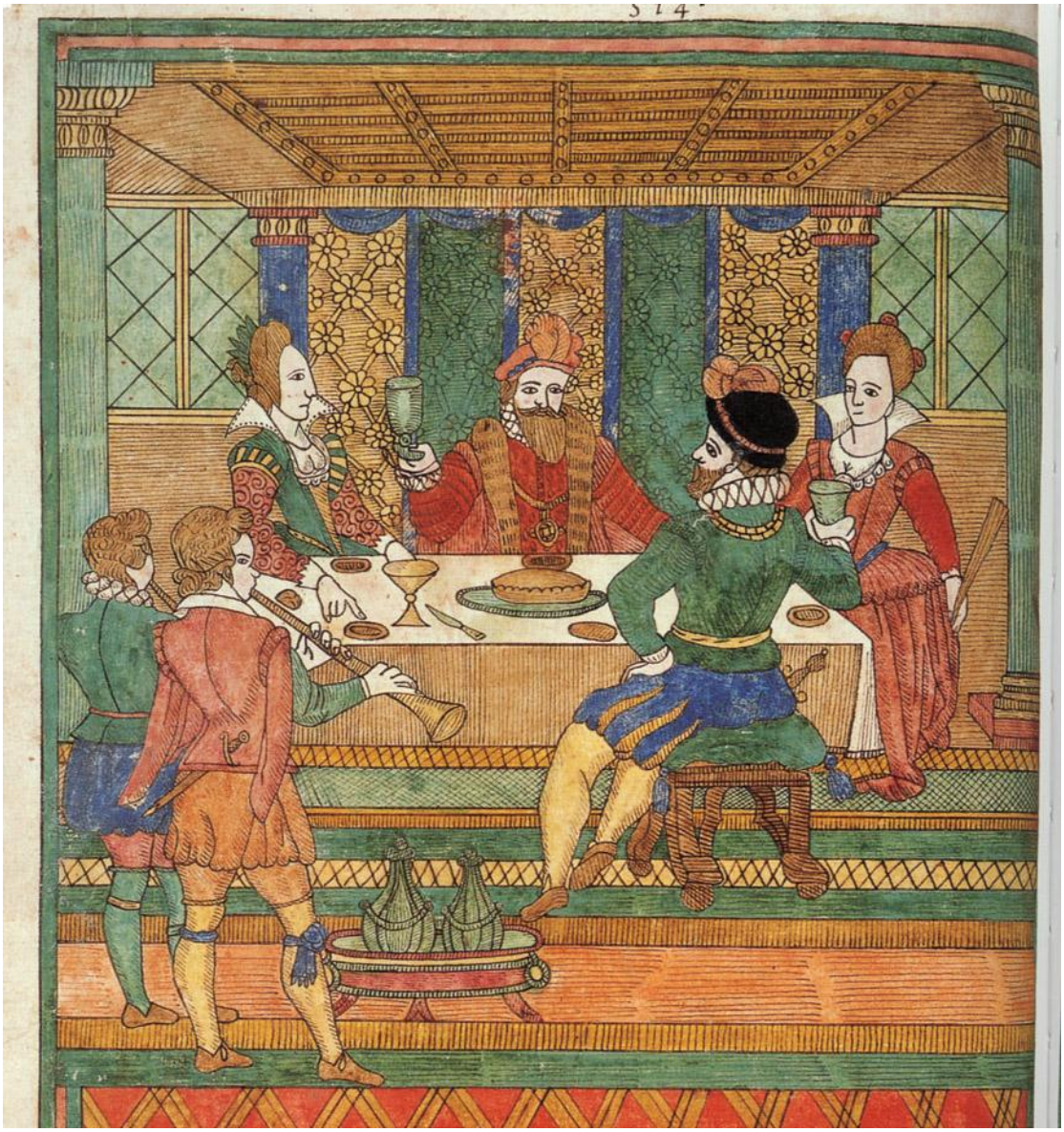


Fig. 40
'The Rich Man at Dinner', from Thomas Trevelyon's *Miscellany* (1616).
The nobleman is seated at the centre of the table, and he and his guests (or family members) are entertained by musicians.
[*source: reproduced in Anthony Wells-Cole*, Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England *(1997)*]

Fig. 41
Interior of the High Great Chamber at Hardwick (New) Hall, built in 1591-7 by Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, and still containing many of its original furnishings. The room's chimneypiece is surmounted by the royal arms, while the elaborate plaster frieze depicts Diana and the hunt, an obvious allusion to Queen Elizabeth I.
[*collections of the National Trust*]

Fig. 42
Portrait of James I seated on a typical great (or X-frame) chair, contained within the Leicester Gallery at Knole, with a contemporary example of such a chair (and a matching stool) in the foreground
[*source: Geoffrey Beard,* Upholsterers and Interior Furnishing in England, 1530-1840 *(1997), from collections of the National Trust*]

Fig. 43
The Spangle Bedroom at Knole, in the east range, adjacent to the Brown Gallery and Leicester Gallery. The room's furnishings, probably royal in provenance, are thought to date from the early Stuart period, and provide a good example of the contents of such chambers in royal and high-status houses.
[*source: Geoffrey Beard,* Upholsters and Interior Furnishing in England, 1530-1840 *(1997), from collections of the National Trust*]

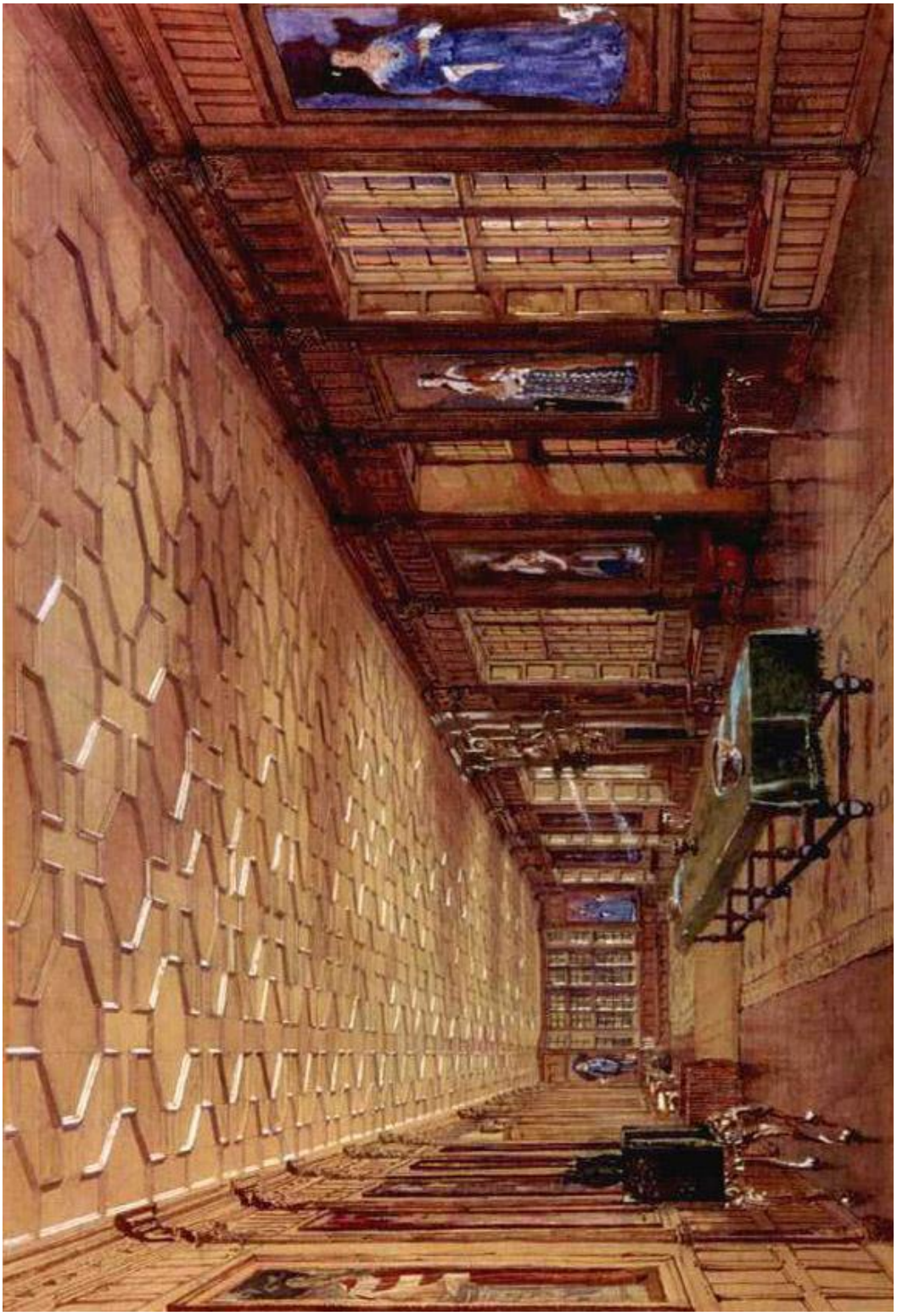


Fig. 44
The long gallery at Apethorpe Hall in a painting of c. 1846 by Bradford Rudge. The room was in an unfinished state at the time of the visit of James I in 1624; the panelling was put up later in the 1620s and the gallery was fitted with portraits of members of the Fane family between 1624 and 1640.
[*reproduced courtesy of the Northamptonshire Record Society*]

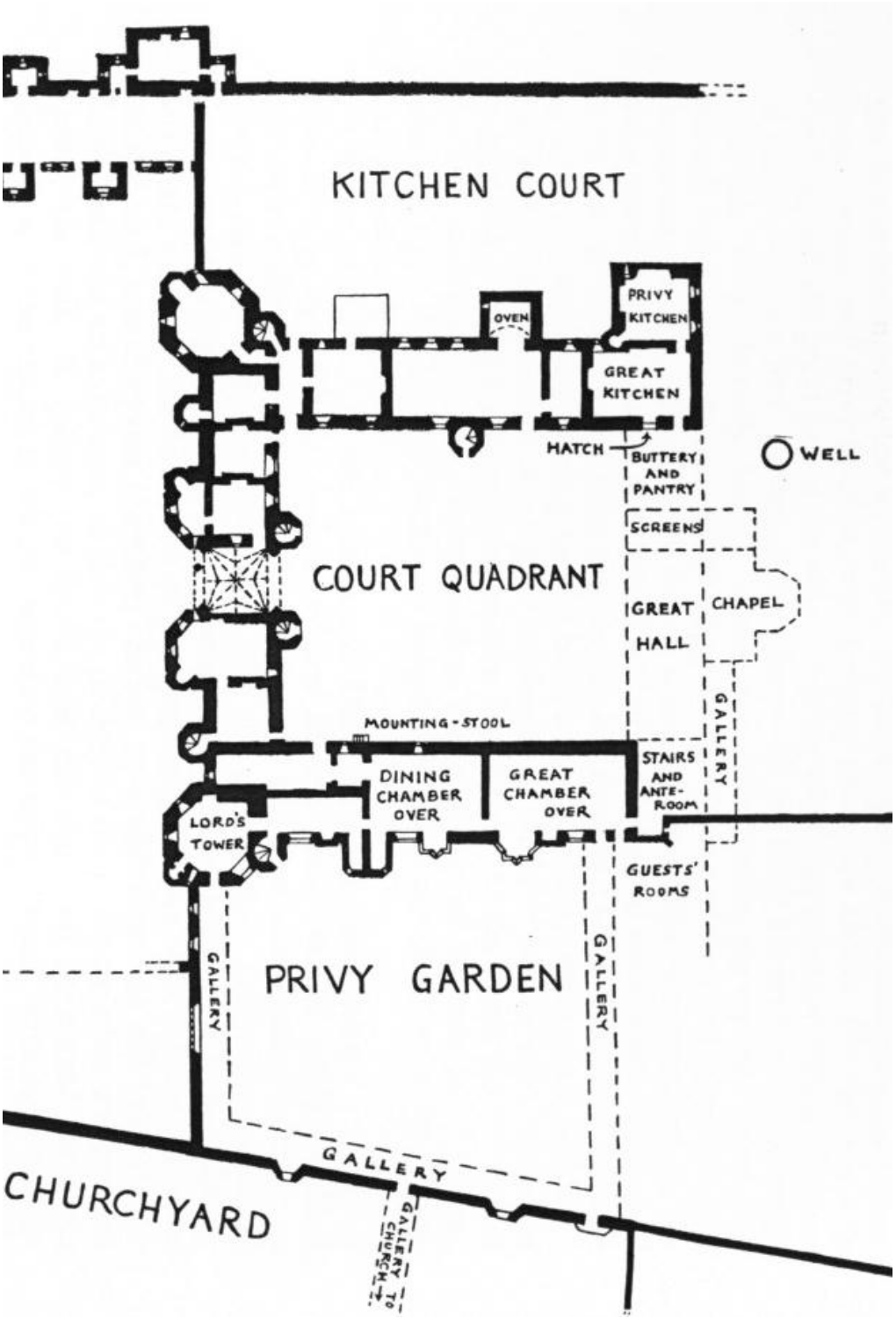


Fig. 45

General plan of Thornbury Castle, built in 1507/8-21. The house featured two state apartments in the south range of the main court – the principal suite (used by the Duke of Buckingham) at first-floor level, and the secondary suite (used by the Duchess of Buckingham) below. A gallery ran between the outer and inner ends of the suites, via the parish church.

[*source: W. Douglas Simpson, '"Bastard Feudalism" and the Later Castles',* Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 26 (1946)*]

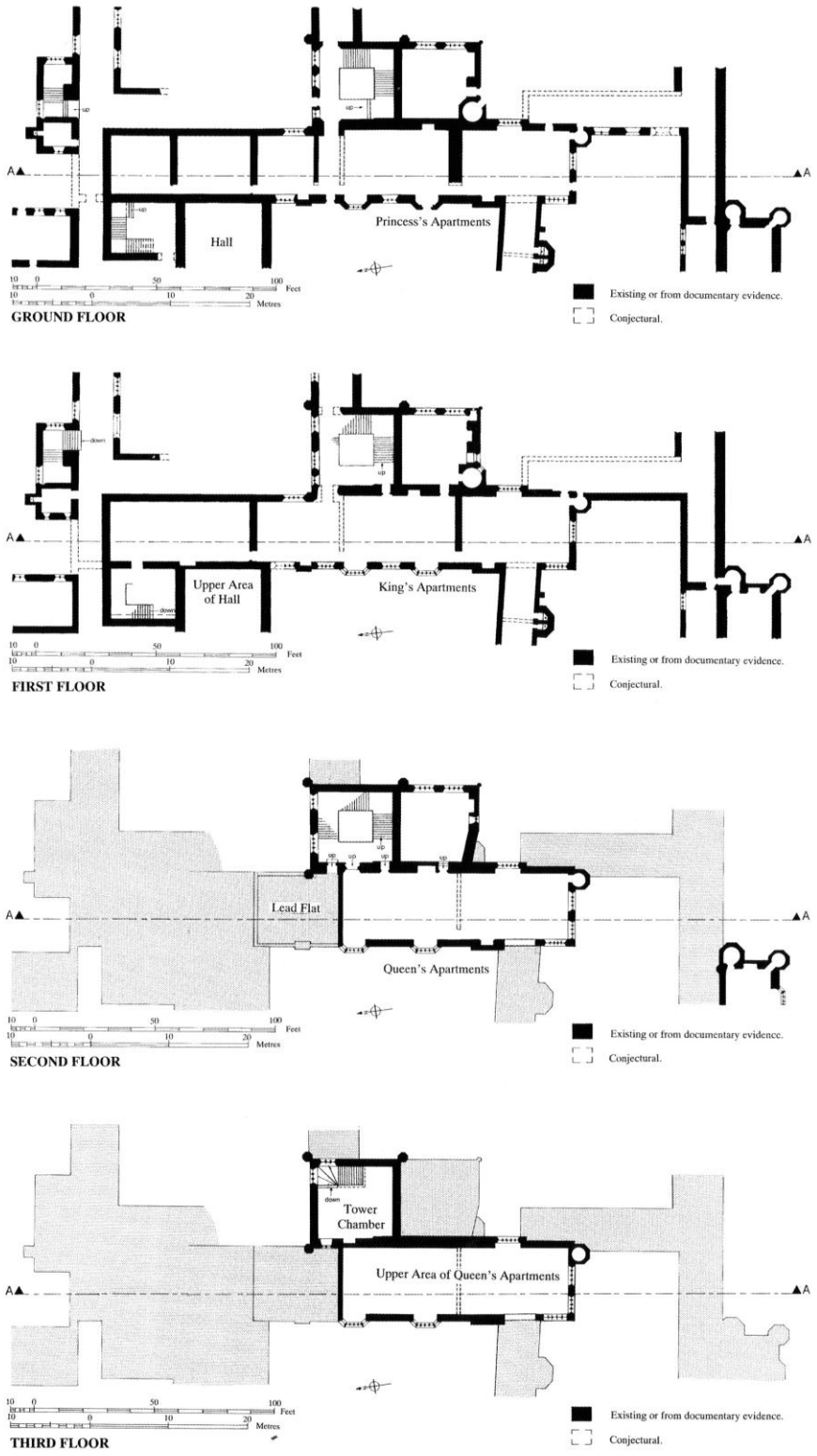


Fig. 46
Plan showing the stacked apartments at Hampton Court, as rebuilt by Cardinal Wolsey in 1514-29. The principal (king's) suite was at first-floor level, with the queen's rooms above.
[*source: Simon Thurley,* Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History *(2003)*]

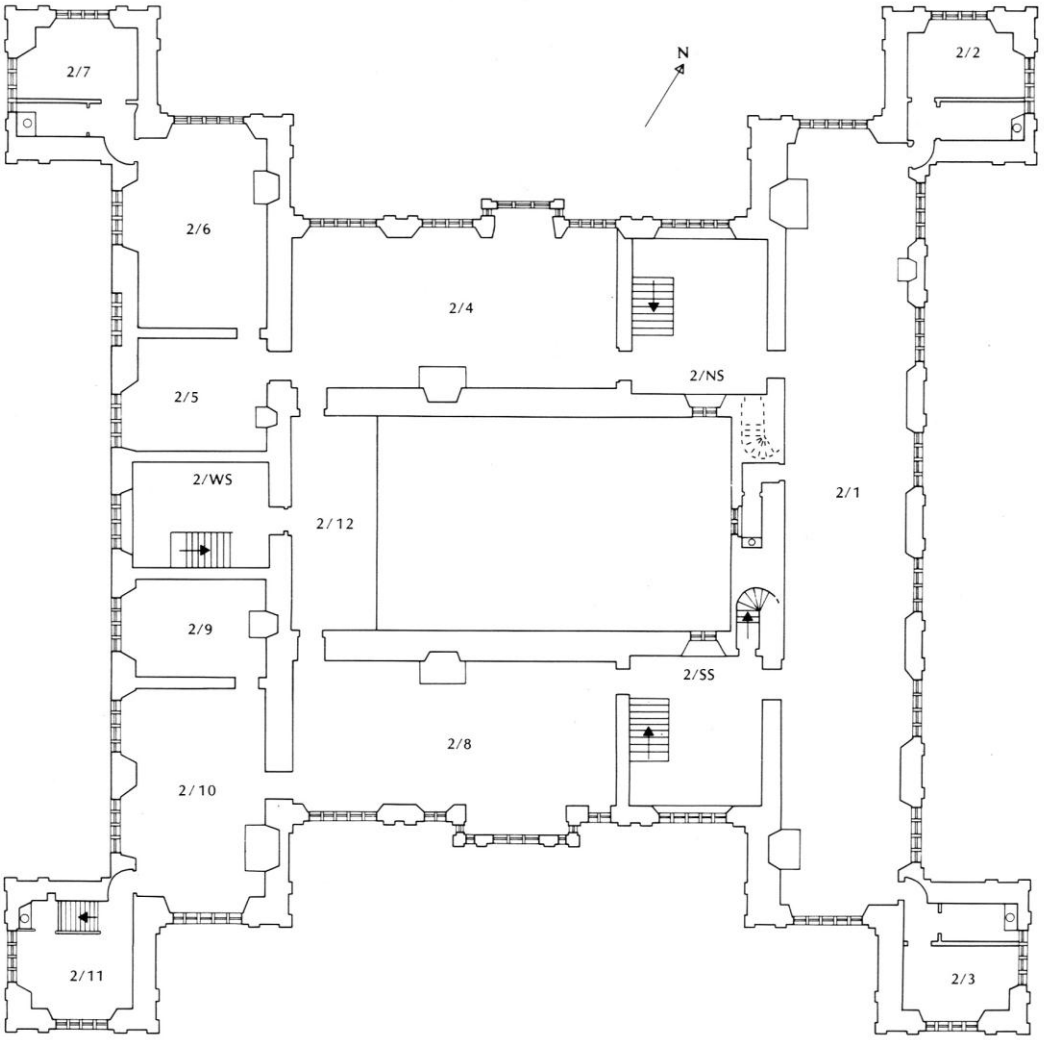


Fig. 47

Reconstructed plan of the first floor of Wollaton Hall, built in 1580-88, showing the symmetrical state apartments. Each suite included great chamber (rooms 2/8 and 2/4), withdrawing chamber (rooms 2/9 and 2/5), bedchamber (rooms 2/10 and 2/6), and inner chamber or closet (rooms 2/11 and 2/7). The apartments shared a back staircase (2/WS) and a long gallery (2/1).
[*source: Pamela Marshall,* Wollaton Hall: An Archaeological Survey *(1996)*]

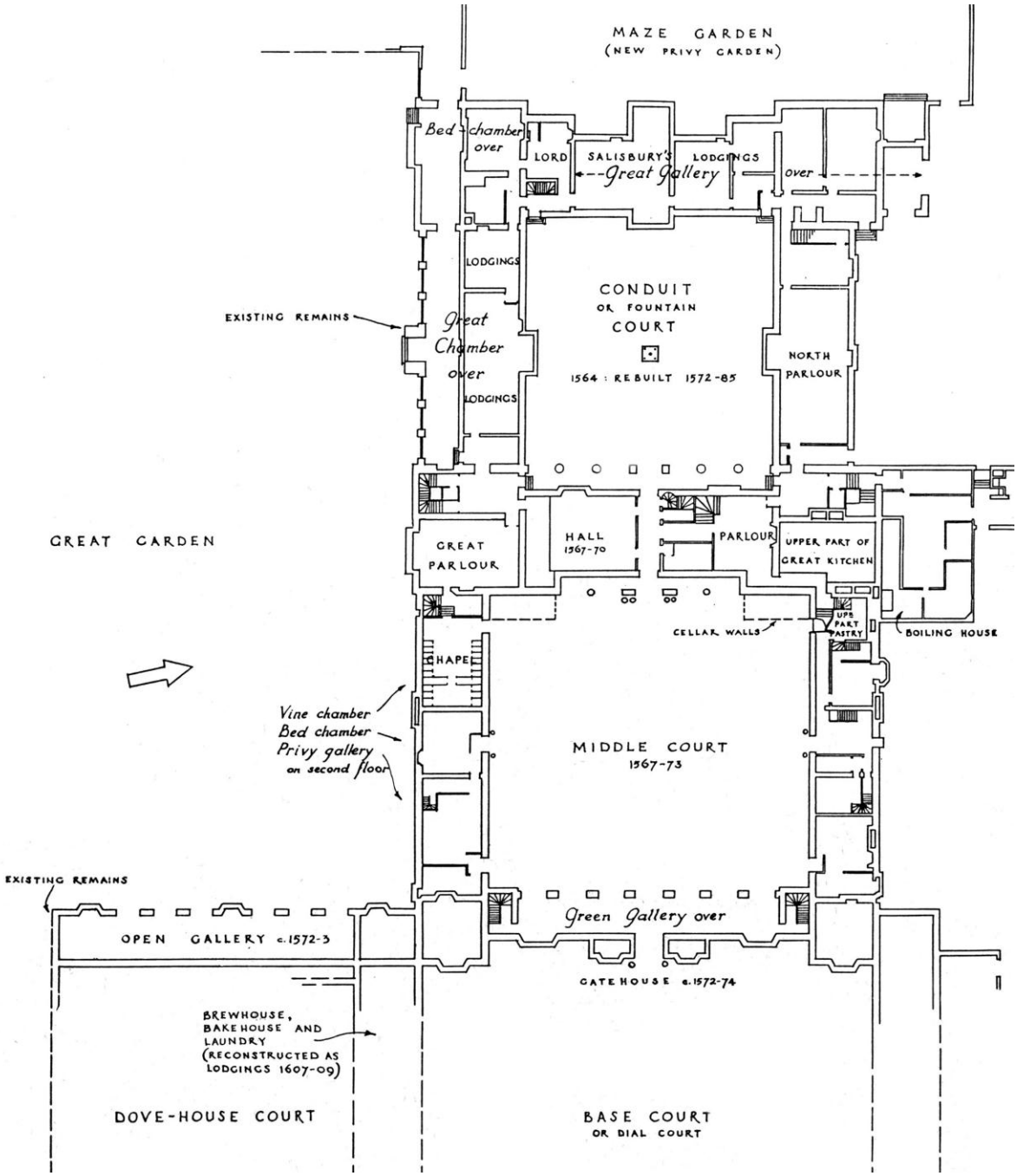


Fig. 48
John Summerson's reconstruction of the plan of Theobalds, rebuilt by Lord Burghley between 1564 and 1585
[*source: J. Summerson, 'The Building of Theobalds, 1564-1585',* Archaeologia*, vol. 97 (1959)*]

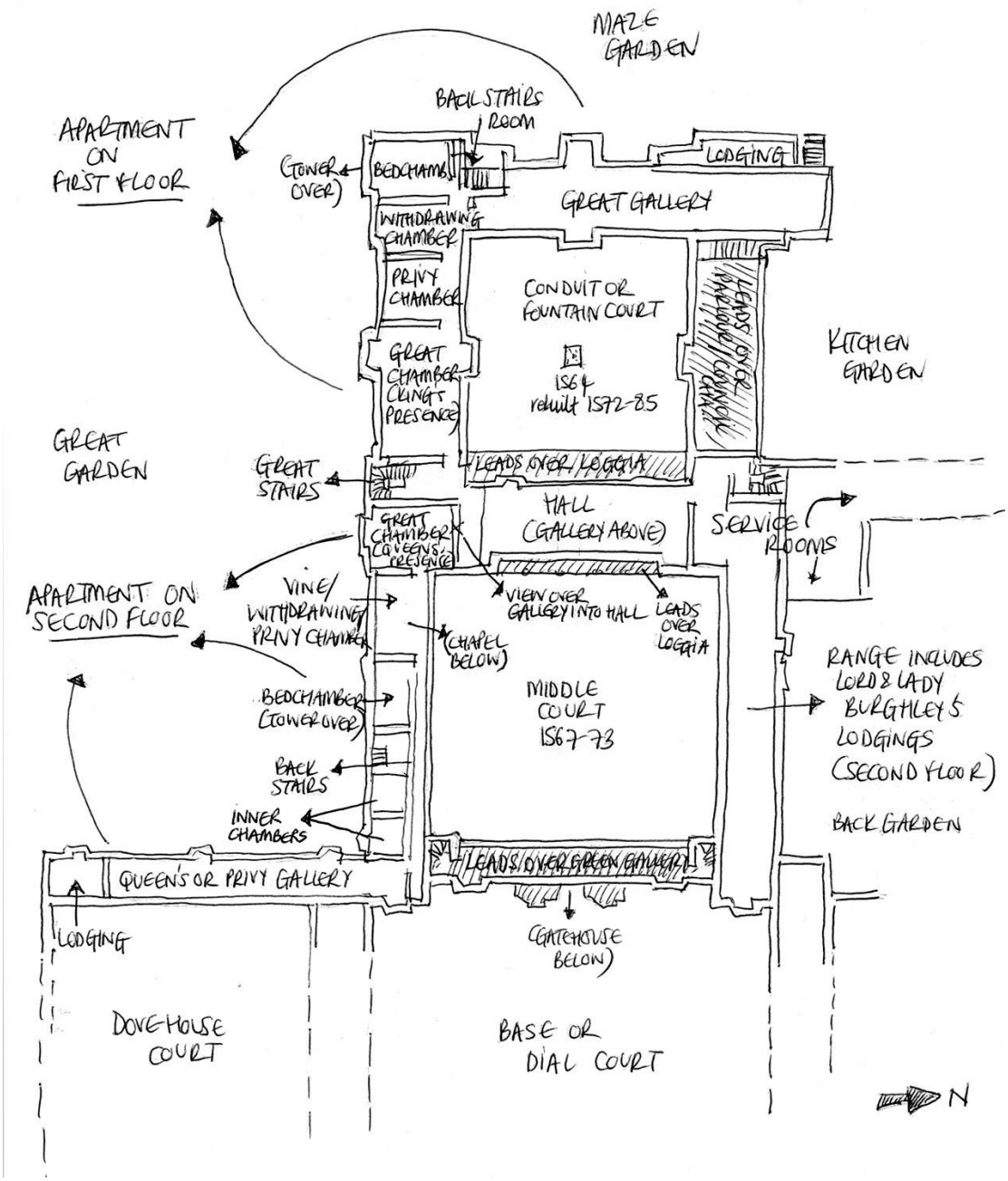


Fig. 49

Rough reconstruction of the arrangement of the state apartments at Theobalds, which were divided by the level of a floor. That used by Queen Elizabeth was on the south of the middle court, while that later used by the King was on the south and west of the Conduit Court. Although there is some primary evidence, many of the details of the plan are based on hypothesis, especially the arrangements of the inner areas of the state suites.

[*drawing by Emily Cole, based on John Summerson's outline plan in 'The Building of Theobalds, 1564-1585',* Archaeologia*, vol. 97 (1959)*]

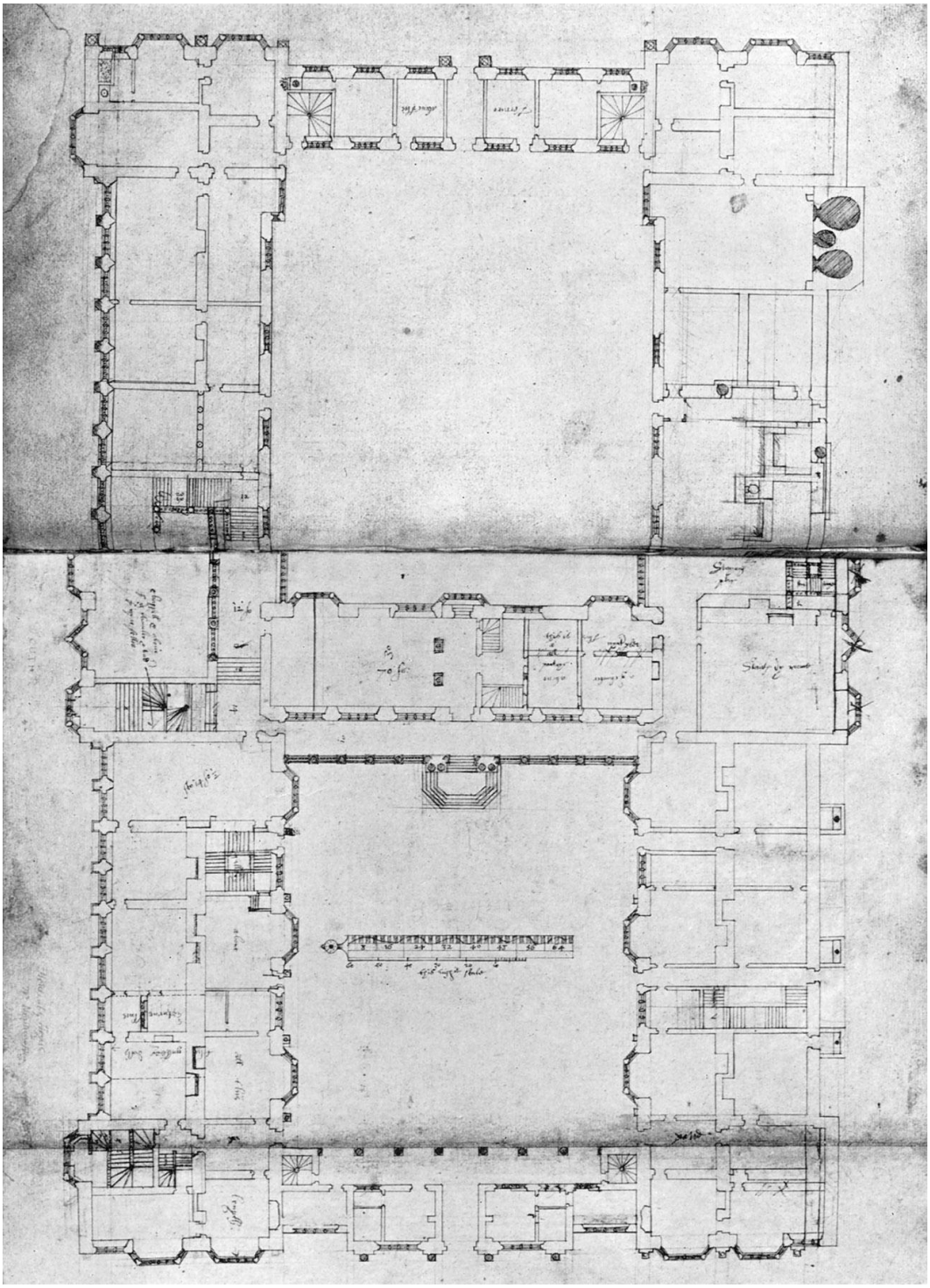


Fig. 50
John Thorpe's ground-floor plan of Holdenby, built by Sir Christopher Hatton in 1571-83. The drawing is thought to date from c. 1607, when the house became a royal palace. Annotations on the plan refer to the location of certain rooms, including a T-shaped long gallery in the south (left) range of the principal (lower) court.
[*source: John Summerson, 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum',* Walpole Society*, vol. 40 (1966) reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum*]

Fig. 51
Exterior of Hardwick (New) Hall, built in 1591-7. The state rooms are at second-floor level.
[*collections of the National Trust*]

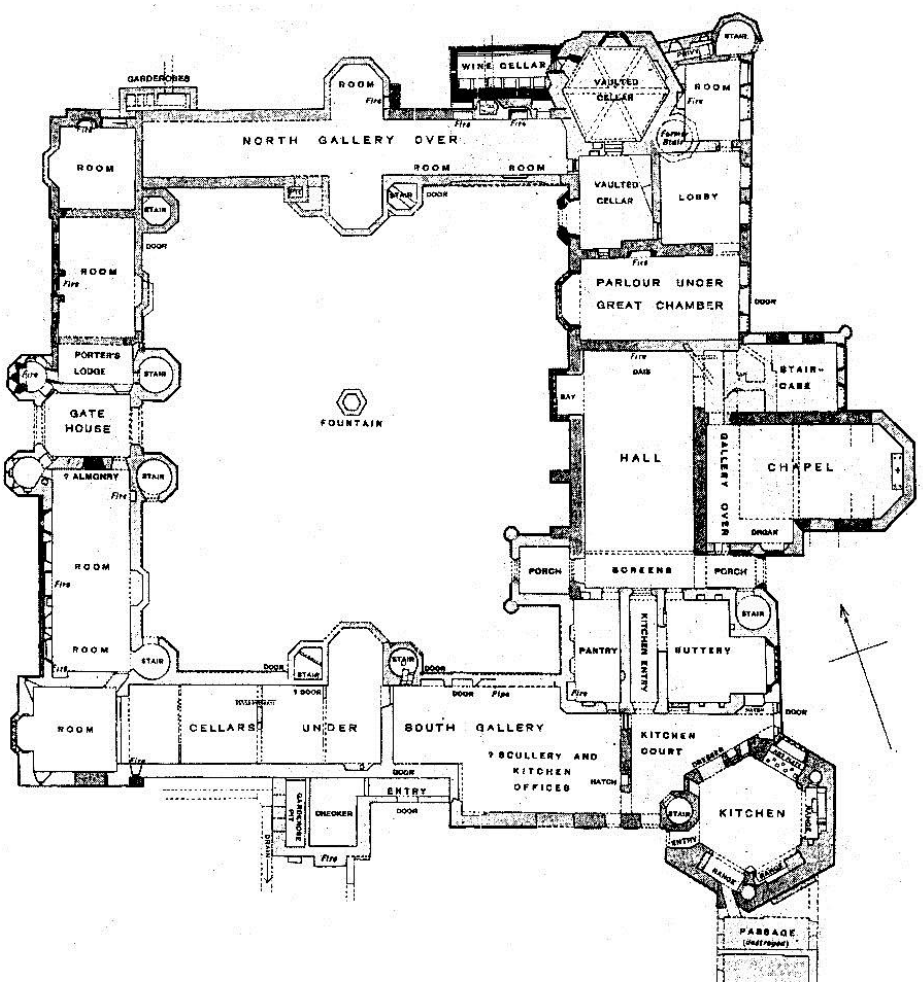


Fig. 52
Phased plan of Cowdray, built c. 1520-30, and rebuilt c. 1535-42 and 1554-92
[*source: W. H. St John Hope,* Cowdray and Easebourne Priory *(1919)*]

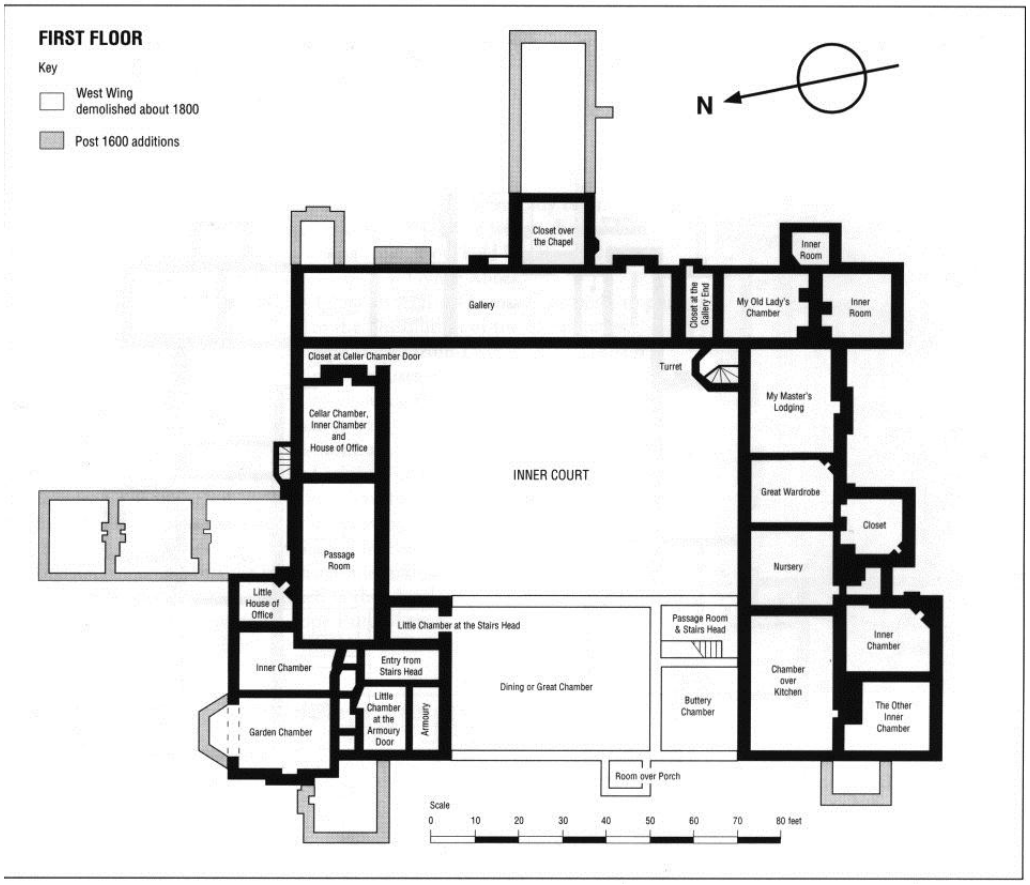


Fig. 53
Reconstruction of the plan of the first floor of Ingatestone Hall, built c. 1540-5
[*source:* Ingatestone Hall: Guidebook *(c. 1999)*]

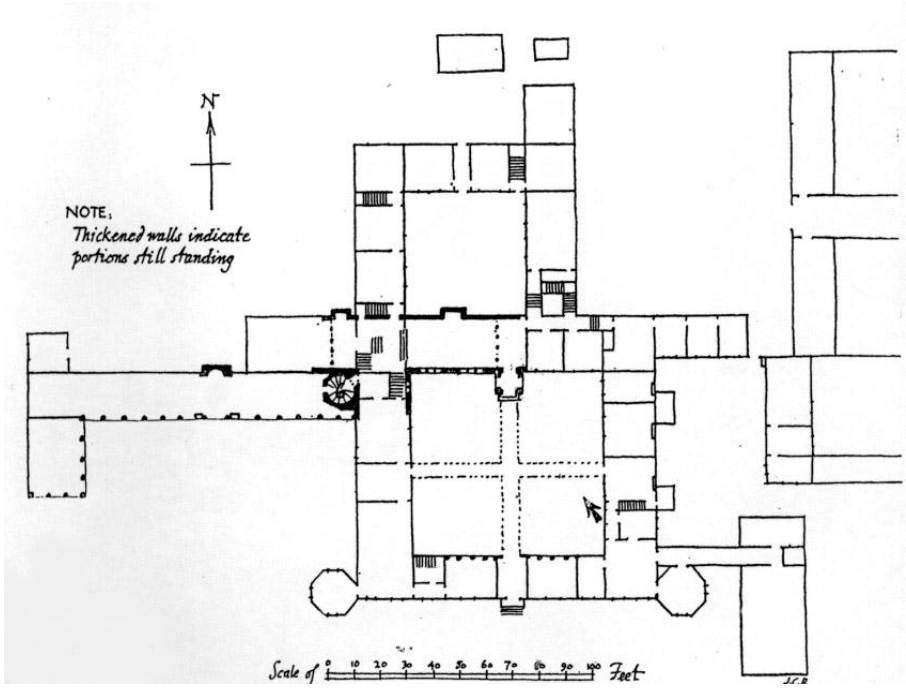


Fig. 54
Ground-floor plan of Gorhambury, built 1563-68 and extended in c. 1572 with the addition of the gallery range (on the west; at the high end of the hall)
[*source: Charlotte Grimston,* The History of Gorhambury *(1821)*]

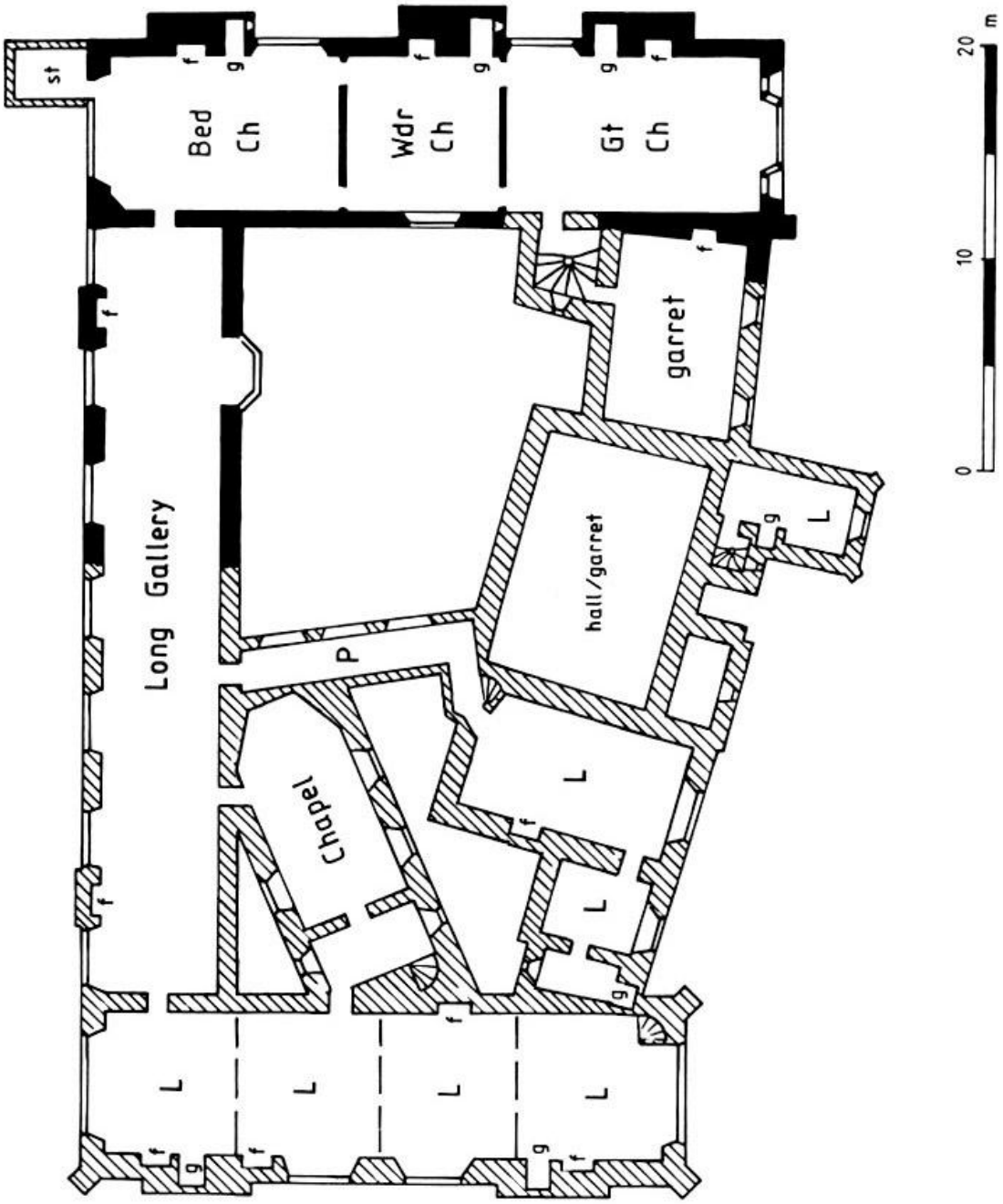


Fig. 55
Reconstructed plan of the first floor of Acton Court, with the state block (built c. 1535) on the far east (right). The long gallery range, on the north, was added slightly later, in the late 1540s. The key is as follows: L: lodgings; g: garderobe; f: fireplace; p: passage; st: stairs. The areas in black represent the portions of the house that survive. [*source: Kirsty Rodwell and Robert Bell,* Acton Court: The evolution of an early Tudor courtier's house *(2004)*]

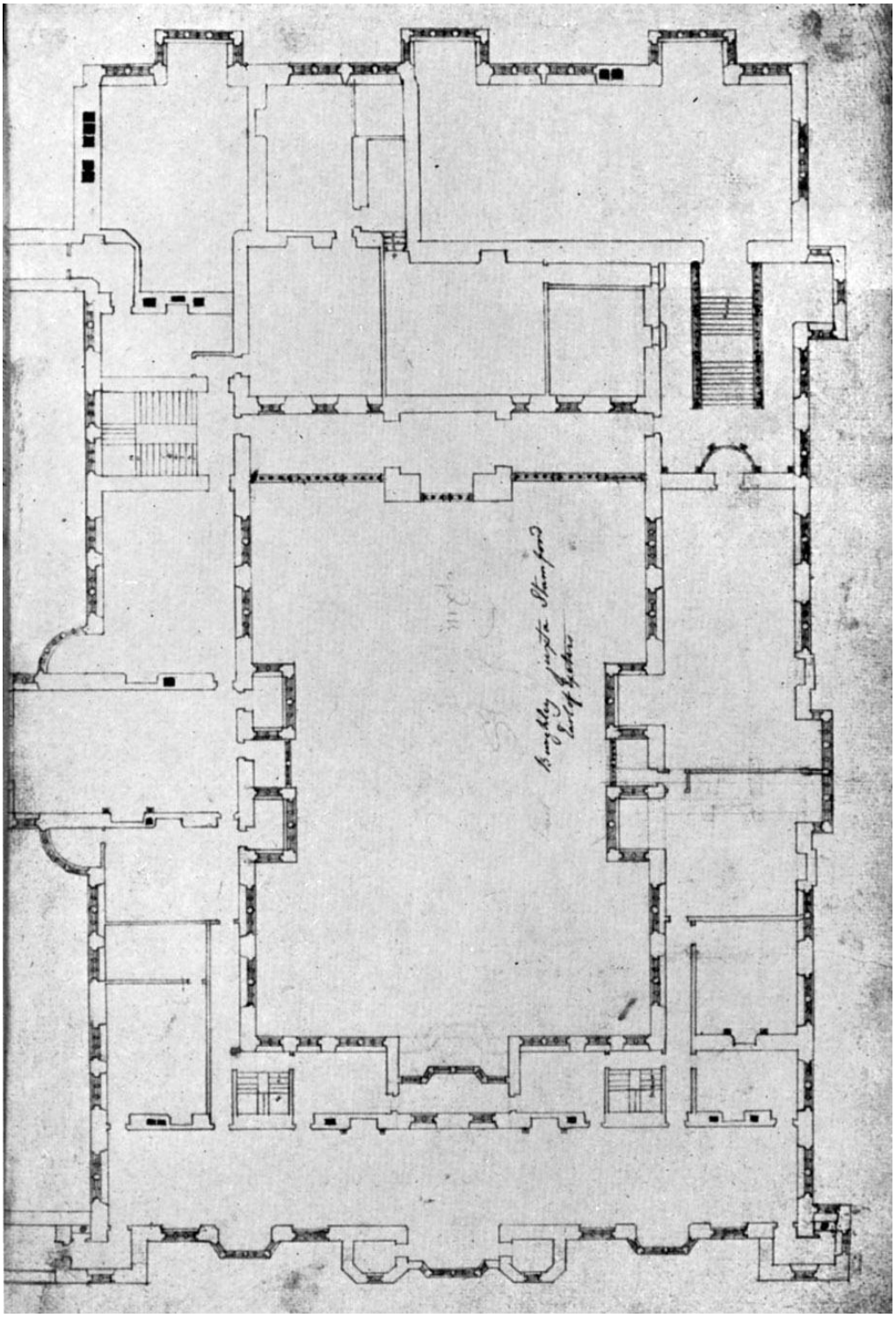


Fig. 56
John Thorpe's plan of the first floor of Burghley House. The drawing dates from 1606-7 and is thought to show the house as rebuilt in 1573-88. The great staircase and state apartment are on the right (south), at the high end of the hall, with a long gallery in the west range. There seems to have been a great apartment (almost certainly for the use of Lord Burghley) in the north range.
[*source: John Summerson, 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum',* Walpole Society, *vol. 40 (1966), reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum*]

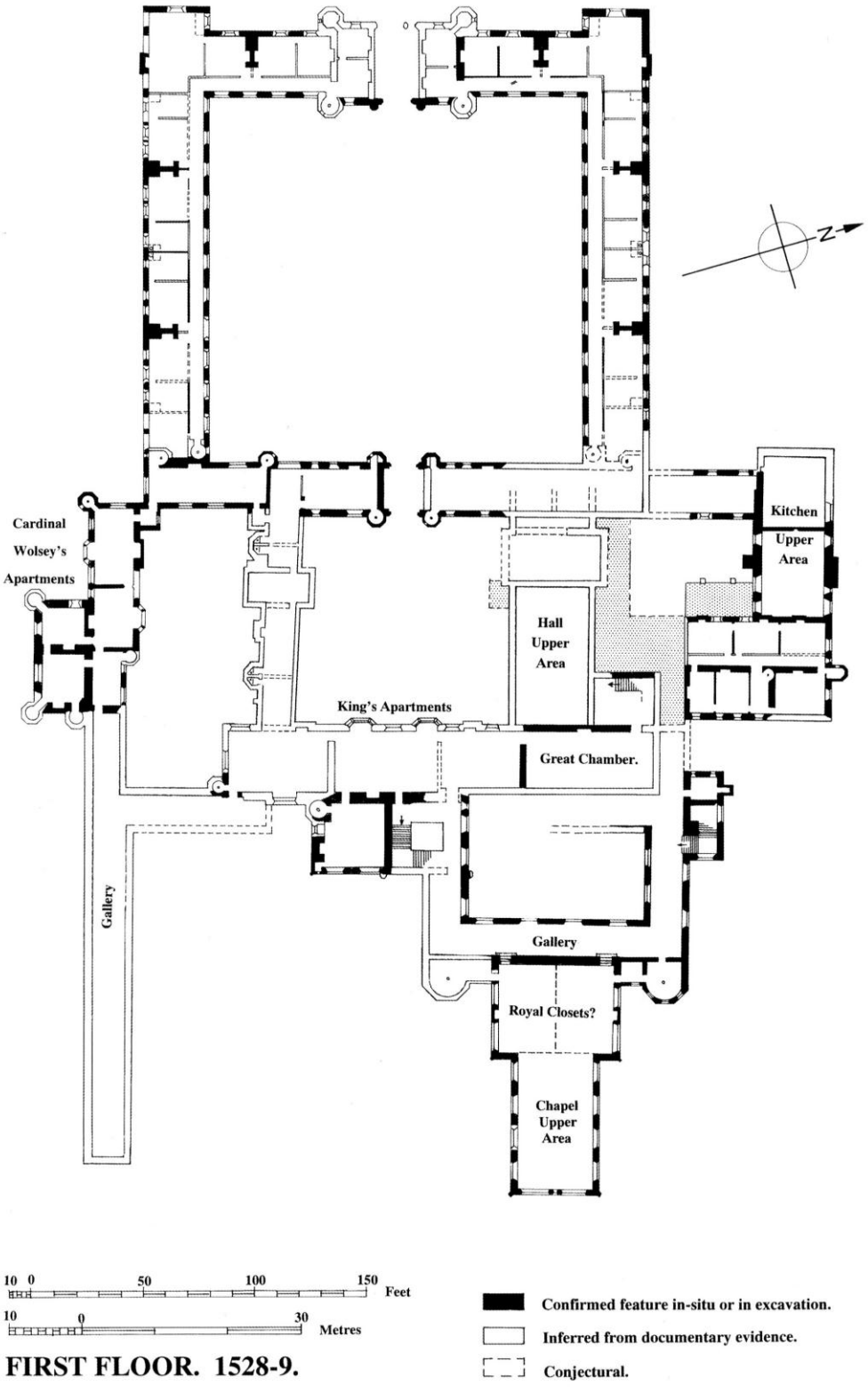


Fig. 57
Reconstruction of the first floor of Wolsey's Hampton Court, rebuilt in 1514-29
[*source: Simon Thurley,* Hampton Court: A Social
and Architectural History *(2003)*]

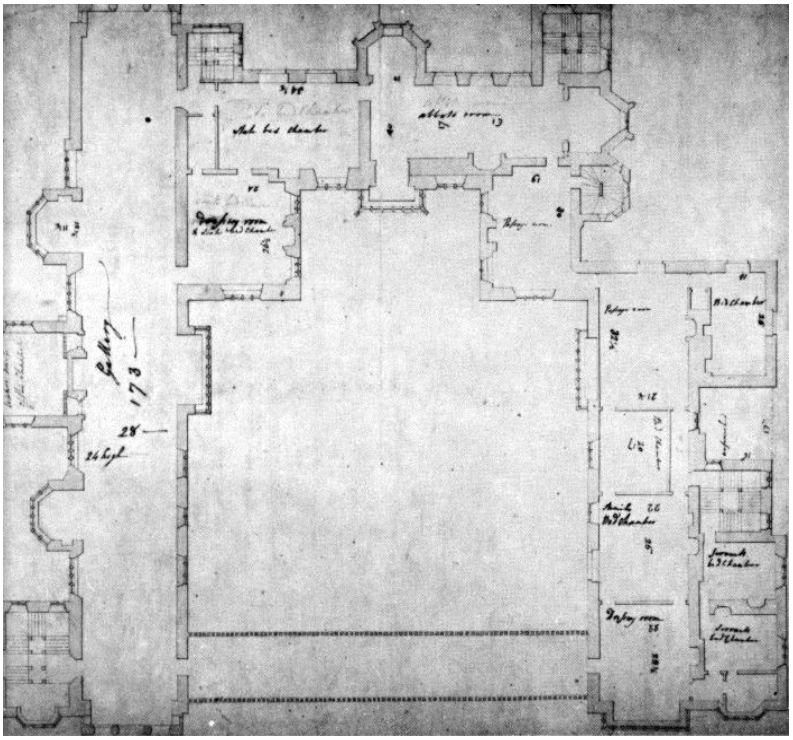


Fig. 58

First-floor plan of Copthall, probably dating from the eighteenth century but thought to show the Elizabethan arrangement of state rooms. The principal chambers of the apartment are in the central (south) range. The annotations record the rooms' use at the time the plan was drawn (i.e. abbot's room, state bedchamber, dressing room and gallery).

[*source: John Newman, 'Copthall, Essex', in ed. H. Colvin and J. Harris,* The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House *(1970), from original in the Essex Record Office*]

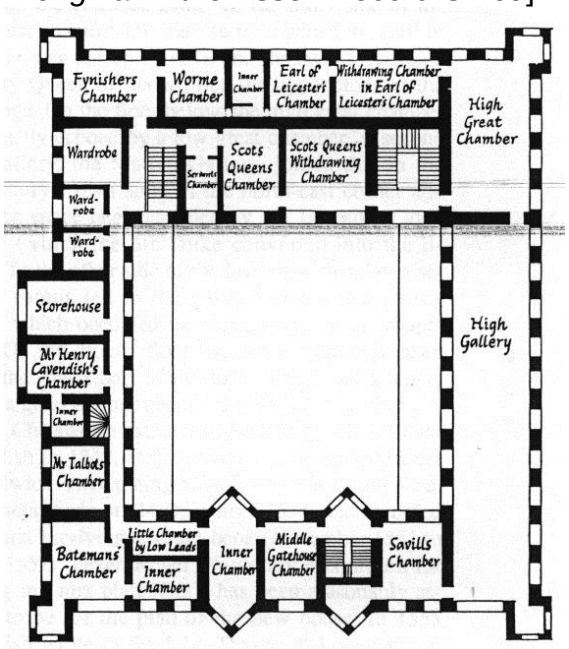


Fig. 59

Reconstruction of the plan of the second floor of Chatsworth, as rebuilt in the 1570s

[*source: Mark Girouard, 'Elizabethan Chatsworth',* Country Life*, 22 Nov. 1973*]

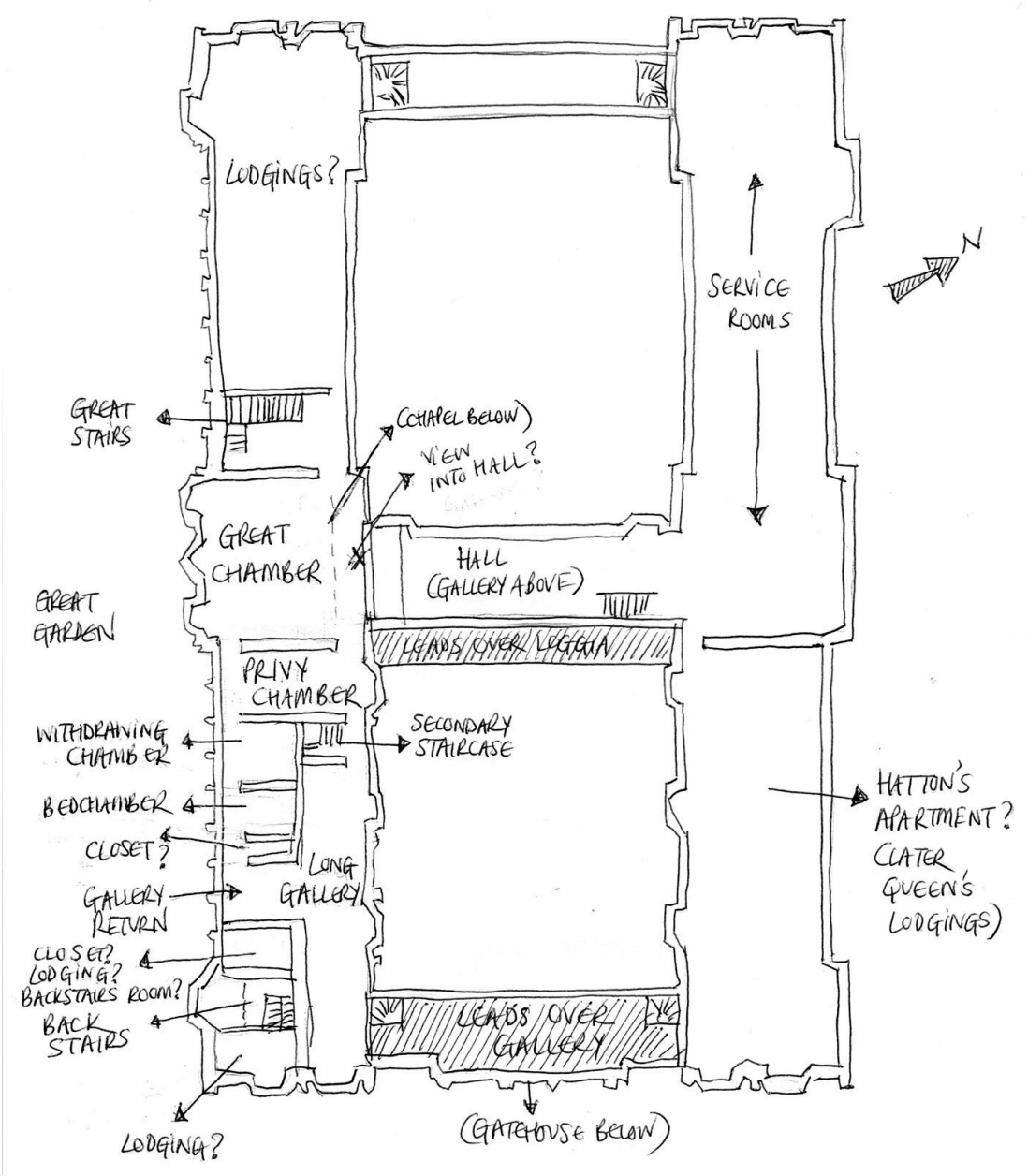


Fig. 60

Rough reconstruction of the state apartment at Holdenby. It is informed by conventional arrangements elsewhere and primary evidence, including the annotations made on John Thorpe's plan and the accounts of the Royal Works, although it remains entirely hypothetical.

[*drawing by Emily Cole, based on John Thorpe's plan*]

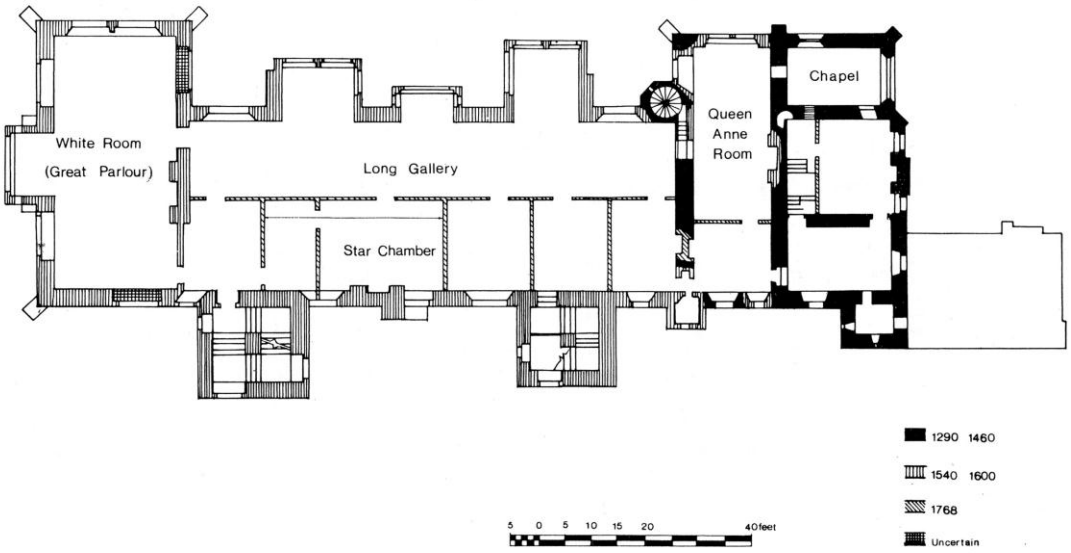


Fig. 61

Plan of the top floor of Broughton Castle, showing the work carried out in c. 1584-99. The 'White Room' was in fact the Elizabethan great chamber, and the withdrawing chamber, bedchamber and other state rooms ran along the south side of the long gallery, adjacent to the staircases.

[*source: H. Gordon Slade, 'Broughton Castle: Two Probate Inventories',* Cake and Cockhorse*, vol. 8, no. 6 (summer 1981)*]

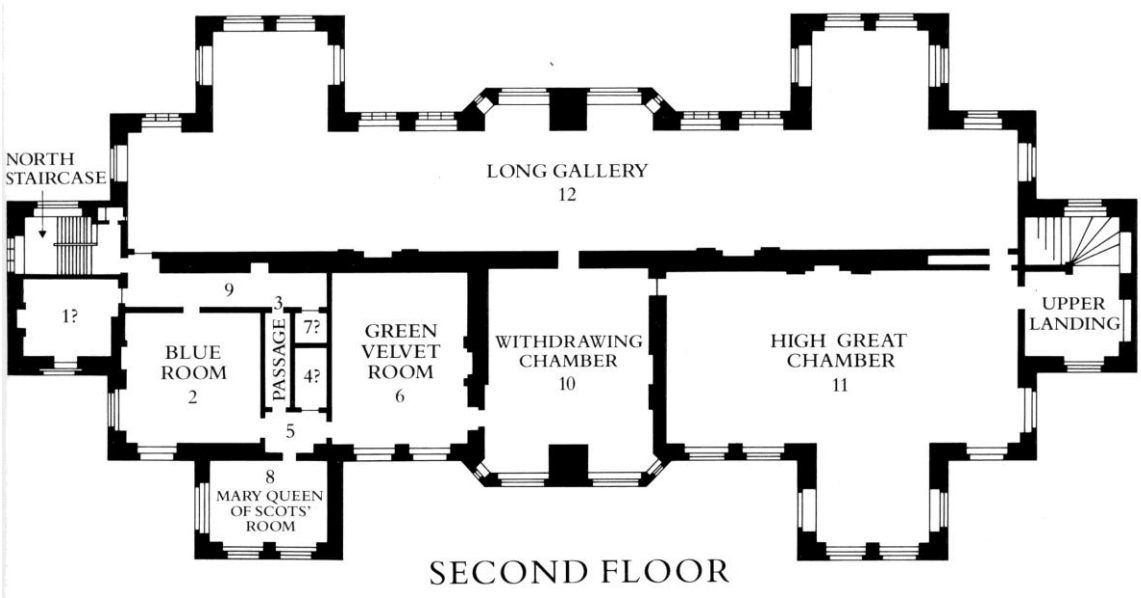


Fig. 62

Plan of the second (state) floor at Hardwick (New) Hall. The 'Green Velvet Room' was the original state bedchamber, while the 'Blue Room' seems to have functioned as a secondary state bedchamber. What is now 'Mary Queen of Scots' Room' probably served originally as a closet.

[*source:* Hardwick Hall *(National Trust guidebook, 2006)*]

Fig. 63
Interior of the long gallery at Hatfield House, built in 1607-12, with the ceiling created by James Leigh, the King's Master Plasterer.
It was not originally gilded.
[*photograph by Kathryn Morrison, reproduced courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House*]

Fig. 64
Detail of the overmantel in the principal (king's) great chamber at Hatfield House, showing the statue of James I. The overmantel is the work of Maximilian Colt, Master Sculptor to the King.
[*photograph by Kathryn Morrison, reproduced courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House*]

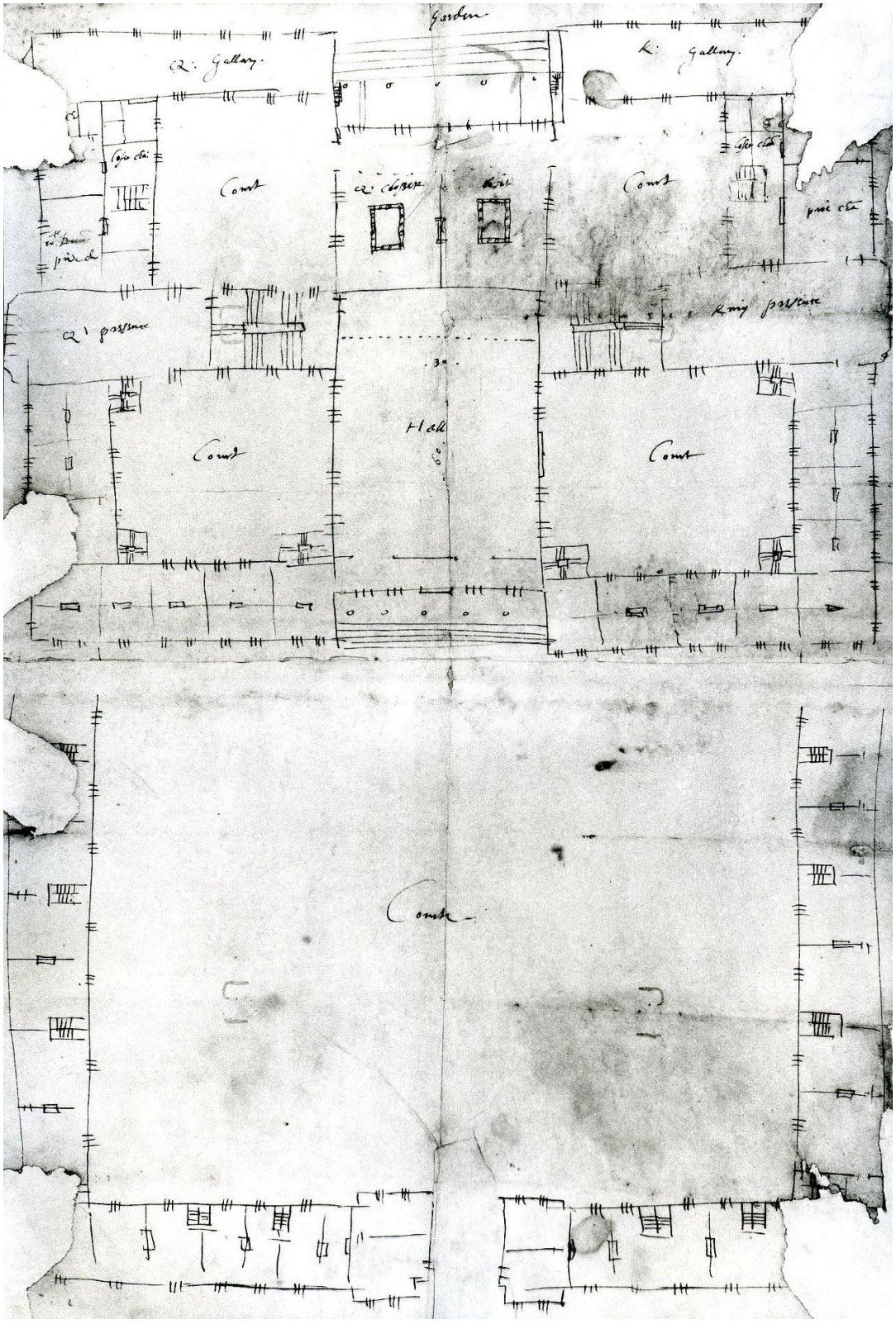


Fig. 65

Sketch plan, dated 1605, in the collections at Hatfield House (CPM Supp. 37 [CP III/I]). It is almost certainly the work of Simon Basil and is believed to represent a proposal for the new royal palace at Ampthill. The queen's side is on the left, and the king's on the right. Most of the state rooms are named. [*reproduced courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House*]

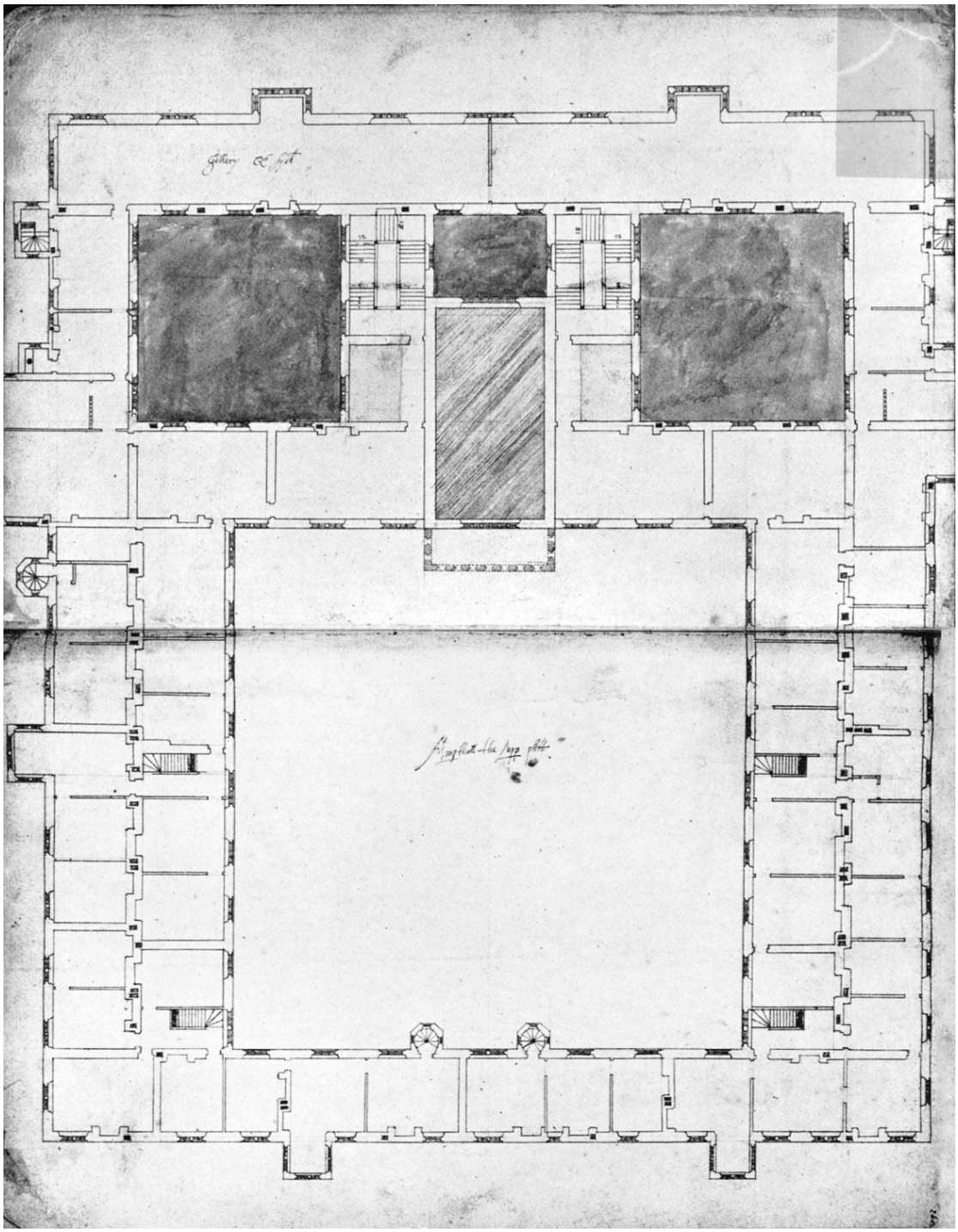


Fig. 66
John Thorpe's first-floor plan of the proposed palace at Ampthill.
The queen's side is on the left, and the king's on the right.
[*source: John Summerson, 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum',* Walpole Society, *vol. 40 (1966), reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum*]

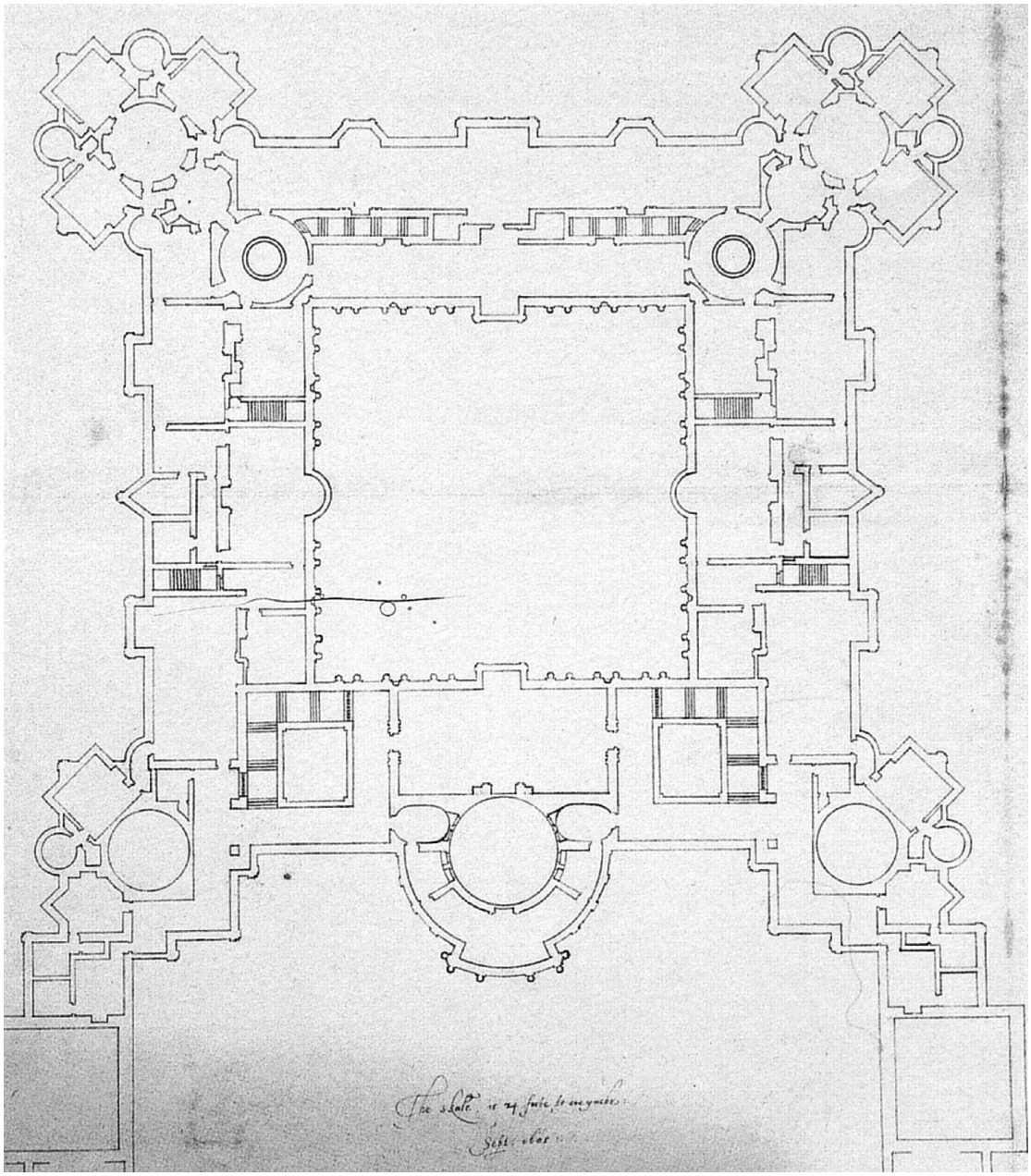


Fig. 67
First-floor plan thought to depict the proposed palace at Ampthill, in the collections at Hatfield House (CPM II/17). This and the associated ground-floor plan are dated September 1605.
[*source: Mark Girouard,* Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640 *(2009), reproduced courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House*]

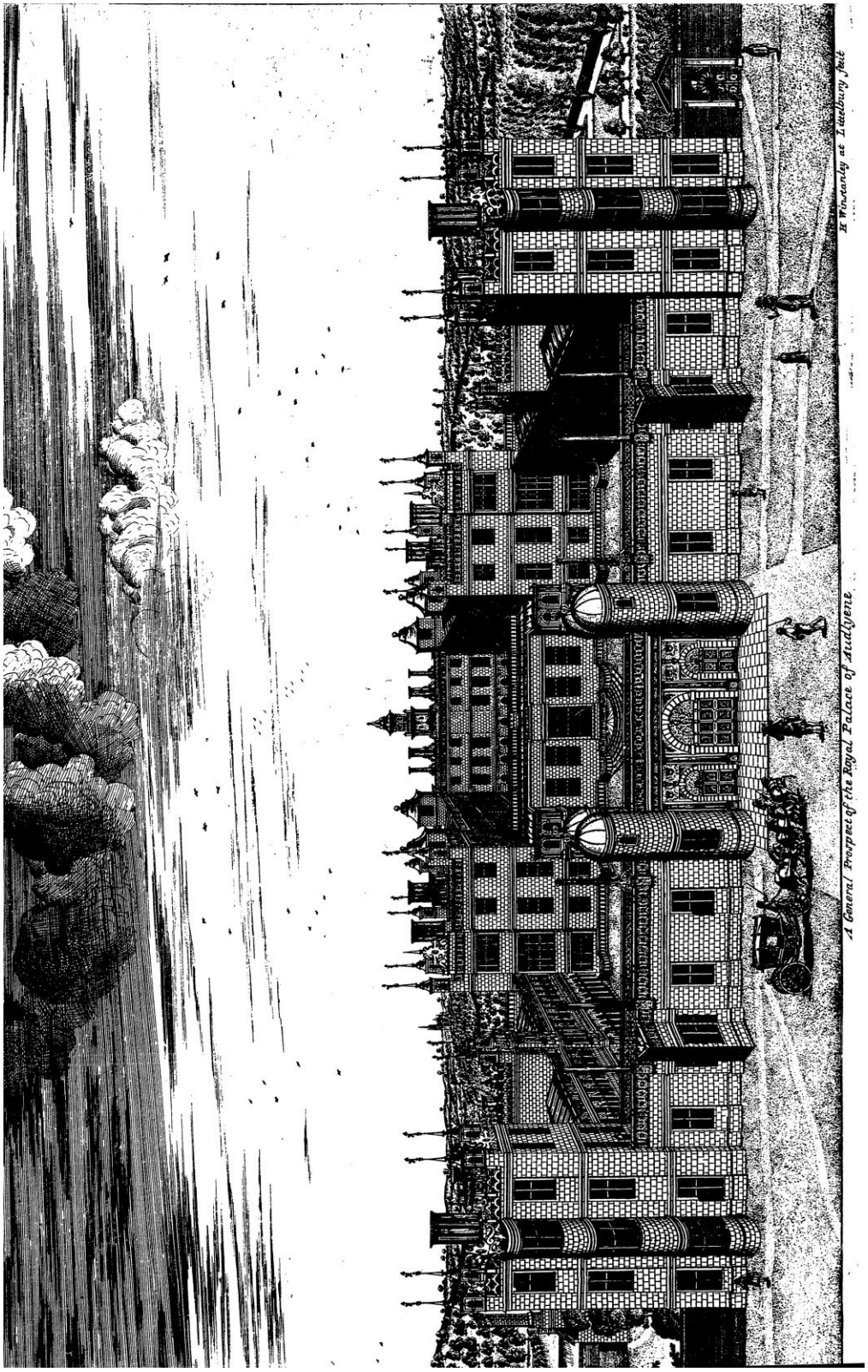


Fig. 68
A late seventeenth-century view showing Audley End from the west. The outer court (in the foreground) is thought to have been added in a second phase of building (c. 1609-14), the house having been begun in c. 1604.
[*source: Henry Winstanley,* Book of Ground Platts, Generall and Particular Prospects of … Audley End *(c. 1688)*]

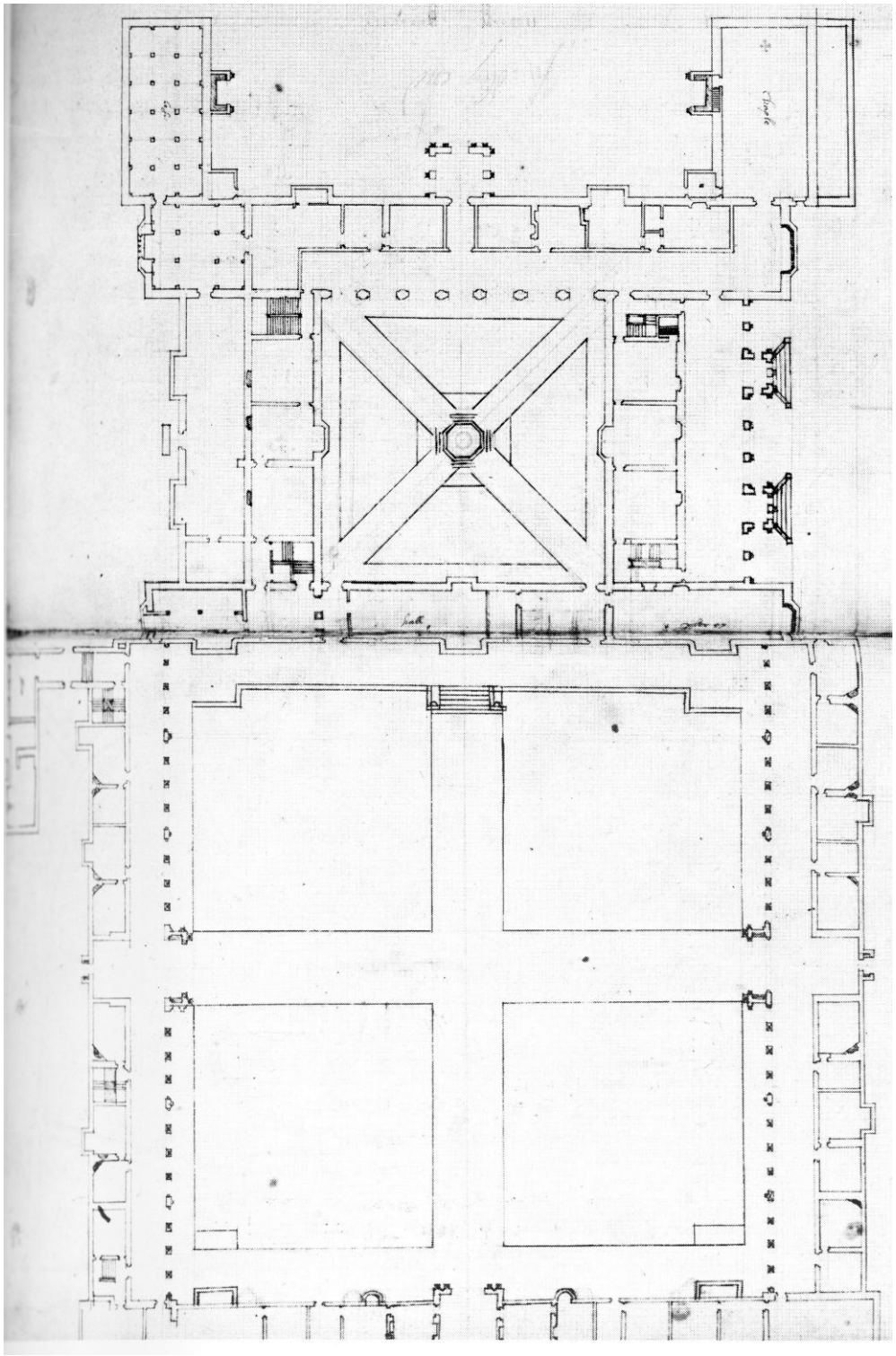


Fig. 69
John Thorpe's ground-floor plan of Audley End (of c. 1610), thought to be a survey of the inner court (top) and a design for the addition of the outer court (bottom). The hall is in the central range, dividing the two courtyards, and a (great) staircase is sketched in pencil into the space to its south (right). [*source: P. J. Drury, 'No other palace in the kingdom will compare with it: The evolution of Audley End, 1605-1745',* Architectural History*, vol. 23 (1980), reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum*]

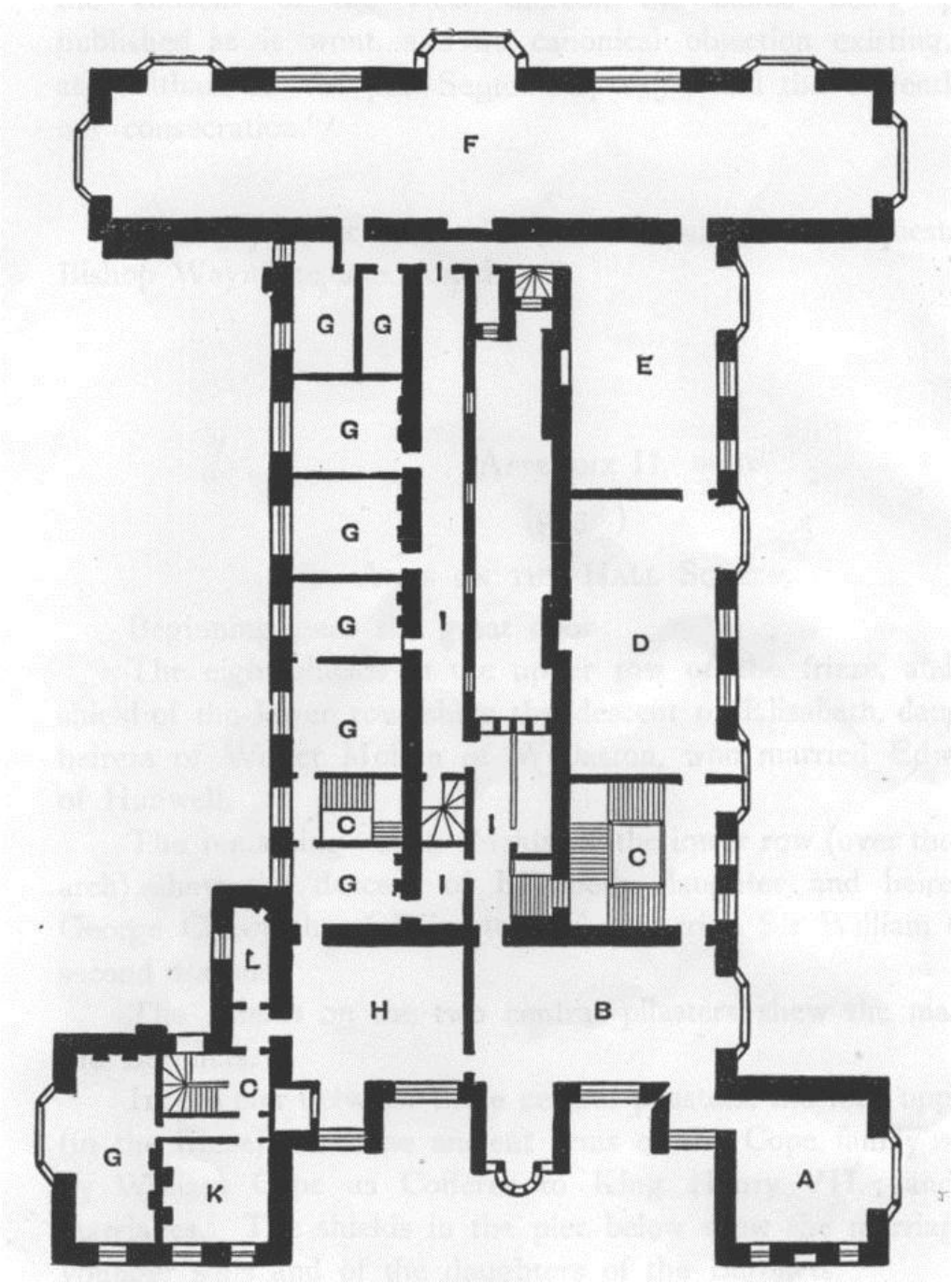
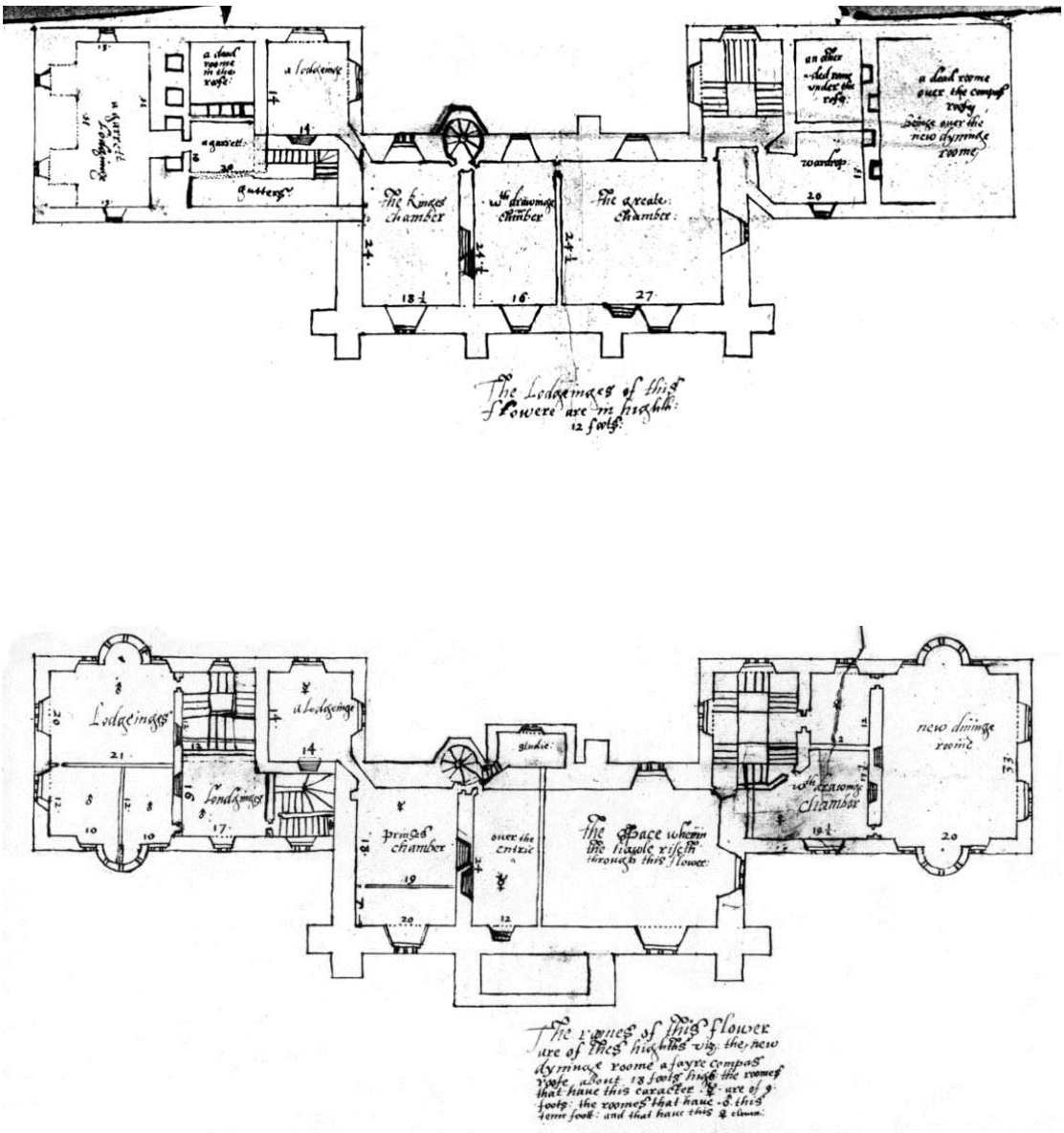


Fig. 70

Nineteenth-century plan of the first floor of Bramshill, built 1605-c. 1617. The principal rooms of the king's suite – on the south-east – are thought to be represented by D (the primary great chamber), E (withdrawing chamber) and F (long gallery). Room B seems to have served as a secondary great chamber in the early Stuart period, while the secondary state suite extended in a wing at the front right (south) of the house. All that remains of the wing is the pavilion containing room A, which is now the chapel and which is thought originally to have been part of the secondary (queen's) withdrawing chamber. [*source: Sir William H. Cope,* Bramshill: its History and Architecture *(1883)*]

Fig. 71
Interior of the State Drawing Room (principal great chamber) at Bramshill, in a *Country Life* photograph of 1923. The chimneypiece and plaster ceiling date from the second decade of the seventeenth century.
[*collections of the National Monuments Record of English Heritage, reproduced courtesy of Country Life*]



Figs 72 and 73

Survey plans of c. 1613, in the collection at Hatfield House (CPM Supp. 85/2 and 3), showing the first and second floors of Cranborne Manor House, rebuilt in c. 1608-12. The principal state rooms were at second-floor level (the plan at the top of the page), in the central block.

[*reproduced courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House*]

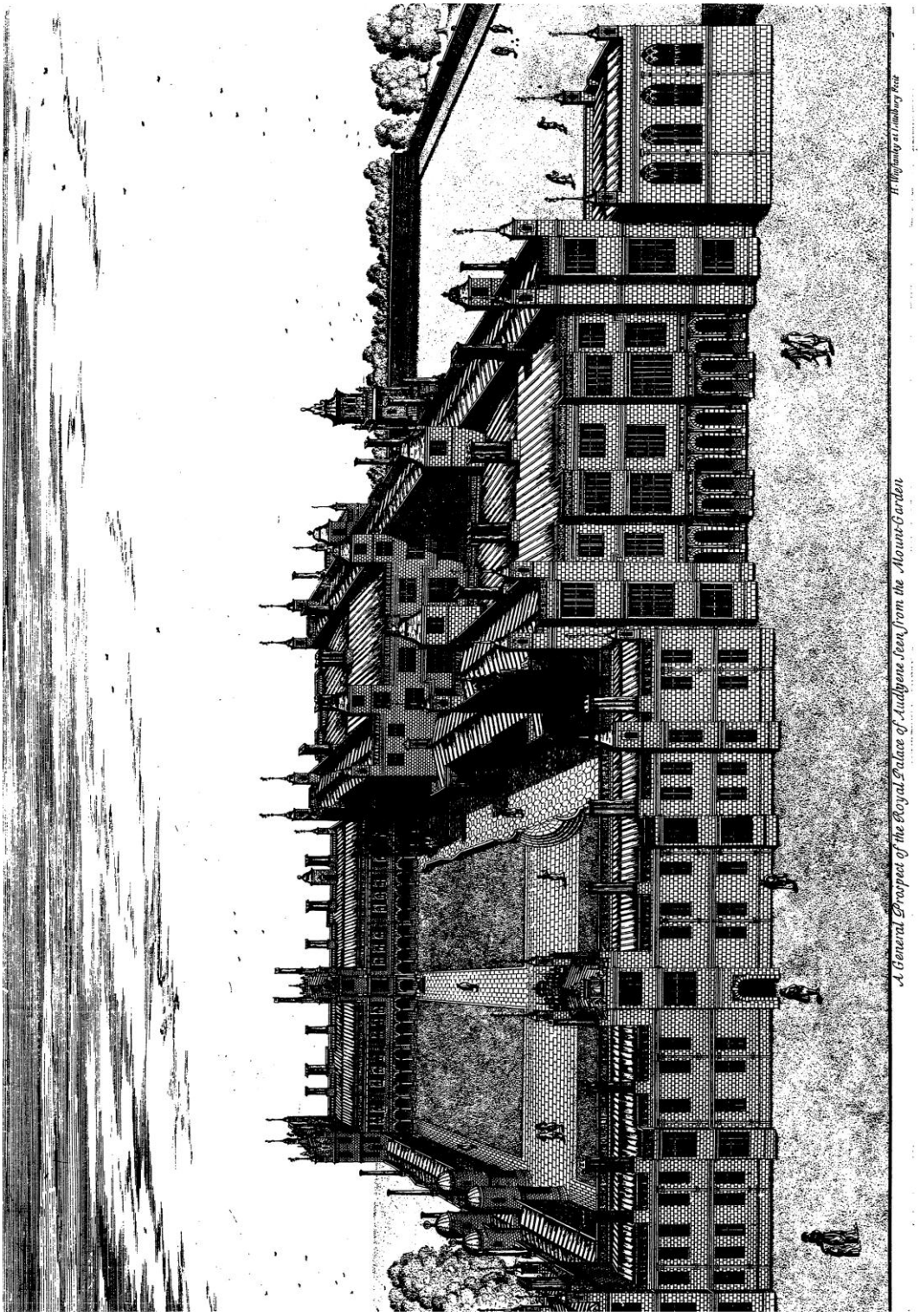
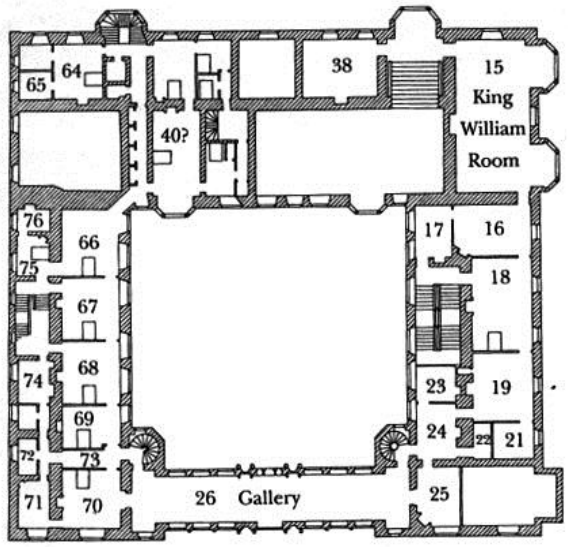


Fig. 74
Late seventeenth-century view of the south side of Audley End. The principal state apartment was at first-floor level on the south of the inner court, with some of the state rooms placed above a loggia. At its inner end (on the right of the view) are the south end of the long gallery and the chapel.
[*source: Henry Winstanley,* Book of Ground Platts, Generall and Particular Prospects of … Audley End *(c. 1688)*]



First floor

15 King William's Dining Room
16 Dutch Wedding Room
17 General Dressing Room
18 Best Bed Room
19 Best Dressing Room
24 Servant's Room to Best Apartment
25 Chapel Chamber
26 Library or Gallery
38 Billiard Room
40? Nursery
66 Chintz Dressing Room
67 Chintz Bedroom
68 Anteroom
69 Cotton Room
70 Queen Elizabeth's Room
71 Servant's Room to Queen Elizabeth's Room
74 My Lord's old Dressing Room

Fig. 75

Reconstruction of the plan of the first floor of Castle Ashby, as it was at the time of the inventory of 1755. Although the house had been altered in the 1660s and 1670s, the general arrangements are thought to follow those of the early Stuart rebuilding. Room 15, the 'King William Room', was the Elizabethan and Jacobean great chamber. The Jacobean withdrawing chamber was probably in the area of rooms 16 and 18, and the state bedchamber in the area of room 19.

[*source: John Heward and Robert Taylor,* The Country Houses of Northamptonshire *(RCHME, 1996)*]

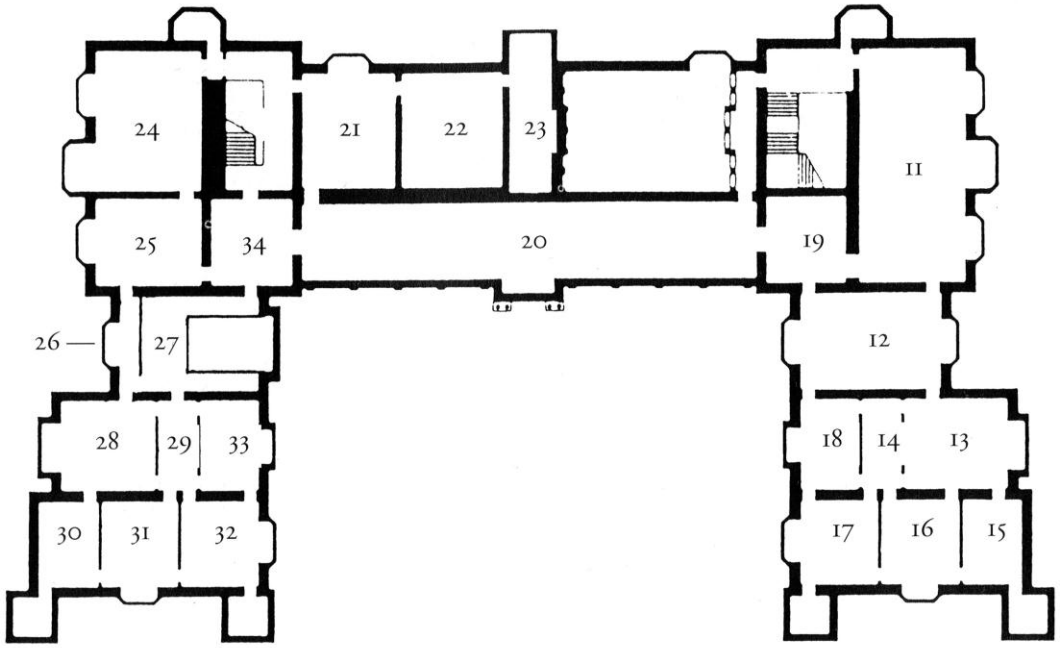


Fig. 76

Reconstruction of the plan of the first floor of Hatfield House, built 1607-12. The king's side is on the east (right) and the queen's on the west (left), with the long gallery joining the outer rooms of the two state apartments. The principal rooms are given the following numbers: king's great chamber: 11; king's withdrawing chamber: 12; king's bedchamber: 13; king's pallet chamber: 14; king's antechamber: 18; queen's great chamber: 24; queen's withdrawing chamber: 25; chapel: 27; queen's bedchamber: 28; queen's pallet chamber: 29; long gallery: 20. The third first-floor suite, on the north of the gallery, is numbered 21-23.

[*source: Claire Gapper, John Newman and Annabel Ricketts, 'Hatfield: A House for a Lord Treasurer', in ed. Pauline Croft,* Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils *(2002)*]

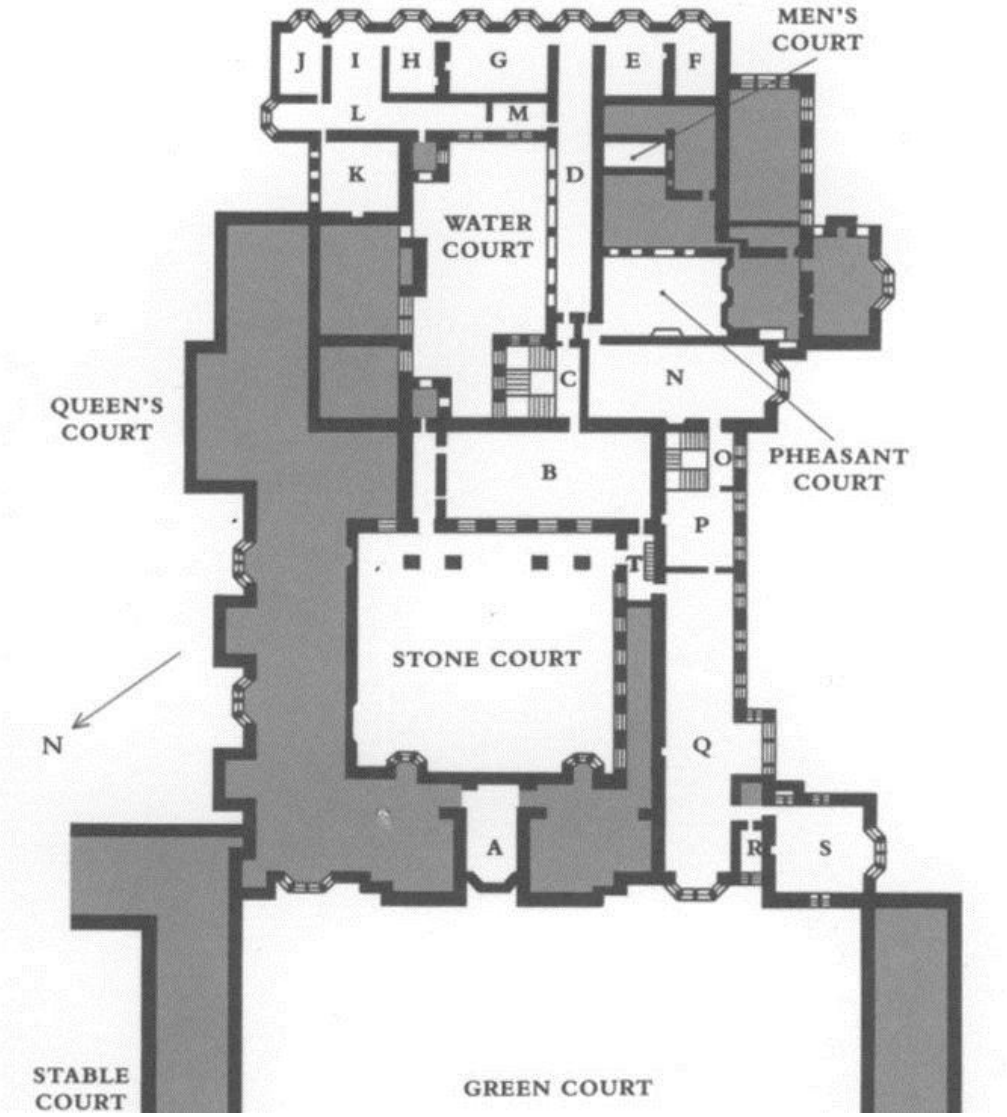


Fig. 77

Outline plan of the first floor of Knole, as rebuilt in c. 1604-8.
The state rooms are given the following letters: great chamber (Ballroom): N; withdrawing chamber (Reynolds Room): P; long gallery (Cartoon Gallery): Q; bedchamber: S; closet: R. The great hall is room B, the Brown Gallery is D, and the Leicester Gallery is L. The chapel is at the south-east corner (to the bottom right of room F).

[*source: R. Sackville-West,* Knole, Kent *(National Trust guidebook, 1998)*]

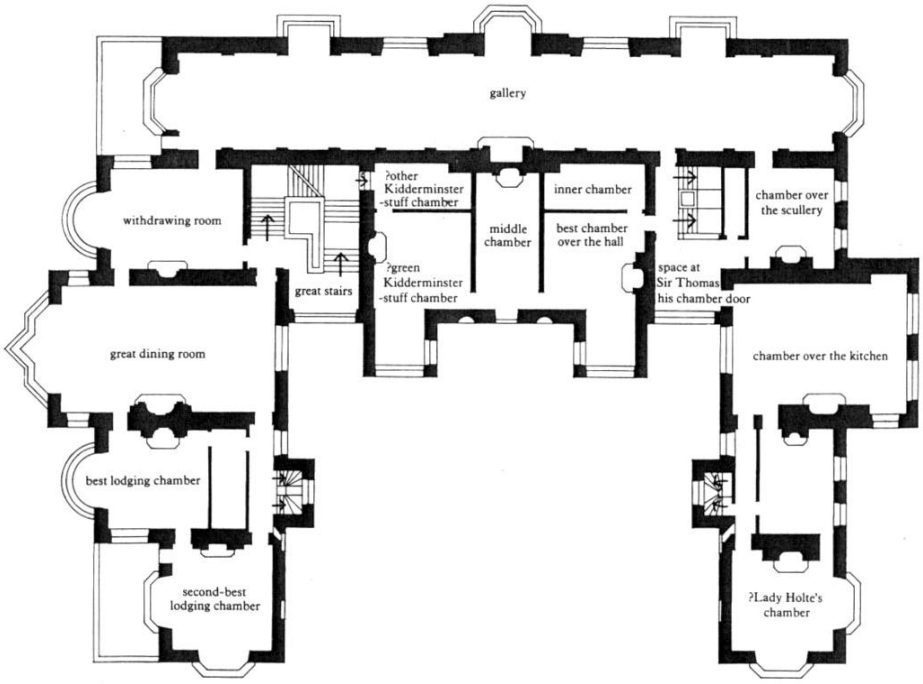


Fig. 78
Reconstruction of the plan of the first floor of Aston Hall, built 1618-35, with room names taken from the inventory of 1654
[*source: Oliver Fairclough,* The Grand Old Mansion: The Holtes and their Successors at Aston Hall 1618-1864 *(1984)*]

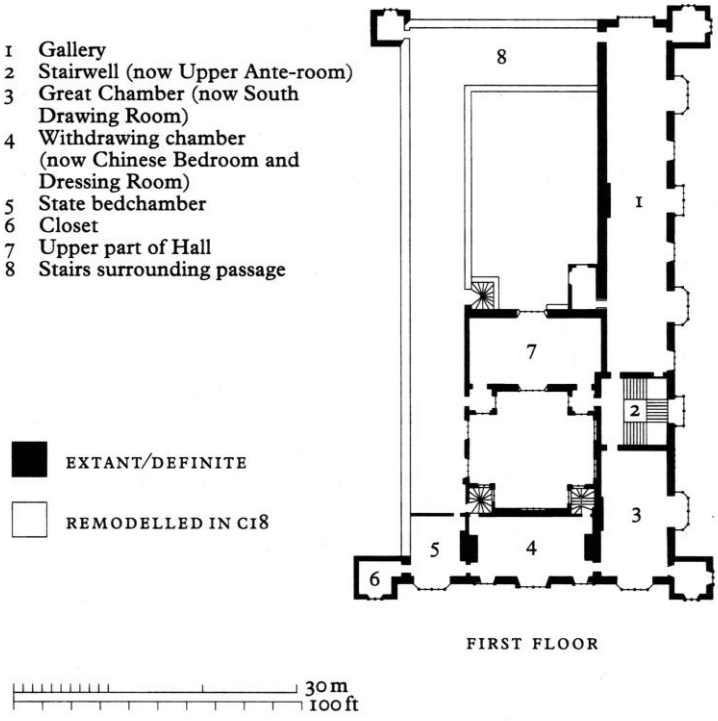


Fig. 79
Reconstruction of the plan of the first floor of Blickling Hall, as rebuilt in 1619-27
[*source: Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson,* Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East *(2002 edition)*]

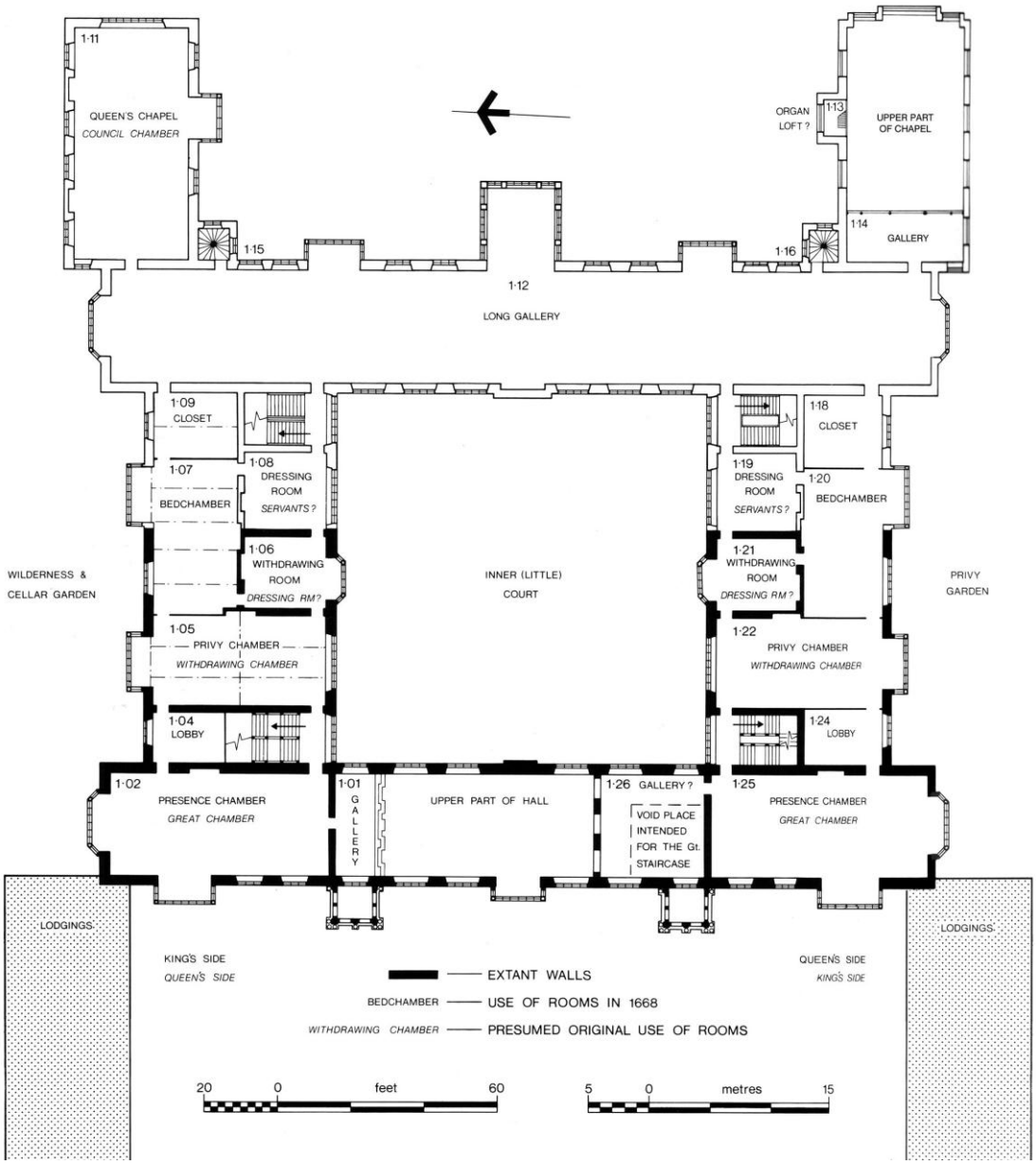


Fig. 80

Paul Drury's reconstructed plan of the first floor of the inner court of Audley End, showing the state apartments to south and north. The hall is in the west range and the long gallery on the east.

[*source: P. J. Drury, 'No other palace in the kingdom will compare with it: The evolution of Audley End, 1605-1745',* Architectural History*, vol. 23 (1980)*]

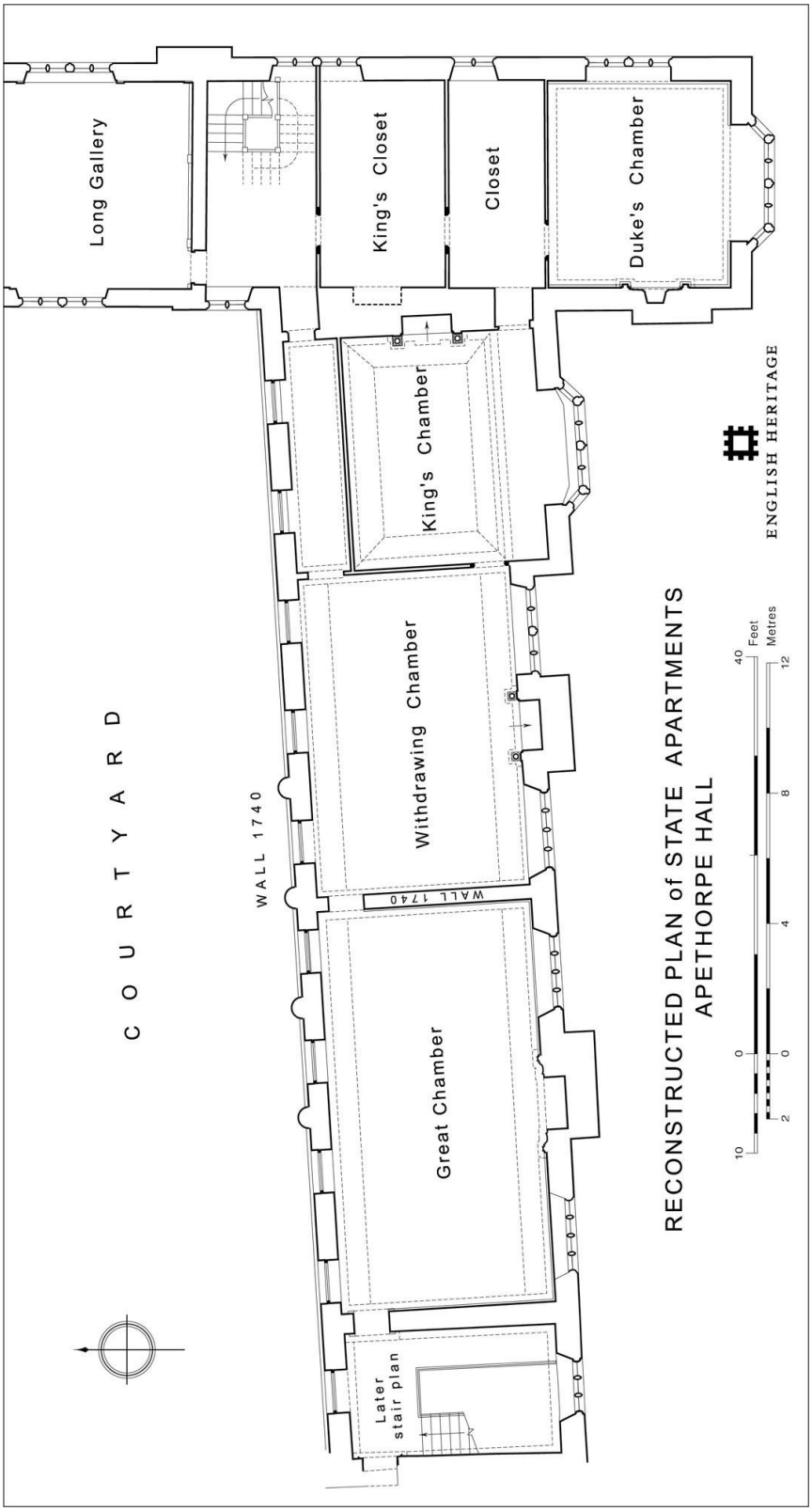


Fig. 81

Reconstruction by English Heritage of the plan of the Jacobean state apartment at Apethorpe Hall, created in 1622-4 in the south and east ranges [*source: ed. John Cattell,* Apethorpe Hall, Apethorpe, Northamptonshire: Survey, Research and Analysis *(English Heritage Research Department Report Series 86/2006), vol. 1*]

Fig. 82
Interior of the principal (king's) great chamber at Audley End, known by at least the early eighteenth century as the 'Fish Room' and now termed the Saloon. The ceiling and chimneypiece are original, but the frieze and panelling date from the second half of the eighteenth century, when the room was refitted. The door in the far wall, opening onto the stair hall, is also not original to the Jacobean period.
[*collections of English Heritage*]

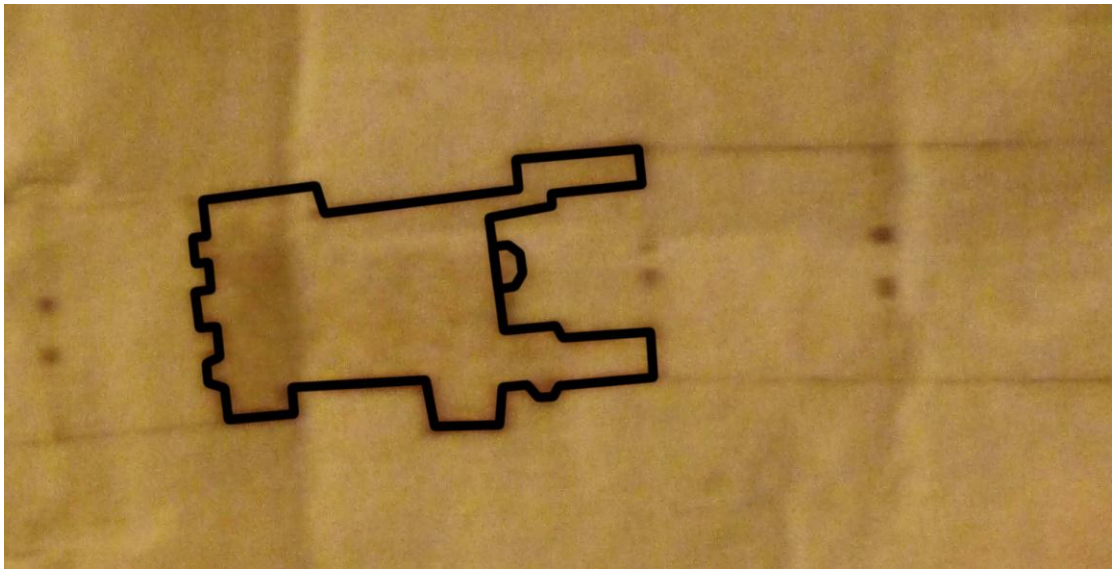


Fig. 83
Highlighted version of the 1699 estate map of Bramshill. This detail shows the house before alterations were carried out in the early 1700s, including the demolition of the two projecting wings on the entrance (south-west) front. The long gallery is on the north-east of the house, on the left of the block as shown. The map seems to record an enlarged area at the north end of the south-east (principal state) range (top-left in the drawing); this probably housed the king's inner rooms. The courtyard of the house is not depicted.
[*reproduced courtesy of the National Policing Improvement Agency, Bramshill*]

Fig. 84
Interior of the long gallery at Aston Hall, built 1618-35
[*photograph by Emily Cole*]

Fig. 85
Detail of the plaster frieze in the great chamber at Aston Hall, showing two of the Nine Worthies
[*photograph by Emily Cole*]

Fig. 86
Interior of the long gallery at Blickling Hall, with plaster ceiling executed in c. 1620 by Edward Stanyon
[*source: Anthony Wells-Cole*, Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England *(1997)*]

Fig. 87
Detail of the Jacobean ceiling in what is now the chapel at Bramshill, showing motifs including the symbol and motto of the Order of the Garter and the entwined Tudor rose and Scottish thistle. Originally, the room probably functioned as the secondary (queen's) withdrawing chamber.
[*photograph by Emily Cole*]

Fig. 88
Photograph of 1923 showing the central panel of the plaster ceiling in the king's chamber at Apethorpe Hall, adorned with the royal arms. This, like the ceilings of the adjacent state rooms, was created in 1622-4.
[*reproduced courtesy of Lord Brassey*]

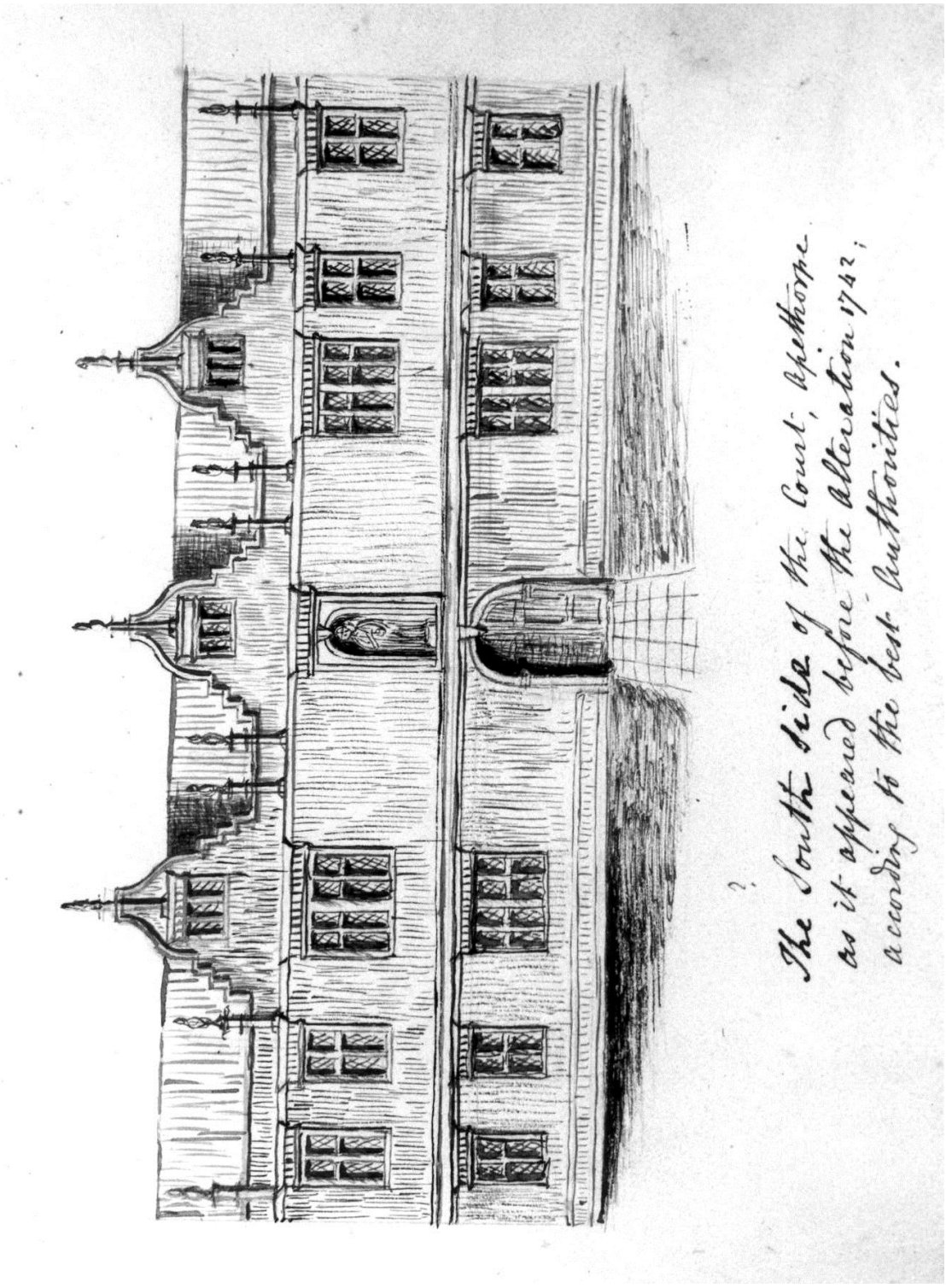


Fig. 89
Nineteenth-century reconstruction of the north (courtyard) façade of the state range at Apethorpe Hall, with the statue of James I in a niche at its centre. At first-floor level, this range contained great chamber, withdrawing chamber and king's chamber.
[*source: H. K. Bonney,* Collectanea Apethorpeana *(1830), in Northamptonshire Record Office*]

Fig. 90
Photograph of 1904 by Bedford Lemere showing the interior of the state great chamber at Apethorpe Hall, with the elaborate plaster ceiling created during the remodelling of 1622-4. The chimneypiece is Elizabethan; it was inserted by Sir Walter Mildmay and is dated 1562.
[*collections of the National Monuments Record of English Heritage*]

Fig. 91
Country Life photograph of 1909 showing the withdrawing chamber at Apethorpe Hall, with Jacobean plaster ceiling and chimneypiece. The overmantel bears a representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac.
[*collections of the National Monuments Record of English Heritage, reproduced courtesy of Country Life*]

Fig. 92
Country Life photograph of c. 1900 showing the interior of the king's chamber at Apethorpe Hall, with Jacobean chimneypiece and ceiling. Above the fire opening, a carved panel depicts a hunting scene, while the main part of the overmantel represents the Coronation of Peace.
[*collections of the National Monuments Record of English Heritage, reproduced courtesy of Country Life*]

Fig. 93
The Jacobean chimneypiece – and part of the plaster frieze and ceiling – in the Duke's Chamber (secondary state bedchamber) at Apethorpe Hall, in a *Country Life* photograph of 1909. The overmantel's iconography has been the subject of some debate.
[*collections of the National Monuments Record of English Heritage, reproduced courtesy of Country Life*]

Fig. 94
The plain plaster ceiling and elaborate chimneypiece in the long gallery at Apethorpe Hall, both created in 1622-4. The chimneypiece bears a figure of King David and references to the story of David and Goliath, while there is an inscription in the panel above the fire opening.
[*collections of the National Monuments Record of English Heritage*]

Fig. 95
The elaborate interior of the great chamber (Ballroom) at Knole, fitted out in c. 1604-8. The plaster ceiling is thought to be the work of Richard Dungan, the King's Master Plasterer, the chimneypiece may be by Cornelius Cure, royal Master Mason, and carpentry was undertaken by William Portington, royal Master Carpenter.
[*source: R. Sackville-West,* Knole, Kent *(National Trust guidebook, 1998), from collections of the National Trust*]